Diary of the AMERICAN WAR

A HESSIAN JOURNAL

CAPTAIN
JOHANN
EWALD

Translated
and edited by
JOSEPH P. TUSTIN

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Captain Johann Ewald, Field Jäger Corps
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The diary that Captain Johann Ewald wrote with "much toil and many a drop of sweat" is an extremely important and comprehensive journal of the American Revolution. Written with humanity, sensitivity, and humor, it discloses many previously unknown facts. During the invasion of New Jersey in 1776, for example, Cornwallis refused to capture American troops retreating from Fort Lee. Ewald's description of the siege of Charleston in 1780 is probably the best account extant of that episode of the war. His opinions of the British generals and his discussions of their operations, tactics, and mistakes are revealing and entertaining.

A Hessian mercenary who arrived in America in 1776, Ewald was more than an observer. At the battle of Brandywine, for example, he led the Howe/Cornwallis column around Washington's right wing. Here he describes the "terrible defile" that Washington failed to defend, causing him to lose the battle.

Diary of the American War is illustrated with thirty original maps in black and white. Appended are Ewald's impassioned love letters to an American, Jeannette Van Horne.

Major *Joseph P. Tustin* acquired three of the four original volumes of the diary in 1948, while he was historian for the United States Air Forces in Europe; later he obtained a copy of the lost volume. He spent nearly thirty years translating them, verifying every detail, and identifying persons and places.

"Probably the most detailed journal kept by anyone on any side during the American Revolution."
—Franklin B. Wickwire

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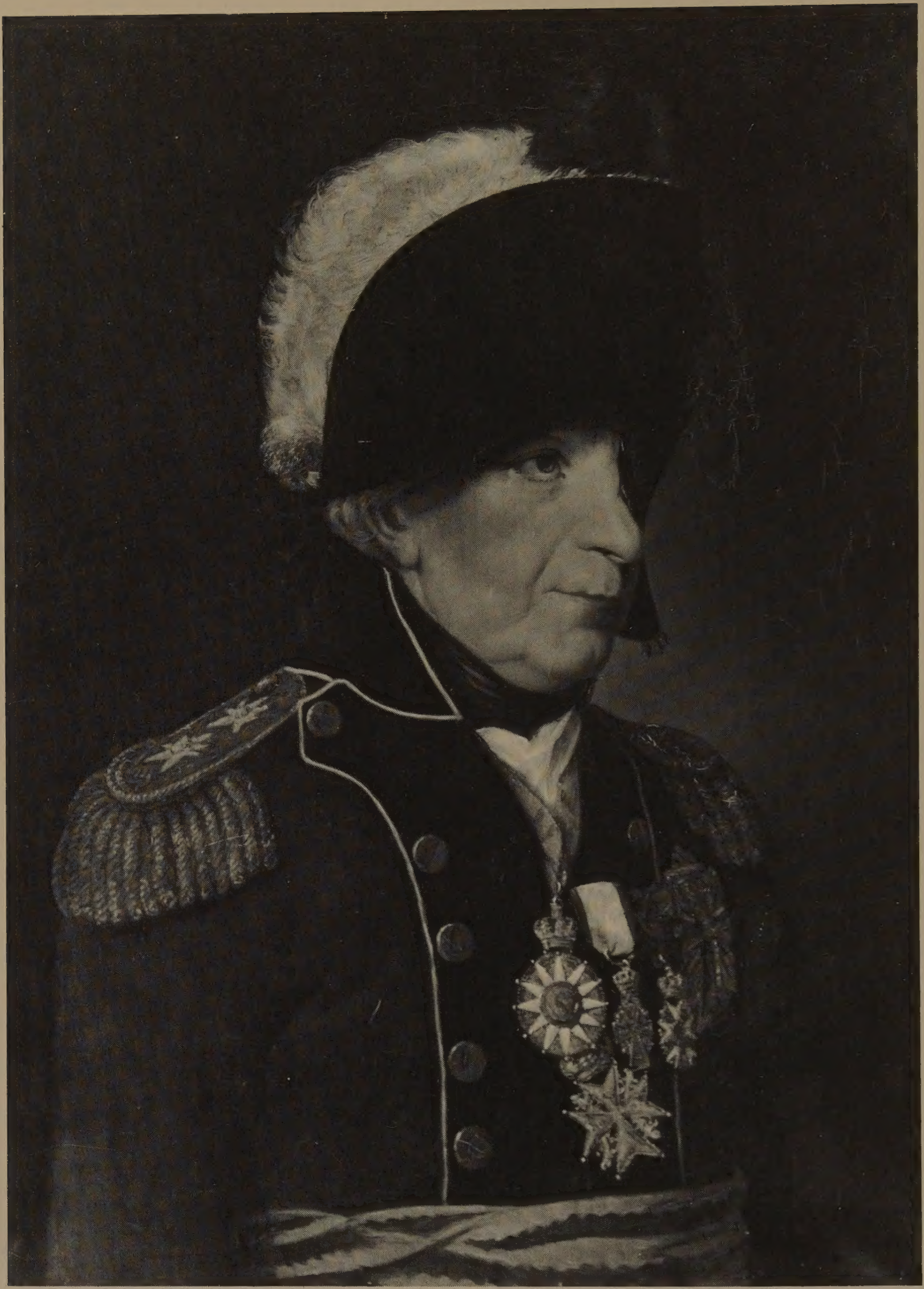
Diary of the American War



Royal Danish Lieutenant General Johann von Ewald, Chief of the Schleswig Jäger Corps, Commanding General in the Duchy of Holstein, 1744–1813. Photograph of painting by C. A. Jensen (1835), after a drawing by H. J. Aldenrath, hanging in Frederiksborg Palace, Hillerød, Denmark.

Diary of the American War

A Hessian Journal

Captain Johann Ewald

Field Jäger Corps

Translated and edited by Joseph P. Tustin

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1979

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When a man chooses a calling, he must do everything that can be done in that calling, so that he can never suffer reproach for having done only half of his duty. On this account I keep among the mottoes in my portfolio, to serve at times as a reminder, the following from Boileau:

> Honor is like an island,
> Steep and without shore:
> They who once leave,
> Can never return.

—Ewald
Diary of the American War, May 17, 1781

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Preface

The diary that Captain Johann Ewald wrote with "much toil and many a drop of sweat" is an outstanding contribution to the literature of the American Revolution. Certainly it is the most important and comprehensive diary kept by a Hessian mercenary.

The discovery of the original diary came about in an unexpected manner. After the Second World War I was assigned to intelligence and historical duties with United States major commands in the United States Zone of Occupation in Germany. In early December 1948 I was a historian with the Headquarters, United States Air Forces in Europe, at Wiesbaden. I had just returned from Berlin on a C-54 aircraft, which was flying the Berlin Airlift, when a colleague and I decided to visit the Air Section of the Headquarters, United States Forces in Austria, at Vienna. Since the city was surrounded by the Soviet Zone of Occupation in Austria, it was necessary to obtain an official Russian clearance pass, called a "gray pass," to make the journey by air and by road through restricted territory. Therefore we went to the office where the gray passes were issued. When I reached the desk of a German civilian who was preparing the passes, I heard him say to my colleague, "Sir, would you be interested in an old diary of the American Revolution?" Uninterested, the historian declined curtly and hurried by with his pass. On my part I was astonished and asked, "Where is this diary?" The clerk replied, "My aunt in Essen has it." I told him to have the diary brought to Wiesbaden as soon as possible and I would examine it after I returned from Vienna. Thus, by an extraordinary coincidence, was this remarkable diary discovered.

I learned that the German clerk was former Lieutenant Colonel Eberhard von Pfister, a member of a well-known Hessian family of distinguished soldiers and writers. Von Pfister had served as a transportation officer with the German army on the Eastern front during the war. His great-grandfather, Major Gustav Ferdinand von Pfister, a Hessian army general staff officer and historian, had obtained the diary in 1864 from the author's son, Major General Carl von Ewald, then retired from the Danish army.

When I returned from Vienna, I found the diary in von Pfister's small, cold room in Wiesbaden. Those were hard times for Germans; food and fuel were scarce, and the loss of the war and the occupation of the country weighed heavily upon the people. I presumed that the owner of the diary, whose family had no relationship to the author, had decided to part with their heirloom only out of dire economic necessity.

Since Essen was in the British Zone of Occupation in Germany, von Pfister's aunt had first approached the British Museum in London. That institution had replied it was interested, but not yet ready for acquisition at a time when the museum was recovering from the damage caused by the war. Hence the owner of the diary had turned to the American Zone.

An inspection of the diary showed that there were three volumes, I, II, and IV, written in an excellent eighteenth-century hand on handmade paper and bound in calf. All three volumes were in a splendid state of preservation, and the maps and plans folded within the pages were in near-perfect condition. Volume III was missing, but the owner sent word that as far as she knew her ancestor had originally acquired only three volumes. I also learned that the volumes had survived the terrible bombings of Kassel and Essen during the war.

After I had received official permission from the Monument and Fine Arts Division of the Office of Military Government in Wiesbaden, I purchased the diary and received legal certificates of sale from the owner in Essen. Thus this diary was not among those objets d'art and rare articles so conveniently acquired during the early occupation of Germany.

As for the original Volume III, I conducted a futile search for it for several years during my service in Germany. In late 1957 I contacted Mr. Edgar A. Holm, the Royal Danish Consul at Frankfort-on-the-Main, who suggested that I visit Copenhagen, since Ewald had been a Danish general. The consul and Count Adam Moltke, chief of the Danish Travel Bureau, furnished me with letters of introduction to archival and museum officials in Copenhagen. Still on the trail of the missing volume, I visited the Danish capital and interviewed various Danish officials concerning Ewald's later life in Denmark and its possessions. A retired Danish army officer informed me that he had known General of Artillery Otto Carl Ewald, the author's great-grandson, who had died unmarried in 1938. A search of Otto Ewald's will revealed that he had left his niece two wooden boxes. When the niece was contacted, she said that she had not opened the boxes since receiving them twenty years earlier. With uncertain feelings I awaited word of the contents of the boxes. Was the missing volume there? My hopes were dashed with the news that Volume III was not in the boxes.

My search finally led me to the Schleswig-Holstein State Library at Kiel, where I learned that His Serene Highness, Prince Friedrich Ferdinand of Schleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg, possessed certain books and papers which had belonged to Ewald. The prince later informed me that his library contained Ewald's diary, which I was invited to inspect.

In August 1959 I visited the prince at his beautiful ancestral water-castle, Schloss Glücksburg, at Glücksburg, near the Danish border. His Serene Highness explained that a part of Ewald's library had been inherited by his ancestor the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Beck after Ewald's death in 1813. At that time, Ewald was the commanding general of the Duchy of Holstein under Danish control. I found that the prince's diary was a four-volume handwritten copy of Ewald's original diary. The title page of a fifth volume, containing small pen-and-ink copies in watercolor of Ewald's original maps and plans, was dated 1831, presumably the date that the original diary was also copied. Prince Friedrich Ferdinand not only gave his permission to have his copy of the missing Volume III photographed, but graciously assisted with the project and agreed to its publication. This volume contains Ewald's account of the siege of Charleston in 1780. Since it was now obvious that the original Volume III was irretrievably lost, I considered myself fortunate to possess a photographic copy of the Glücksburg copy of the text, handsomely bound in calf.

The complete diary of Ewald's experiences covers eight years, from 1776 to 1784. Volume I contains the first and second campaigns, 1776–1777; Volume II, the third and fourth campaigns, 1778–1779; Volume III, the fifth campaign, 1780; and Volume IV, the sixth campaign, from 1781 to 1784. The diary was originally written in the field and was copied under Ewald's supervision into the volumes I now possess in 1791, after the author had entered the Danish service. Many corrections, additions, and marginal remarks in Ewald's handwriting are visible. The diary also contains personal remarks dated 1787 and 1798, the whole including the later text of Volume III amounting to 1,150 pages.

The four volumes contained forty-one colored pen-and-ink maps and plans. The majority of them were no doubt made in the field; most of them are small, folding within the pages of the diary. Thirty-five of the forty-one are original maps and plans found in the three original volumes, while the remaining six are copies of the plans from the missing Volume III made by another hand in 1831. Only one is dated, but none have scales or signatures. Ewald's handwriting is evident on most of them, but several appear to be the work of others. Thirty-three of the maps are illustrated here, along with five pen-and-ink sketches in the text used to explain certain tactical situations. Three of the maps shown here, "The Province of New Jersey Divided into East and West Called Jersey," "Plan of a Part of Southern Virginia," and "Plan of the Siege of York Town in Virginia," have been redrawn because the original material was unsuitable for reproduction. The artist has made every attempt to retain the qualities of the original maps.

Due to its length the diary has necessarily been abridged, omitting in particular Ewald's careful transcriptions of secondhand reports of actions and activities in which he did not personally participate as well as a miscellany of superfluous details. Otherwise the translation is as literal as possible consistent with intelligibility and the sense and spirit of the original text. Nothing essential to the integrity of the diary has been omitted. The task of verifying Ewald's statements and experiences, many of which throw new light on military activities of the Revolution, was not always rewarded with success. Some enigmas of course remain, but I have identified persons, places, and events in the notes wherever possible. The misspellings of proper names and place names have been corrected where known; the names of individuals and places which could not be identified are followed by editorial brackets with a question mark or possible emendation.

JOSEPH PHILIPS TUSTIN

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Introduction

No attempt is made here to describe any of the German troops sent to America other than the Hessian Jägers, the particular troops with which Ewald's *Diary* is chiefly concerned. The broader subject of German troops serving in the American War and the treaties between Great Britain and the German principalities regarding their hiring are treated at length in the pertinent works cited in the notes.

England did not have a sufficient army for the American War. After efforts to hire twenty thousand soldiers from Empress Catherine II of Russia had failed, England turned to her old military allies and other princelings in Germany, with several of whom she had dynastic relations and all of whom were eager to sell their wares for large profits. The liberal school of writers and public men in England and in Europe denounced this traffic, and even that enlightened despot Frederick the Great wrote to Voltaire on June 18, 1776: "If the Landgrave had come out of my school, he would not have sold his subjects to the English as one sells cattle to be dragged to the slaughter house. This is an unbecoming trait in the character of a prince who sets himself up as a teacher of rulers. Such conduct is caused by nothing but dirty selfishness. I pity the poor Hessians who will end their lives unhappily and uselessly in America."[1]

Except for about 250 Hanoverians, all the German troops hired for service in America came from six states, almost two thirds of the total being from two Hessian states. King George III of Great Britain, who was the Elector of Hanover, sent 2,365 Hanoverians to Gibraltar and Minorca to relieve British troops there for service elsewhere. Of the estimated 29,867 German troops sent to America, 16,992 were from Hesse-Cassel, 5,723 from Brunswick, 2,422 from Hesse-Hanau, 2,353 from Anspach-Bayreuth, 1,225 from Waldeck, and 1,152 from Anhalt-Zerbst. In the rebellious colonies all these German troops were indiscriminately termed "Hessians," just as all German immigrants were formerly called "Palatines."

During the early part of the war, the German troops were feared by the American troops and civilian population alike, partly because they were foreign mercenary soldiers who were charged with cruelty and wanton pillaging. The Hessians were held in contempt and bitter hatred by the Pennsylvania Germans because the patriotic German citizenry saw these soldiers, speaking their native tongue, brought to their area as prisoners after fighting against their adopted country in its struggle for independence. The feeling against the Hessians was so strong among the Pennsylvania Germans that for many years thereafter the strongest epithet one boy could hurl at another during a quarrel was "der Hess."[2] An example of this resentment may be noted in a conversation between Ewald and a Palatine German woman near Philadelphia.

As the war dragged on, the German troops were better liked and more civilly treated than were the British soldiery, particularly in Virginia, where most of the Brunswick and Hessian prisoners were finally sent after the capture of Burgoyne's army. Earlier, Congress had offered the Hessians inducements to desert and promised them safety on the western frontier, a plan which met with some success.

The Hessians were not the ogres they were represented as being in school books, nor were they inhuman or rapacious, although they fought ruthlessly at times. The charge that they were cruel barbarians was untrue and was used as a political weapon. Most of them appear to have been well-meaning men. In their defense, Washington wrote on February 5, 1777: "One thing I must remark in favor of the Hessians, and that is, that our people who have been prisoners generally agree they received much kinder treatment from them than from the British officers and soldiers."[3] The German soldiers did their duty bravely and faithfully, with loyalty to a service into which they had been sold with little or no profit to themselves and with little understanding of the causes of the conflict. Many of the officers were professional soldiers or the sons of the lower nobility, most of whom were imbued with a strong sense of duty and a desire to distinguish themselves, with the hope of improving their fortunes in America, not unlike many foreign officers fighting for the American cause. The officers were well paid and sometimes received shares of booty money, considered lawful spoils of war at that time. They also had expectations of remuneration if England won the war. Ewald relates afterward that the officers had been promised monetary rewards and plantations to remain in an army of occupation to keep the colonies subjugated. Moreover, there was still a strong tradition that soldiering was an honest trade like any other, and that it was an honorable calling to help sovereigns maintain order and put down revolts.

More than one third of the troops from Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, and Hesse-Hanau did not return to Germany. At least 1,200 of the German mercenaries were killed in action or died of their wounds, and an estimated 6,354 died of illness, accident, or drowning. Some thousands of Hessian and Brunswick deserters and prisoners, with others who had received their discharges, remained in America after the war, but the precise figure is unknown. Historian Rosengarten states the number of Germans that remained was "roughly estimated at considerably over ten thousand," but this high figure appears to be more traditional than trustworthy. More likely, the estimate of five thousand mentioned by Lowell is nearer the mark.[4]

Although most of the Hessian soldiers returned home without military success, some felt that their efforts were not entirely in vain: "Thus returned the thirteen thousand Hessians, after seven bloody years.—Not with victory, it is true, but still crowned with health and honor.—And not without having shown their valor and loyalty for their sovereigns and the king, in whose pay they served as brave Germans in America."[5]

The jägers were the elite of the Hessian troops, usually called "chasseurs" by the British and Americans. As the name *Jäger* implies, the jäger or rifle companies first drew their rank and file from among hunters, foresters, and others who were experts at shooting. The German word *Jäger* is retained throughout the text because of its special significance. The jägers served both mounted and on foot. They were equipped with rifled guns with hexagonal bores and better sights than those of the smoothbore musket.[6] At that time the jäger rifles were not equipped with bayonets, but the men carried hunting swords which they used in hand-to-hand combat. To protect them from enemy bayonet attacks, the jägers were usually supported by infantry with bayonets. The jägers wore green coats with carmine collars, cuffs, and lapels, with green vests trimmed with gold. As a result they were sometimes called *Grünröcke* or "greencoats" by the British and Americans.

Ewald's detachments often consisted of mounted and unmounted jägers, British or Scottish infantry, and sometimes dragoons. Ewald himself was usually mounted. The jägers frequently operated as detachments and were employed to great advantage in reconnoitering and patrol duties and in guarding foraging parties. They were especially effective against American riflemen and artillery positions during sieges. The jägers often led the vanguard of British and Hessian forces, and just as often formed the rear guard which covered a retreat or withdrawal. Ewald's jägers specialized in partisan operations, particularly in ambuscade. The jägers were greatly feared by the Americans because of their accurate fire and their valor. In 1777 Ewald's 2d Jäger Company was combined with the newly organized Hessian Field-Jäger Corps, in which he became known as "the famous jäger captain."[7]

The part that Ewald played in the American Revolution first became known through his published military treatises, especially the last and most important one, *Instructions on War,*[8] in which he used some of his experiences in America to illustrate the various lessons on tactics he described in his treatises. But it remained for his original diary, unknown save to a few since the foreword was signed in 1791, to reveal the full and fascinating account of his exploits.

Ewald often wrote down his experiences and impressions on the day they occurred or shortly afterward, frequently using a dramatic mode of expression, seasoned sometimes with dry humor. Since he was always active in the field, he did not have the information or the viewpoint of a headquarters staff officer. Nevertheless, he kept in touch with friends in the British headquarters, who occasionally gave him useful information on plans and events. But by far his most important contact was General Cornwallis, with whom he had a long association.

Ewald was a keen observer, overly careful of details, and shows considerable acumen in his remarks. He did not hesitate to criticize either his superiors or his opponents in his diary if he felt it was warranted, nor was he stinting of deserved praise to friend or foe. As a military tactician he earned high praise during the war, and for the most part his remarks and views on the tactics used or not used were apparently grounded in his own solid and detailed field knowledge. The basic soundness of his tactical principles was borne out by his later achievements as a Danish general and by the success of his treatises on partisan warfare, which were widely read and used to train British troops for the Peninsular War in Spain against Napoleon. But the diary itself serves as an excellent exposition of partisan warfare as practiced during the Revolution. It reveals in detail the tactics used by small units in the field on both sides, particularly in wooded country, which are not much different from the guerrilla tactics employed in modern times.

Every effort has been made to verify Ewald's statements wherever possible. His accuracy and reliability are clear not only from corroborating evidence but from the commendations and praise he received, the esteem in which he was held, and the innate honesty of the man himself.

The diary is especially notable for Ewald's critical opinions of British generals and their conduct of the war, and for his disclosures of important evidence relating to military activities and incidents which are still puzzling to this day. Prominent among these events is Cornwallis's refusal to capture the American troops retreating from Fort Lee. Ewald raises the serious charge of British foot-dragging through New Jersey, stating that Cornwallis had orders not to pursue Washington too closely on his route to the Delaware River. He felt that General Howe and his brother, Admiral Richard Howe, did not want to capture Washington.

The descriptions of the skirmish at Mount Holly and the occupation of the town are the best contemporary accounts available. Ewald's comments on the battles of Trenton and Princeton are incisive and illuminating. Part of the blame for the disaster at Trenton is placed upon the Hessian commander at Mount Holly, who was detained there by a beautiful young widow.

The surprising details of the British envelopment of Washington's right wing at Brandywine, with Ewald leading the column, are graphically told. Ewald believed that Howe did not want to destroy Washington's army for political reasons. The Battle of Germantown is preceded by a cryptic warning of Washington's approach, from an unlikely source, and the dramatic account of the Battle of Red Bank explains why the faulty attack failed.

The occupation of Philadelphia is an interesting interlude preceding Clinton's retreat across New Jersey, with an exciting account of the fight to save the baggage train at the Battle of Monmouth. Ewald's description of the siege of Charleston in 1780 is probably the best British contemporary account extant, with unknown incidents and amusing reflections.

Ewald's experiences in the Virginia Campaign of 1781 at Richmond, Portsmouth, Norfolk, Yorktown, and Gloucester are highlights of the diary; particularly his service under Benedict Arnold, then a British brigadier general, with whom Ewald clashed over military tactics used. His dislike of Arnold is revealed in an interesting character study of this celebrated American. But Cornwallis remained Ewald's hero to the end of his life.

Ewald's most interesting postwar experience was his visit to West Point, where he was permitted to inspect the fortifications and was entertained by Major Generals Henry Knox and Alexander McDougall. On November 25, 1783, Ewald sailed with the British troops from New York to England where he spent the winter. He arrived back in Cassel on May 18, 1784, after an absence of just eight years.

What manner of man was Ewald? Undeniably he was courageous and humane; but he also possessed a rare combination of daring and self-reliance, far beyond that of the average officer, which was based upon a steadfast belief in his superior knowledge, judgment, and military talents. He was an ardent advocate of the military doctrine of surprise and attack, as opposed to the principles of defense, by which he was recognized as a master of partisan warfare. As a soldier, he had a strong sense of duty and discipline. As a man he had an upright and humane character, showing a compassion for the unfortunate which is surprising, since the Hessians are not generally credited with humanitarianism. Sentimentally, he was always correct, even gallant, toward women, but his love letters betray the true emotion which his diary conceals. Spiritually, he had a firm faith in a divine providence and a philosophical attitude toward death.

The British generals Howe, Cornwallis, and Clinton acknowledged Ewald's outstanding services and abilities, as did the Hessian commander in chief, Lieutenant General Baron von Knyphausen. In letters quoted by Ewald in his diary, Howe testifies "to the extreme satisfaction I have always had in your distinguished conduct," while Cornwallis writes, "I shall ever remember the distinguished merit and Ability's of Captain

Ewald." Clinton praises Ewald several times, once thanking him for saving the army a longer march in the retreat across New Jersey. Von Knyphausen writes, "I cannot fail to take pleasure in mentioning the very special trust which I have always placed in your well-known ability and bravery." Lieutenant Colonel John Graves Simcoe, commandant of the Queen's Rangers, calls him "that gallant and able officer," and during the war the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel bestowed upon him the highest Hessian award.

Praises of Ewald span the years. In a letter of 1798 fastened to the back of the foreword to the diary, French General Charles Dumouriez epitomizes Ewald as "upright and gifted," and a modern British general calls him a "remarkable troop leader."[9] The nineteenth-century German historian Max von Eelking writes: "His exceptional ability and bravery in partisan warfare provided him on diverse occasions with the command over larger, mixed detachments. Few officers in the British-Hessian army had such a reputation and possessed the high esteem and confidence of the commanding generals to such a degree."[10]

Those who knew him best confirm these judgments. Baron Andreas von Liliencron, the son of Ewald's adjutant, speaks of him as "a man of keen intellect, great courage, with an exceedingly honorable, strictly military character."[11] In his biography of his father, Carl von Ewald portrays him as follows:

> He was of medium height, slender, and kept himself very erect up to his last days. . . . On duty he was always serious, and, as he showed the strictest respect toward his superiors in every regard, he also demanded it from his subordinates, punishing any negligence immediately by a sharp reprimand. . . . Ewald was very intelligent; he comprehended quickly and had a good even excellent memory; but above all, he was a man of sound judgment. Besides his courage and presence of mind, a rare *coup d'oeil* distinguished him as a soldier. . . . Though his military talents were excellent, he himself did not think much of them. He ventured only to think of himself as an experienced officer of light troops, an able detachment commander, and, at the utmost, a general capable of commanding the vanguard of an army. . . . He was moderate in all pleasures of life, and though rough and straightforward, he was a man of the finest manners and always chivalrous in his relations with the *beau sexe.*[12]

Johann (later von) Ewald was born in Cassel, the modern Kassel, on March 30, 1744, the son of Georg Heinrich Ewald, a bookkeeper with the general post office there.[13] His mother was Katharina Elisabeth, née Breithaupt, the daughter of Ernst Breithaupt, a Cassel merchant. After his father's death Ewald was educated by his mother, and after her death by his grandmother, whose love he always remembered gratefully, but who was unable to suppress his inclination for military service.

On July 23, 1758, an aged uncle took the fourteen-year-old boy to the battlefield near Sandershausen, where he was much surprised to hear young Ewald exclaim, "Oh, how happy are they who die for their country in such a way!" After this utterance his uncle, grandmother, and all who had influence upon Ewald's fate gave up the hope that he would ever be willing to take up a profession other than that of soldier.

When he was sixteen, in 1760, Ewald joined the Infantry Regiment Gilsa as a cadet. He left Cassel on June 24 and arrived the next day at his regiment, which was bivouacked near Neustadt. There it had joined the Federal army under Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, who commanded the German troops opposing the French in the Seven Years' War.

After Ewald had taken part in the actions at Corbach, Vollmessen, Warburg, and elsewhere in that year, his regiment was assigned in February 1761 to the Count of Bückeburg, who then besieged Cassel. During a sortie by the French on March 4 the Regiment Gilsa was ordered to succor the trench guards, and Ewald was wounded by a musket ball in the right leg above the knee. He returned to his regiment on June 3, and two weeks later was promoted to the rank of ensign for bravery. Ewald participated in the actions at Unna, Fillingshausen, Kloster Bredlar, and Höxter; and in 1762 in the battle of Wilhelmsthal, the beginning of the second siege of Cassel in October, and the severe action at Brücker Mühle which ended the Seven Years' War. Peace was announced to the allied British-German army on November 20, 1762.

After the war the Regiment Gilsa was reduced by fourteen officers, but Ewald was retained and transferred with his regiment to the fortress of Ziegenhain. He went on furlough to Cassel, where he had the good fortune to meet Lieutenant Colonel Baron Frederick von Jungkenn, the adjutant general to Landgrave Frederick II. On May 30, 1765, Ewald was transferred to the 3d Battalion of the Guards at Cassel, and in 1766 he was promoted to second lieutenant. In 1769, however, he was transferred to the Leib Regiment at Cassel due to the Landgrave's order that only officers of the nobility should serve with the Guards.

On the night of February 20, 1770, a great misfortune struck the hotheaded young lieutenant, which almost put an end to his life. This incident is best told in Ewald's own words:

> Merry and glad, I went with a few good friends to one of the best inns in Cassel, called the "Hof von England." We greatly enjoyed supper—but alas!—the excellent wine made us fly into a passion; we started arguing, and I immediately fought a duel with one of my friends outside the inn in the darkness. I was severely wounded—I lost my left eye. No sooner was I hit, than we all came to our senses. I

> swam in blood, while my friends shed tears. They called for a physician and a surgeon and carried me to my quarters.
>
> For eleven days my life was in danger, and I had to undergo three extremely painful operations. Only after thirteen months had passed could I leave my room. The cure cost a tremendous sum, but I must say that he who was so unfortunate as to injure me supported me to the utmost. Not for a single moment was I angry with him, but I never saw him again. We were both at fault; and who knows whether my soul would have been saved if I had been killed, and due to my own fault left the position assigned to me?
>
> At the beginning of June, 1771, I had recovered. To better the appearance of my disfigured face, I wore a glass eye which one could hardly notice, but it bothered me often enough. However, I ate my heart out in sorrow, for according to rumors the Landgrave had decided to send me to the fortress of Spangenberg for three months' convalescence. I worried very much about this thought, and at a review I reported for duty to His Grace. The Landgrave remarked simply, "When a horse has run out of the stable, one closes the door"—and that was my whole punishment! Who was happier than I? I gladly forgot about the loss of my eye.[14]

Ewald studied at the Collegium Carolinum at Cassel under the well-known Professor Jakob von Mauvillon, who taught military science and economic theory. With the latter's advice and encouragement, Ewald published in 1774 his first military treatise, *Gedanken eines hessischen Officiers über das, was man bey Führung eines Detaschements im Felde zu thun hat* [Thoughts of a Hessian officer about what he has to do when leading a detachment in the field]. This book was dedicated to Landgrave Frederick II, who sent Ewald a letter of appreciation.

On March 6, 1774, Ewald was promoted to captain in the Liebjäger Corps, which, his son relates, "amazed the nobles." Ewald's company consisted of skilled foresters stationed at the romantic town of Waldau, situated half a mile from Cassel. Here he dedicated himself to the service of light troops and tried out in the field what he had devised at his desk. Thus he could practice in maneuvers what he would later demonstrate as a master in war. Ewald's pecuniary circumstances were very limited: "I had to go to bed hungry many a night, and I did not have fuel through several winter months. During this time, however, I used to work most effectively, and I rejected many an invitation for dinner lest anyone should take me for a sponger."

Despite his distress, Ewald was respected as a man and a soldier, living only for his service and the improvement of his knowledge, until two years later when he went to America, where he had opportunities enough to make use of his knowledge and talents, as his diary relates.

No description of Ewald's life would be complete without some mention of his distinguished career after the American Revolution.

On the day Ewald returned to Cassel, the Jäger Corps was reduced and reassigned, and he was assigned to the Regiment von Dittfurth, stationed at Rheinfels. He continued the writing of military treatises on light infantry tactics, and in the spring of 1785 he published his *Abhandlung über den kleinen Krieg* [Essay on partisan warfare], which was honored with the approbation of Frederick the Great.

In October 1785 Landgrave Frederick II died and was succeeded by his son William IX, who had ruled Hesse-Hanau. The new Landgrave relieved Ewald from his regiment on December 20 and ordered him to reorganize the Hanau jägers.

Despite his outstanding wartime and excellent peacetime services, Ewald had not received a promotion since 1774, although his sovereign had recognized his services for ten years. During these years he bore his lot patiently, but in late 1787 he was passed over for promotion in favor of two officers who had no understanding of the use of light troops, possibly because he was not of noble birth. This last slight was too much for him, and he requested the Landgrave and Prince Charles of Hesse to recommend him to the King of Prussia. The Landgrave attempted to dissuade Ewald from giving up hopes of promotion in his native country; but finding him firm in his resolve, Prince Charles drew his attention to service in Denmark, where his brother-in-law, later King Frederick VI of Denmark, was the crown prince.

In the meantime Ewald married Susanne Ungewitter of Cassel on February 3, 1788, and patiently awaited muster time, when he was again passed over for promotion. As word spread that Denmark would enter the war between Sweden and Russia, Ewald offered his services to Crown Prince Frederick, who accepted him at once. After Ewald had received his discharge from the Hessian army, he set out for Denmark on August 23, regretfully leaving his native country, whose colors he had honorably worn for twenty-eight years.

Ewald's hopes of winning new laurels in the north vanished when peace brought an end to the hostilities between Denmark and Sweden. Soon after his arrival at Schleswig, Ewald organized the Schleswig Jäger Corps, which he levied and commanded with the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1790 he was elevated to the Danish nobility and appointed chief of the Schleswig-Holstein Battalion of Light Infantry stationed at Kiel, while his Jäger Corps was transferred to Eckernförde. With the increasing benevolence and favor shown Ewald by Crown Prince Frederick and by Prince Charles, a Danish field-marshal, the prejudice displayed toward him as a foreigner at the beginning of his service gradually disappeared.

Ewald was promoted to colonel in 1795 and to major general in 1802. For over ten years he lived and worked to perfect the training of his troops, and constantly tried to improve the military knowledge of his officers. He founded a corps library and established a school for noncommissioned officers, a complete innovation. Noncommissioned officers were taught to write, calculate, compose written reports, and use maps, while privates were properly trained and instructed in their duties. During this time Ewald wrote and published four military treatises, which are described below in his list of publications.

Incidents demonstrating Ewald's sound judgment and tact occurred during civil disturbances in 1794 and 1801. On October 5, 1794, Field-Marshal Charles, who became the Hessian Landgrave, sent Ewald with a detachment to suppress riots among the peasants of Kaltenkirch community, caused by the incorrect measures of a subordinate government official. It was left to Ewald's discretion to reestablish order as quickly and mildly as possible. He marched into Bramstead, where he found two angry crowds. Without hesitation he ordered his troops to remain at a distance while he rode alone into the midst of the mob. He admonished the people in a friendly but determined manner, reasoned with them over their complaints, and dispersed the mob peacefully, without force or bloodshed. When the Danes occupied Hamburg and Lübeck in 1801 Ewald was appointed military commander of Hamburg. He was so well liked that a citizens' committee secretly asked him to become the German governor of Hamburg, but Ewald declined; his loyalty belonged to his adopted country.

In 1803 French aggression against Hanover caused the Danish government to concentrate a part of its army in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to maintain neutrality. At the end of July, General von Ewald was sent to the southeastern boundary of Holstein with about four thousand men. Most of this force remained there for two years, but in October 1805 political events caused Denmark to concentrate an army corps of twenty thousand men in the duchies, under command of the crown prince. Ewald was entrusted with the vanguard and remained at Segeburg until early November 1806, when the theater of war unexpectedly extended up to the boundary of Holstein.

After the disastrous battle of Jena on October 14, 1806, the Prussian army under General Gebhard Lebrecht von Blücher was pursued by Napoleon up to the Holstein boundary, where Ewald stood guard against any territorial violation. On November 5 Blücher occupied Lübeck, pursued by Prince Joachim Murat and Marshal Nicholas Soult. Ewald wrote to Blücher requesting him to respect Danish territory, and notified him that he would resist the retreating Prussians as well as the French if they trespassed on Danish territory. The French attacked Blücher on November 6 and Prussian parties tried to cross the Holstein boundary. A French column of three to four thousand men advanced to Fackenburg and demanded free passage under the presumption that a Prussian party had been permitted to cross the boundary.

Realizing that his few advanced troops could not long resist the superior French force, Ewald decided to speak with the French commander personally. He tried to stop the firing by waving a white cloth, and jumped on horseback over a ditch more than six feet wide and twelve feet deep. Accompanied by his aide-de-camp Baron Andreas von Liliencron he met a French chasseur who led him to Prince Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, commander of a strong cavalry column near Lübeck. Prince Murat received Ewald in a very impolite manner, claiming that Blücher had passed the border town of Fackenburg. Ewald tried in vain to persuade him that no Prussian troops had been allowed to cross the boundary. Prince Murat grew very angry and shouted at Ewald, "You deserve to be shot!" ("Vous mériteriez d'être fusillé!"). When Murat asked Ewald about the retreat of the Prussians, Ewald finally lost his patience and declared that he was a Danish general and no French spy. This ended the conversation, and Prince Murat rode off without providing Ewald with an escort to return safely through the dissolute French soldiery. Fortunately he met a French grenadier who offered to accompany him and his horses safely to the Holstein boundary for a good price. At dawn Ewald arrived at Stockelsdorf, which was crowded with French marauders after the Danes had resisted and withdrawn. Ewald had to conceal himself for safety and proceeded on foot by night to escape the marauders.

Although Ewald's conversation with Prince Murat had promised little, it resulted in the French being ordered to leave Danish territory. The probable reason for Murat's bad conduct was discovered later, when it was learned that he had received the news of the death of a favorite aide-de-camp in action against the Danes during his conversation with Ewald, which contributed greatly to his excitement. Later Ewald forgave him for his incivility and menacing remark, but he considered it unpardonable that he had been refused an escort. After a few days the life at the boundary became quiet once more. Napoleon did not approve of Murat's methods, and the French thereafter respected Denmark's neutrality strictly.

In 1807 the British bombarded Copenhagen and captured the city. In early September, Ewald was ordered to transfer the vanguard of the army to the northeast coast of Holstein and to cross over to the islands of

Laaland, Falster, and Møen for further operations. When the British evacuated Zealand, Ewald crossed over and established his headquarters at Letraburg. He remained in command of the entire island except for Copenhagen and Kronborg until relieved by the crown prince. The surrender of the Danish fleet and the British demands following the capture of Copenhagen finally drove Denmark into an alliance with Napoleon.

In the winter of 1808–09 a Danish attack was prepared against Sweden but was prevented by the inadequacy of the ice-bridge across the Sound, which separates the two countries by only two and a half miles at its narrowest point. Ewald had received orders to lead the vanguard, and the troops looked forward to an active campaign which never materialized. In 1809 the crown prince ascended his father's throne as King Frederick VI, and Ewald was rewarded with the Grand Cross of the Dannebrog Order.

When the famous partisan Major Ferdinand von Schill left Berlin with five hundred troops in 1809 and revolted against Napoleon's domination in Prussia, Dutch forces under Lieutenant General Gratien were sent to subdue Schill, who retreated to the fortified city of Stralsund in Swedish Pomerania on the Baltic coast. Ewald's contingent of two thousand men joined three thousand Dutch troops, and the combined forces attacked and overwhelmed Schill on May 31, 1809. Ewald calmly conducted the movements of his troops in the midst of heavy grapeshot fire; Schill was killed by a Danish hussar. Ewald was promoted to lieutenant general by the king as of that very day. Shortly afterward he was appointed a Commander of the Dutch Order of Union and an Officer of the French Legion of Honor.

In late 1809 the king ordered Ewald to drive the British from Cuxhaven, destroy their ships on the Elbe River, and carry out a *coup de main* against Heligoland in conjunction with the Danish and French fleets. However, the British withdrew to their ships in early August and remained at anchor near Cuxhaven. Ewald advanced to Bremerlehe on August 7, but without the additional reinforcements promised from Hamburg and Westphalia he was forced to notify the king that his forces were insufficient to oppose the British and was ordered back to Holstein. In November, Ewald was appointed Commanding General of the Duchy of Holstein with headquarters at Kiel, under the supreme command of his old sponsor, Field-Marshal Charles.

In April 1812 a mobile army division of ten thousand men was levied and divided into two smaller divisions in Schleswig and Holstein. This division was attached to the French XI Corps, Napoleon's reserve force, commanded by Marshal Pierre Augereau. In addition to his Holstein command, Ewald was appointed the commander of the Holstein division, which did not accompany Napoleon to Moscow. During this same year the king awarded Ewald the Order of the Dannebrog Man. Fabled in song and verse in his later years, Ewald was regarded as a national hero in his adopted country.

Early in 1813 the ravages of a chest dropsy which afflicted him worsened, and Ewald retired from active duty on May 1, after fifty-three years of military service. He lingered in heavy pain for almost two months at his country estate near Kiel, surrounded by his children, a son and five daughters. On June 25 at noon Johann von Ewald died in his seventieth year. He was buried on June 29 in St. George's Cemetery at Kiel.

In 1814 Ewald was eulogized thus in the *Neuen Schleswig-Holsteinischen Provinzialberichten*: "He was a man of extensive accomplishments, indefatigable energy, and superior abilities combined with an unshakable integrity and a true devotion to the interests of his new fatherland. . . . That by which this hero—this name may be attributed unhesitatingly to him—distinguished himself on behalf of his character was his excelling in all things in peace by his humanity and probity, bound by a sincere sympathy and considerate philanthropy, as much as he had triumphed irresistibly in war by his courage. . . . In all places where one meets an officer or a private of his jägers, they speak with heartfelt sympathy and true respect of their dead general as of their own departed fathers or their irreplaceable wives. . . . His spirit was pure and noble."[15]

For one hundred and thirty years his remains rested peacefully at Kiel, until the Second World War, when saturation raids by Allied bombers in 1943 and 1944 devastated Kiel and destroyed the cemetery. The old partisan's grave was blown up and his bones were scattered to the winds, but his diary was spared for posterity.

Volume I

First and Second Campaigns, 1776 and 1777

Foreword

It is not a cohesive and complete history of the American War which I have preserved, but merely a diary of the war incidents that involved me or the Corps in which I had the honor to serve as captain. For as I was continually active during the hottest campaigns, I had no time to spare for such a history. The little that I have recorded here cost me much toil and many a drop of sweat. Often, while others rested their weary limbs, I sat uncomfortably upon the ground with a board across my knee, and with half-closed eyes wrote down what I had encountered and any related circumstances worth considering.

I never had, and never shall have, any intention of publishing this incomplete work in order to boast about the little that I have experienced in this world. Had I remained unmarried perhaps I would have torn it up, as more than once I was inclined to do. But since Providence has blessed me with two healthy boys[1] I am encouraged to have the following copied, so that it may be used some day to instruct them, if I should live that long. But should I not enjoy such good fortune, at least they can see from this diary how difficult and troublesome a trade is the service of light troops in the field; and that their father served as an upright man, who did not seek his fortune along a path of roses. Perhaps they will be encouraged to follow his example.

Ewald

Eckernförde, 26 April 1791[2]

Letter from General Dumouriez to Ewald Fastened to the Back of the Foreword (Translated from the French)

My Dear Colonel,

It is with the utmost interest that I have read the reports of your two campaigns of 1776 and 1777. They are very instructive and give as much honor to both your spirit and soul as to your talents. The letter which Lord Cornwallis wrote at the time of his departure is a most honorable document which I have read with the greatest pleasure.

With regard to yourself, the British did more justice to you than did your own sovereign, who instead of assigning you a superior from Hesse to pluck the fruits of your most brilliant campaign of 1776 should have given you a promotion, as he did in the case of Captain Wreden. Moreover, he should merely have reinforced your companies and left you independent.

I wish to thank you for having made available to me this volume, of which I shall retain even the smallest events. I have no doubt that there exists a continuation, which I would ask you kindly also to let me have. You may rest assured that the perusal of this volume has increased my esteem for you, and it has also made me share your troubles. I hope there will be glorious days ahead for you in the war, and I wish you all the good luck which an excellent officer like you—so upright and gifted—deserves. I shall always remain your sincere friend.

Dumouriez[1]

15 October 1798

CHAPTER 1

From the departure from Hesse to the expedition in Chesapeake Bay.

PART ONE

From the departure from Hesse of the Second Division,
Hessian auxiliaries, which were bound for America, until
their arrival at Cuxhaven, where they were embarked.

On the 9th of May, in the year 1776, the Second Division of Hessian troops, under the command of Lieutenant General von Knyphausen,[1] left its quarters in the vicinity of Cassel. It consisted of:

1. A company of foot jägers[2]	125 men
2. One artillery company	160 men
3. Grenadier Battalion Köhler	500 men
4. Landgraf Regiment[3]	625 men
5. Huyn Regiment	625 men
6. Wissenbach Regiment	625 men
7. Bünau Regiment	625 men
8. Stein Regiment	625 men
	In all 3,910 men

This corps marched past Göttingen, Hanover, through Hadeln state and Ritzebüttel, and arrived at Cuxhaven on the 3d of June, after a march of twenty-one days. The English Colonel Faucitt[4] mustered the regiments when they arrived. As soon as they had passed inspection, they were embarked in the estuary of the Elbe River, where the transport ships were anchored under the supervision of Captain Hill of the English navy. For my part, I boarded a Dutch ship named the *Two Brothers,*[5] a three-master of three hundred tons, with the jäger company along with 175 men from the Wissenbach and Stein regiments.

PART TWO

From the departure from Germany up to the arrival at New York in North America.

On the morning of the 9th at half-past four a cannon shot gave the signal to weigh anchor, and within a half an hour the fleet, consisting of eighteen transport ships under command of Captain Hill, was under sail.

After a voyage of thirteen days, which was not unpleasant despite adverse winds because of the beautiful and clear weather, we arrived in the evening of the 21st in the Spithead Roads at Portsmouth. The fleet dropped anchor there, where we found the Second Division of Brunswickers and the Waldeck Regiment at anchor. The former was destined for Canada; the latter came under the command of General von Knyphausen, augmented by three thousand English recruits.

On the 28th at six o'clock in the evening the fleet weighed anchor and set sail at once for New York. It consisted of sixty-one transport ships and three frigates under command of Commodore Fielding. The wind was steadily from the west and the air was thin, which caused the fleet to run into Plymouth harbor and drop anchor on the 6th of July. Because of constant adverse winds we were obliged to remain there until the morning of the 20th.

Since the fleet waited for a favorable wind, and no one could go far from his ship, our opportunity of seeing England was wasted. We had to confine ourselves to the vicinity of Plymouth, using our time to observe the admirable and costly docks, the harbor fortifications, the citadel, the ordnance and supply depots—where much abundance prevails—and the hospitals for seamen and soldiers; all of which reflected the greatness and wealth of England.

On the 20th at seven o'clock in the morning a cannon shot gave the signal to weigh anchor and the fleet set sail. Because of headwinds we first passed the western estuary of the Channel on the 28th, and continual calms with adverse winds accompanied us on our voyage. For this reason, many of our company began to swear up and down that we had already sailed past America, and no protest of our sailors could convince them otherwise.

Contributing much to this discontent, our fresh provisions and our stock of wine—which had cheered up many a man at times—were used up. Now we had to content ourselves with the rough ship's fare, brandy, and water.

On the 29th of September we caught sight of a vessel in the distance. One of our frigates immediately gave chase, capturing it before our eyes after a short engagement. It was an American privateer of sixteen guns which by its own admission had been roving around us for several days in the hope of seizing one of the ships straying from our fleet.

The crew of the ship was distributed among the fleet, and for my share I received the captain and the doctor. Both were trembling when they came aboard, and we eyed each other with the same attention and curiosity one gives a strange animal. However, they were quite good fellows through whom, fortunately for the commodore, our malcontents learned that with favorable winds we might reach New York in five or six days. Now everyone was in fine spirits, and a few more glasses of brandy were downed for lack of wine.

On the morning of October 17 one of our sailors, who had climbed to the pinnacle of the main mast, sighted the coast of America and cried, "Land! Land!" Only a person who has rediscovered land after a strange sea voyage can imagine the joy we felt on sighting the coast. For twelve weeks we had seen nothing but water, and had lived over twenty-one weeks in a sort of imprisonment on board these floating palaces. Moreover, it was high time to be released from our environment, since scurvy was raging among our men so violently that in the past eight days ten men had died and almost twenty more looked forward to death, which in their misery they regarded as fortunate.

Toward noon we discovered land with our own eyes and our joy was redoubled. On the 18th we could clearly see the mountains of Navesink. About midday we entered the estuary of the Hudson River, and anchored toward ten o'clock in the evening on the south side of the city of New York.

On the morning of the 19th we rode into town to refresh our bodies and souls. The fresh meat and tasty vegetables, which our stomachs could not digest, upset and weakened us for some time, because we had been accustomed to salted food and meager fare for so many weeks.

After finishing our meal we looked around the city, which consisted of certainly three thousand houses. A great many were beautiful buildings which now appeared desolate, since all the houses were deserted by their inhabitants and plundered by General Howe's army. More than a thousand houses which had formed the most attractive part of the city lay in ashes.[6]

PART THREE

From the disembarkation from the transport ships up to the landing at New Rochelle.

On the 21st the Knyphausen Corps received orders to be ready for disembarkation, and early on the morning of the 22d the flatboats appeared and took in the troops. As soon as the boats, each containing fifty men, had assembled on the western side of the city, the journey toward land was started up the East River. It was very pleasant. On the right we observed the well-cultivated shore of Long Island, and on the left the shore of York Island. Everything was new to us and we liked it all.

Night overtook us and we continued our journey for several more hours in utter darkness. Since no one knew when or where we would land, we were plagued with boredom and curiosity. But at last we set foot on the coast of the Province of New York in the vicinity of New Rochelle.[7]

The regiments marched in column, one behind the other. My place was with the jäger company in front of the Landgraf Regiment, which constituted the lead column. In the darkness all we could see was that the area was wooded. Dogs were barking nearby, hence we could assume that people must reside in the area.

The Commanding General ordered the regiments to encamp and light fires in the same order of march, which was carried out promptly. No sooner had several fires blazed than we heard cries of chickens, geese, and pigs which our resourceful soldiers had discovered. Within the hour, several roasts hung from long sticks before each fire. The whole camp was as busy as an anthill. From this one can see how easily a good soldier knows his way about.

PART FOUR

From the departure from the vicinity of New Rochelle up to the capture of Fort Washington.

On the morning of the 23d I received orders to march at once to headquarters, escorted by the English Adjutant General Payne.[8] I was delighted with the message, for there was nothing I dreaded more in this world than a rest camp, and I wished for nothing more than to get to know the enemy. My wish was actually fulfilled within four or five hours.

After a march of two hours I arrived at the headquarters of Sir William Howe, which were situated on a plantation along the road between New Rochelle and East Chester. General Howe and the English Quartermaster General, Sir William Erskine,[9] reviewed my company and expressed their satisfaction with its attractive appearance. At that moment Colonel Donop[10] arrived, who two months earlier had marched with the First Division under General Heister,[11] commanding the jägers and grenadiers. The First Division of Hessian auxiliaries consisted of eight thousand and several hundred men.[12]

After Colonel Donop had inspected my company, he ordered me to set out on the road and follow it until I met the 1st Jäger Company under

Captain Wreden,[13] which had followed the First Division. I was to await further orders there. The colonel informed me that General Howe would reconnoiter the enemy position at Mile Square[14] today, and I would be used for this task.

As soon as the two companies met they commenced the march, followed by the English light infantry.[15] The colonel ordered that as soon as the 1st Jäger Company drew up on the right side of the road I should proceed on the left side and try to keep abreast.

The colonel asked me whether it would not be better to intermix the two companies during the march, since the 1st Company had some knowledge of warfare in this country and knew the enemy. I requested, however, that this should not be done, because I wished to get acquainted with my men. The colonel seemed to be disgruntled over this and exclaimed, "Your wish, your privilege!" and rode off. I informed each officer and corporal what they were to do during the march and exhorted the jägers to demonstrate their good conduct, since they would get their first test today.

The signal was given to begin the march. The companies were divided into four platoons. I retained the first; the second, under Lieutenant Trautvetter, fell out at once in a skirmishing formation to cover our front and the left flank. The third platoon, under Lieutenant Rau, and the fourth, under Lieutenant Grothausen, deployed to the left at intervals of eighty to one hundred paces and then dispersed.[16]

I followed as soon as I saw that Lieutenant Trautvetter, marching ahead with the first platoon, had gained a lead of about a hundred and fifty paces. The area was heavily intersected by woods, hills, and fields enclosed by walls; hence it was impossible to see far around, and I lost sight of most of my company.

We had marched only a few minutes when several shots rang out on our left. As I tried to gain a hill from which I could look around, our left wing suddenly came under fierce fire. With the half of the platoon I had taken with me I rushed toward the sound of the firing, where I found a handful of my jägers engaged with several battalions of Americans. I could not retreat, especially as I assumed that I was supported, and I could not advance with my few men, since I caught sight of a camp nearby which must have belonged to the enemy army.

I maneuvered as well as I could to cover both my flanks, which had formed into a circle lying an acre's length apart under heavy fire. I discovered a house on a hill to the right toward which several jägers were crawling. Through their fire I gained some air[17] on the right flank, but on my left I was completely hemmed in.

Suddenly Colonel Donop appeared with a few dragoons and shouted at me to retreat. I replied that I could not do so, because if I abandoned this position the greater part of my company would be captured. He retorted: "You want to conquer America in one day! You write rules and then violate them."[18] Thereupon he rode off. Shortly afterward he returned with a battalion of English light infantry with two guns, whose bayonets and grapeshot provided the precious air by which I was saved. I got off with a loss of six dead and eleven wounded, including Lieutenant Rau, who was shot in the foot, and two taken prisoner.

The entire misfortune had resulted from the fact that what the 1st Company took for an advance was, in my opinion, more of a retreat. Thus I continued to move forward while the rest withdrew.[19]

After I had assembled my men, all the general officers appeared on the battlefield. General Heister, who seemed to be unfriendly, gave me a sharp reprimand. But General Howe, who apparently noticed that the Hessian general must have said something unpleasant to me, expressed his satisfaction to me through one of his adjutants. This was repeated in the order of the army the following day, which said: "It is to be regretted that so many brave jägers have been sacrificed through a misunderstanding."

The army was encamped as follows: the right wing and the center were situated along the heights of East Chester; the left, under General Heister, faced a brook. The 28th Regiment stood at Frog's Neck[20] and the Rogers' Corps at Mamaroneck.[21] General Knyphausen's corps was encamped at New Rochelle, where a large depot was situated.

On the 24th General Washington's army abandoned its camp at Kings Bridge, the principal pass on York Island, which is surrounded by a range of rocky mountains. Fort Washington and its outer works were garrisoned under Brigadier Magaw,[22] and the army was stationed on the heights of White Plains.

On the 25th the English army departed in two columns, marched toward Philipse Manor, and encamped at Ward's plantation, where the headquarters were situated. The front of the army was covered by the Bronx River. From this day on it was decided that the Donop Jäger Company,[23] under Captain Wreden, should constantly cover the right wing, and I with my company the left wing. Moreover, when the army marched in wing formation, or in two columns, a jäger company was to serve as advanced guard, supported by a battalion of light infantry. On this march, I had the advanced guard of the column on the left under the Hessian General Heister.

At the camp I received my post at a plantation on the main road from East Chester on the left wing of the army. Here I was left alone for the first time with my own theory of partisan warfare, which I had acquired through much reading. I took my post in a large apple orchard surrounded by a wall of fieldstones, behind which, since it lay on a hill, I thought I could defend myself well against an enemy attack. I placed two pickets[24] on two knolls from which we could see far around, and dispatched constant patrols as far as Mile Square.

On the morning of the 26th a loyalist came to me and revealed that there was an enemy provisions depot at a plantation along the road to White Plains which was guarded by only several hundred men, and which could be approached without discovery. He would guide me to it if I would give him a reward. I gave the man a small recompense, reported it to headquarters, and requested permission to carry out this stroke, although I had only some eighty jägers. But toward noon Quartermaster General Erskine arrived at my post with a hundred dragoons from the 17th Regiment and the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry. He ordered me to march with sixty jägers and form the advanced guard, which was to be reinforced by one officer and twenty dragoons.

We had marched scarcely an hour[25] when we encountered an enemy patrol of riflemen which gave fire and ran back. Several dragoons gave chase, but could not overtake any of them.

Toward six o'clock in the evening we discovered the plantation, which lay on a hill. The jägers deployed, supported by the light infantry, with the dragoons following. The enemy guard drew up behind the stone walls which surrounded the plantation and received us with a lively fire. I quickly separated the jägers into four to five parts to surround the enemy and advanced under steady fire from wall to wall. The light infantry likewise divided into three to four parts and attacked the guard with the bayonet. Nearly everyone was struck down and only a few officers and men were taken prisoner. The loss on our side was not over thirty men.

As soon as the guard was disposed of, we marched forward a half an hour along the road leading to the enemy camp in order to cover the depot. As much as possible was carried away on wagons, and what could not be transported was destroyed. Several enemy patrols which ran into our outpost withdrew quickly after a few shots. After midnight we withdrew, the light infantry covering the rear, and at daybreak of the 27th we arrived back at the army. I had the honor to receive a compliment from the Commanding General.

The same morning the army set out in the following order to attack the enemy at White Plains. The first column on the right, under General Clinton, consisted of the Donop Jäger Company, half of the 16th Regiment of Dragoons, the 1st and 2d Battalions of English Light Infantry under Colonel Abercromby,[26] the three Hessian grenadier battalions, Linsing, Minnigerode, and Block, commanded by Colonel Donop, four light 6-pounders, and the English Guards. The Campbell provincials covered the right flank. The second column on the left, under General Heister, consisted of my jäger company, half of the 17th Regiment of

Dragoons, the 3d Battalion of Light Infantry under Major Maitland,[27] six 12-pounders, the 1st and 2d English brigades, eight 6-pounders, and the Lossberg and Mirbach brigades. The Grant provincials covered the left flank, and the remainder of the dragoons followed the left column. The light baggage, which was covered by the 71st Scottish Regiment, followed both columns.

The army had marched scarcely two hours when the left column encountered an advanced corps of the enemy, which I had to engage, supported by the light infantry. The area was intersected by hills, woods, and marshes, and every field was enclosed with a stone wall. This enemy corps had taken a stand behind the stone walls on the steep hills between two plantations. Several guns were set up on the main road at some distance, which were covered by cavalry. General Heister immediately mounted a battery on the main road and cannonaded the enemy, who withdrew to his own lines behind a creek with high banks[28] and deployed upon the steep hills.[29]

During this action General Clinton occupied a small hill that lay on the left flank of the enemy, where he remained inactive while the enemy was being cannonaded. But why he did not move forward and resolutely attack the enemy is a riddle to me, for he had no more difficulties to overcome than the left column had.[30] General Heister's column started up from the road to the left and deployed, a movement which went very slowly.

After the 1st and 2d English brigades had taken a hill in front of the enemy's left wing, the remaining troops followed. The right wing of the enemy was situated upon particularly steep heights, overgrown with woods, and the center was covered by a light wood that extended from the foot of the hill where the creek ran by up to the steep hill. Hence General Erskine took the Hessian regiments, Leib, Knyphausen, and Rall, and placed them in the slight depression where the hills and thick woods converged on our side of the creek, in order to prevent the enemy from advancing into this terrain. The 2d English Brigade and the remaining Hessians continued their advance up to the opposite height, but were obliged to form one regiment behind the other because of the crowded terrain.

The regiments and a part of the heavy artillery moved into position to drive the enemy out of the thick woods. Then the Leib, Knyphausen, and Rall regiments crossed the creek and began climbing up the foremost hill[31] in spite of fierce enemy fire, but were compelled thereby to draw to the left. The 2d English Brigade and the Alt Lossberg Regiment crossed the creek to the left of the foregoing regiments and climbed up the hill occupied by the enemy, whereby they were exposed to very severe small-arms and grapeshot fire. They drove the enemy from hill to hill through the woods, without giving him time to establish a position again. The Hessian Land Grenadier Regiment under Colonel Rall[32] contributed greatly to the successful ending of the engagement, since he had attacked the enemy with the bayonet without firing first and took him in the flank.

While this assault by the left column was taking place, Colonel Donop hurried around from the right wing with the Hessian grenadier brigade to support the mounting attack, and tried to keep in alignment as much as possible. The two jäger companies had to work their way, under the heaviest enemy cannon fire, through the ravines and marshes which lay between the two wings. Here we came upon a number of riflemen who were hiding in these ravines, and who withdrew when they caught sight of us after sharp firing.

Toward six o'clock in the evening, the enemy gave way on all sides. But since we could not pursue him further because of the extremely intersected terrain, he was able to take up a new position in the mountains within an hour's distance. Since the soldiers had climbed over nothing but hills, cliffs, and stone walls the whole day, constantly dragging their guns over all obstacles, it was impossible to ask anything more from them. I think that the losses were nearly equal on both sides. When I rode over the battlefield the next day, I counted about one thousand dead.[33] General Howe's army made its camp upon the battlefield. The Knyphausen Corps had departed from New Rochelle on that same day, and after a short engagement took possession of the passes at Kings Bridge on New York Island and invested Fort Washington.

General Washington entrenched his camp on both wings and enclosed the center with an abatis,[34] which General Howe sought to prevent by the fire of the jägers and light infantry. The camp was frequently alarmed, which caused constant hard skirmishing.

On the morning of November 3 the left wing under General Heister made a demonstration against the enemy's right, during which the right wing under General Clinton prepared for action. Two battalions of English light infantry, which I joined with fifty jägers, tried to seize a wood in front of the enemy's right wing. This resulted in a skirmish and a cannonade from both sides, through which several men were lost. But since the enemy remained quite immovable, the Heister Corps marched back to its old camp toward morning. I had my outpost in a thick wood in front of the left wing of the army, and a meadow of about a thousand paces separated me from the enemy.

On the 5th the Knyphausen Corps was reinforced by the English brigade under General Agnew,[35] and the roads to the rear of the army were repaired.

Before daybreak on the morning of the 6th the army began marching to the rear, but because of the bad roads, the guns and baggage could not get away until about three o'clock in the afternoon. The march back took place in three columns. The right column, under General Clinton, consisted of the English grenadiers, the Guards Brigade, the heavy guns, the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry, and the jäger company, which formed the rear guard. The New York provincials covered the right flank.

The second or center column, under General Leslie,[36] consisted of the 2d Brigade, the 3d Battalion of Light Infantry, the 1st Division of Dragoons, and some guns.

The third column, or the one to the left under General Heister, consisted of the Hessian regiments and the grenadiers, the remaining heavy guns, the 1st English Brigade, the dragoons, the 2d Battalion of Light Infantry, and my jäger company, which formed the rear guard.

General Howe thought he could draw the enemy out of his camp, but not a single man followed close at hand. On the 7th the army encamped on the heights of Dobbs Ferry; the left flank rested on the Hudson River. In this position the army provided cover for the siege of Fort Washington.

In the afternoon various enemy parties were observed. The jägers were sent out at once in four parties to annoy the enemy, to roam through the entire area in front of the army, and to follow the enemy as soon as he fell back. We soon discovered the reason why the parties had put in an appearance. The dwellings of the loyalists in the entire vicinity of Tarrytown and White Plains had been set on fire, which produced a deplorable sight. I was so enraged over this incendiarism that I decided to follow the enemy farther than I should have, in order to get my hands on some of these home-burners, whom I was willing to throw into the flames of the burning houses. But I could not attain my end.

On the 8th the jägers and two battalions of light infantry occupied the height of DeLancey's plantation,[37] in order to cover the army's rear and to maintain the connection between the army and the Knyphausen Corps.

On the 10th the Mirbach Brigade reinforced the Knyphausen Corps, and on the 11th, batteries of heavy guns were mounted in front of the right wing of this corps, whence they could fire upon the outlying works of Fort Washington.

Today a frigate and two other armed ships passed up the Hudson River and dropped anchor at Dobbs Ferry to hinder the use of the river by the enemy. The enemy guns of Fort Washington and those of Fort Lee lying opposite tried to prevent the passage of the ships, but they came through undamaged because the batteries lay too high and their rounds were only solid shot.

The enemy army had retired behind the Croton River, and on the 12th the English army marched back to the heights of Van Cortlandt Manor.

PART FIVE

From the capture of Fort Washington up to the crossing of the Hudson River at Philipsburgh.

On the 14th I was cordially asked by Colonel Donop to reconnoiter the *débouchés* to Fort Washington and the enemy works as closely and carefully as possible, without risking capture or loss of life. He disclosed to me in strict confidence that it probably would be his turn to take part in the attack on the fort. He persuaded Captain Pauli[38] of the artillery to go on the survey with me. I took two of my bravest jägers, who were to cover us if we needed to direct our attention on one point. We tried to crawl along the bushy bank of the North [Hudson] River to a steep cliff without being discovered by the enemy. Here we could see a long way off and observed the following.

The fort is situated on a steep hill between the Hudson River and the Harlem Creek, where a single road winds. The terrain has been leveled for the distance of rifle or grapeshot range. The road runs up the hill through a wood which is cut through with rocks and deep ravines, and which has been made completely impassable by many abatis. Several small works lie in the wood on the steepest height in front of the fort, one behind the other, which can fire upon the entire road.[39]

On the 15th it was decided that General Knyphausen was to take the fort by force. The English Lieutenant Colonel and Adjutant General Paterson[40] was sent to the commandant of the fort to summon him to surrender; he replied he would resist as long as possible. Therefore General Knyphausen immediately made the following disposition for the attack, which consisted of two columns.

The right-hand column, making the attack along the Hudson River, marched in the following order: a jäger detachment of twenty men under Captain Lorey,[41] an officer with forty grenadiers, Major von Dechow[42] with one hundred and fifty men, the Grenadier Battalion Köhler, the Hessian regiments Rall and Lossberg, and the regiment of the Prince of Waldeck.

The left-hand column, under General Schmidt,[43] consisted of the jäger detachment of twenty men under Lieutenant Hinrichs,[44] an officer with forty men, and the Wutgenau, Knyphausen, Huyn, and Bünau regiments. During the attack the Stein and Wissenbach regiments occupied the terrain where the pickets of the Knyphausen Corps had been posted.

During the night of the 15th and the early morning hours of the 16th a number of flatboats arrived in the Harlem Creek at Kings Bridge, which were boarded by the following troops: the jägers, the 1st and 2d battalions of Light Infantry, and the English Guards Brigade under General

Mathew,[45] which were directed to land on the right side of the enemy fortifications. The 1st and 2d battalions of English grenadiers, the 33d and 42d regiments, and the 2d English Brigade under Lord Cornwallis were to cross the Harlem Creek in flatboats at the Morris House[46] to support the attack made from this direction. Lord Percy[47] with several English regiments and the Leib and Erb Prinz regiments was to make a feint from the New York side, where the terrain ran *en pente douce*[48] to the enemy fortifications, in order to divert the enemy's attention toward this side which nature had not favored much, and where the fortifications were strongest. Moreover, most of the enemy guns were placed there.

On the 16th, two hours before daylight, the Knyphausen Corps moved into the wood, and the troops under General Mathew proceeded down the Harlem Creek. But because of the shallowness and marshy ground only the two boats with the jägers and some of the light infantry under Colonel Abercromby could work their way through, with much difficulty. Therefore the remaining troops returned and camped partly before the wood and at Kings Bridge, to be available if the attack of the Knyphausen Corps should be unsuccessful.

At dawn General Howe gave the signal for the attack with several cannon shots, whereupon the Knyphausen Corps began the attack under the fire of six hundred riflemen who were lying in the wood in front of the fortifications. All obstacles including the almost inaccessible cliffs and an abatis two hundred paces deep were overcome successfully, and one outwork after another was captured under the heaviest grapeshot and small-arms fire. In the meantime, the jägers and light infantry had landed and scaled the steep wooded height on the right side of the fort under the strongest fire.

As soon as the corps under Lord Cornwallis had perceived Lord Percy's troops, it crossed Harlem Creek at the Morris House to attack the enemy fortifications from the York side, and discovered a fortified post of the enemy in the wood. It attacked the post, routed the enemy, and captured over one hundred and fifty prisoners.

Since the enemy was attacked from all sides and driven back after a four- to five-hour fight, all who were still alive and not captured withdrew into the fort, which resembled a regular pentagon. General Knyphausen, who had to be constantly on foot during the action because of the very rocky terrain, summoned the enemy again after the entire corps had seized the whole plateau upon which the main fort was situated, whereupon the enemy surrendered at discretion.[49]

By the surrender of the fort, four 32-pounders, two 18-pounders, seven 12-pounders, five 9-pounders, fifteen 6-pounders, eight 3-pounders, and two howitzers were captured.[50] In addition to this a great quantity of ammunition and provisions to supply two thousand men for a quarter of a year were found.

The enemy did not lose many men because he fought behind cliffs, abatis, and trees. On our side, the loss is said to have been between seven and eight hundred men, among whom were very many officers.[51]

The abatis and outwork were laid out by a French engineer and merited all respect. The fort itself, which an American engineer had planned, was too small. This was a disaster for the garrison, which had to surrender so quickly because at the end it was crammed full of people who were a burden to each other.

The work upon the height on the left bank of the Hudson River had been much better situated.[52] It had a very high embankment, broad and deep ditches, and was surrounded by an abatis of pointed trees from three to four paces deep.

The rallying cry of the Hessians was "At them! At them!" but General Knyphausen had forbidden firing.[53] After the attack the army rested on its arms and later moved back with the Knyphausen Corps into its former encampment. Fort Washington was renamed Fort Knyphausen.

PART SIX

From the crossing of the Hudson River up to the arrival on the left bank of the Raritan River.

As soon as General Washington had received the news of the capture of the fort, he crossed the Hudson River at King's Ferry with five thousand men and occupied Fort Lee, which lay opposite Fort Knyphausen in the Province of Jersey. He placed himself and his army behind the Raritan River at New Brunswick.[54]

At eleven o'clock on the night of the 19th [of November] the jägers, the English and Hessian grenadiers, and five English brigades marched under command of Lord Cornwallis to Philipsburgh on the Hudson River.[55] At daybreak this army crossed the river in flatboats, the crossing being covered by several frigates on the left. We climbed ashore along a steep bluff and scaled the rocky and bushy height as quickly as possible. At the top we found several plantations in a district called Tenafly, where the jägers and light infantry deployed in a semicircle behind the stone walls and posted sentries by platoon at distances of three hundred paces. Fort Lee lay two hours away from us on the left.[56]

As soon as the grenadiers joined us, the corps advanced a half an hour farther into the country, and both jäger companies were posted on the highway somewhat forward toward New Bridge. I saw a plantation lying at a distance of a thousand to twelve hundred paces, whither I proceeded with several jägers to learn from the inhabitants just where I was. The owner of the house approached and informed me that this highway ran to New Bridge, a small place where there was a bridge over the Second River,[57] which joined another road from Neighborhood[58] that one must take to get to Fort Lee.

During this conversation I discovered a great glitter of bayonets and a cloud of dust in the distance.—Who is that?—That must be the garrison of Fort Lee!—Can't we cut them off from the bridge?[59]—Yes, you have only two English miles from here to there!—I ran back to Captain Wreden and told him of my discovery. He believed that these people were the second column of our army. I wanted to know the truth and took several jägers with me to draw near this column in the flank, crawling from stone wall to stone wall, and discovered that it was American.[60] I began to skirmish with them and sent back a jäger to fetch more men, but instead of the jägers, I received an order from Lord Cornwallis to return at once. I had to obey, and informed him what I had discovered.—"Let them go, my dear Ewald, and stay here. We do not want to lose any men. One jäger is worth more than ten rebels."[61]

Toward four o'clock in the afternoon the entire army assembled. The remainder of the troops with the guns had taken a steep road to the right, which we covered and upon which they could make fairly good progress with the guns. The entire army then set out to the left toward the fort; the 1st Jäger Company formed the van and I covered the right flank. Since I could now discern the column of the enemy army, I moved further to the right in hopes of catching some baggage. A coach and four with several men actually fell into my hands, but I hardly wanted to pursue my game further, and I received new orders to keep closer to the column. Now I perceived what was afoot. We wanted to spare the King's subjects and hoped to terminate the war amicably, in which assumption I was strengthened the next day by several English officers.

At dusk we arrived at Fort Lee, in and around which the army camped in great disorder. At Neighborhood there was a huge magazine of forage, flour, and biscuit. A number of cannon and a part of the ammunition were captured in the fort, where some fifty men who had straggled fell into our hands.[62]

During the night all the plantations in the vicinity were plundered, and whatever the soldiers found in the houses was declared booty.[63]

Toward morning on the 21st the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry under Colonel Abercromby and the Donop Jäger Company under Captain Wreden occupied New Bridge, where there is a bridge over the Hackensack River for which there is no detour. The Americans had occupied the houses on both sides of the bridge and defended themselves very well, but in spite of this the post was forced and the greater part were killed, wounded, or captured.

After we had mastered this position, Lord Cornwallis's army moved into cantonment quarters on the plantations along the road from Bergen Point to Tappan, where I with the jäger company had to cover the right flank, seven English miles from Tappan. New Bridge was about five English miles from my post.

On the 22d I was notified by headquarters that a corps of riflemen and horsemen had arrived at Tappan, and that I should be on my guard, since I now had no communication with the army and my post hung in the air.[64] Thus my entire safety depended upon reports of the enemy and constant patrolling which crossed around my outposts.[65]

The area was heavily wooded and hilly, and the owner of the plantation where I stayed was a captain with the enemy. Consequently, I had nothing to hope from these people but that they would get the enemy on my neck. To be sure, I could plunder these prosperous inhabitants according to our rules, but to convince these people that there were humane persons in our army, and to invite their good will and gratitude, I gave them every protection, and they forfeited nothing by my visit but several dozen chickens and one young ox.

About noon I conducted a patrol toward Tappan to collect information on the enemy. I took twenty-four jägers and left orders behind with the senior officer of the company to proceed toward me with as many men as soon as he heard footsteps, so that my withdrawal was secure.

After a march of a good half hour I ran into an enemy outpost in a wood, which I attacked at once with twelve jägers to discover what lay hidden behind it. The enemy party withdrew and I followed it for a good quarter hour, whereupon the thought struck me that it must have been a patrol. I had one jäger wounded, and we found blood on the road that the enemy had taken, from which we could easily surmise that the enemy also had some wounded. Since all the plantations I passed were abandoned by their occupants and were plundered and destroyed, and I was not fortunate enough to take a prisoner, which had been my intention, nothing much was accomplished.

On the 23d, several hours before daylight, I conducted the same patrol, but with the difference that I tried to sneak through the wood. I remained until broad daylight in the area where I had hidden the day before. Not a soul appeared and I went back.

Toward two o'clock in the afternoon, the army marched past New Bridge and Hackensack and camped on the hills around the village.[66] Since the latter place was full of loyalists, we received news here that Washington would be awaiting us on the right bank of the Raritan River.

At daybreak on the 25th the army marched in one column to the

Second River.[67] The jägers joined up here. About ten o'clock we could make out the hills on the right bank of the river, on which an enemy corps was stationed with guns in position. There had been a wooden bridge in this vicinity which the enemy had burned down. The jägers advanced immediately to the left bank of the river and skirmished with the enemy.

In the meantime Lord Cornwallis had cannon brought up, whereupon the enemy withdrew after several dozen rounds. The jägers immediately crossed the river with the aid of a ford several hundred paces to the left of the bridge in order to occupy a hill opposite on which a plantation was situated, where we exchanged shots with the rear guard.

Both companies deployed in a semicircle, with the river as the diameter, to cover the crossing of the army, which followed at once. We had several dead and wounded. Toward evening the army encamped in the district of Acquackanonck.[68] Both jäger companies were assigned posts on the right flank in a wood through which the road ran to Newark. The area was very woody and hilly. The posts were so distant that our entire security depended upon vigilance and patrolling around us.

Early on the morning of the 26th we were informed by a Negro, who had been caught by our patrol, that an enemy corps stood in the vicinity of Newark, and also that there was a plantation situated an hour away which was not deserted by its occupants and had a stock of wine and beer. Since the jägers had had nothing to drink but water for a long time, Captain Wreden and I decided to conduct a party to the plantation. We took along two able corporals and twelve jägers, and the Negro led us along a footpath through the wood. We surprised the inhabitants so thoroughly that none could escape, and after a few threats, the lady of the house admitted that several detachments of the enemy had been there during the previous night and had inquired about the English army. Therefore we hurried to finish our business as quickly as possible, loaded several barrels of beer and wine on two wagons, and carried them off under escort of two jägers.

Since we still wanted to look around further in this area, we made our way to the highway that we wanted to take on our way back. It was raining very hard. We had hardly turned onto the highway when we discovered a great many similar footprints which crisscrossed, from which we concluded that complete patrols must have gone forward and backward on the road. Thereupon we immediately ordered a corporal and five jägers to proceed along each side of the road.

The entire area almost to our outpost was a forest, through which the road ran. As Captain Wreden and I rode along the highway, we ordered the jägers to attack the enemy with shouts as soon as they discovered him, for we sensed nothing good. Meanwhile, we hoped that when we met the enemy on his way back, where he did not expect us, we could catch him off guard and get out of the affair with honor.

Just as we decided upon this plan, we ran into two riflemen at a bend in the road who, because of the hard rain and wind behind us, had their faces so hidden under their round hats that they were not aware of us until Wreden and I put our sabers to their necks. They were surprised and looked at us with astonishment.—"Throw away your weapons or you will be cut down!"—"Where are the rest of your men?"—"They are right behind us!"—"How strong is your party?"—"A colonel and two hundred men!"—At that instant, firing and shouting were heard from our jägers. Wreden and I hurried to our men in the wood, and the Americans dispersed after firing a volley, since they believed they must be cut off and that we could successfully pass through the middle of them.

As soon as we believed the rear to be clear, we shouted "Forward!" and pursued the apparently alarmed enemy several hundred paces, whereupon we took a prisoner who had tried to hide behind a bush. Through him we learned that a corps of three thousand men under General Lee stood at Newark, and that they had patrolled this road during the previous night with two hundred men almost to our outpost, in order to learn if the English army was approaching them.

This foray for refreshment could have been costly for us if the enemy had retained his composure. Meanwhile, this stroke taught us novices in the art of partisan warfare what resoluteness can do.

Since we could presume after this incident that the enemy would certainly appear again in this vicinity, we decided in the afternoon to set an ambuscade in the area where we had met the enemy, using thirty volunteer jägers whose hearts were now strengthened with wine and beer. We laid in wait here until around evening, but the enemy did not appear.

I then took eight jägers, kept the captain on my left, and sneaked along the road through the wood to the right where the forest seemed less dense, hoping to observe the enemy camp a little closer. At the end of the wood I found a hill, from which I detected an enemy post in the distance. During my observation I had ordered the jägers to stand behind trees around me and to keep watch on all sides. Suddenly the corporal shouted, "Captain, here they are!" I looked around and saw a body of the enemy who seemed to be watching us, two hundred paces away in the wood on the left. I cried out, "Advance! Advance!" The jägers fired; the enemy also fired and withdrew.

Since I could not know what this meant, or whether these people were sent out to decoy me, I withdrew toward Captain Wreden, who met me halfway; he was quite concerned about me, since he knew that I had only eight jägers with me. But I now knew where the enemy was situated and my efforts were rewarded.

On the 28th the army marched in one column to Newark, where it encamped on this side. The enemy corps withdrew at our approach. During the march I covered the right flank, and both jäger companies protected the right flank of the camp.

On this march we looked upon a deplorable sight. The region is well cultivated, with very attractive plantations, but all their occupants had fled and all the houses had been or were being plundered and destroyed.

At daybreak on the 29th the army marched off, passed Newark and Elizabethtown, and cantoned in and around the latter place. The jäger company under Captain Wreden covered the highway to Rahway, and I received my post at the country manor of Governor Livingston[69] on the road to Springfield. I received orders to patrol steadily past Springfield. Someone gave me a hint that this man was one of the first and most fiery rebels. But I was not inclined to turn robber, and everything was left undisturbed save for a few provisions.

Early on the morning of the 30th the army marched in one column to the vicinity of Rahway and Woodbridge, where it went into cantonment. I received orders to march to Connecticut Farms[70] with the jäger company and an officer and thirty horse of the 16th Regiment of Dragoons. I was to take post there until the 2d Battalion of English Light Infantry under Major Maitland from Mountain Meeting House[71] had passed the defile in this area. But as soon as the battalion had arrived there, I should try to take my post between Mountain Meeting House and Rahway to maintain communications between the battalion and the army, and to follow the army with the battalion the next day.

N.B. The army was marching to the left, and Major Maitland and I covered the right flank and rear of the army against the Lee Corps, which followed us on the right flank during the entire march.[72]

To perform this little feat for the first time was no small task. I received neither further instructions nor guide, except that I was told this road would lead there, and I would no doubt find someone on the way. I had nothing but my theory from which I could obtain advice, and knew the heavily intersected country only by a miserable map. My officers were young and inexperienced in this kind of warfare. Bag and baggage, the detachment consisted of ninety-three men. Honor was not to be gained with them, for what I did no one would see. But should I suffer a reverse, I would lose my honor and the good opinion which they had of me. Hence there was no other cure but "Physician, heal thyself!"

I began my march in a dispersed order, since the country was greatly cut through with defiles. I was determined to resolutely attack any of the enemy I encountered, and to sell my life dearly should I be defeated, for I had no safe retreat as the army was marching to the left and I to the right.

Fortunately I came upon a man at the first plantation whom I forced to serve as my guide, but who immediately gave me the pleasant news that Colonel Morgan[73] was roving about in the area with a strong corps of riflemen.

The outpost which I was ordered to occupy was about five hours from Elizabethtown. Toward one o'clock in the afternoon the guide pointed out a church[74] which lay beyond the defile at a distance of a good half hour, and from which the defile could be defended. I immediately took eight jägers and the detachment of dragoons to reconnoiter the pass close at hand and to see if it was occupied. The pass consisted of a brook that wound through a ravine, across which was a stone bridge. A sunken road ran from there to the hill upon which the church and a number of houses were situated.

In the vicinity of the bridge I discovered several persons who fired as I drew near them; a few also fired from the top of the defile. I threatened the man with death unless he told me whether or not the water could be crossed above or below the bridge, and he admitted it would be possible on both sides. At this time the jägers approached and I quickly sent off the dragoons to the right, led by the guide, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy. I ordered Lieutenant Grothausen to try to get through on the left with twenty men and attack the enemy from the rear. As soon as I thought that both detachments had a sufficient start, I made my attack on the bridge and defile with the remaining jägers. The enemy, who saw the dragoons move to the right and expected to be cut off, abandoned his position after a little resistance, and I became master thereof with a loss of one dead and two wounded.[75]

The dragoons pursued the fleeing enemy, cut several to pieces, and took one prisoner, from whom I learned that this detachment consisted of one hundred men belonging to the Morgan Corps, but he did not know where his corps was posted. The captured rifleman resolutely declared that he was my prisoner but not my spy. I admired this worthy man.

I was glad that I had accomplished my purpose, for this little affair almost gave me the confidence which a partisan needs for his ticklish trade. I occupied the churchyard, which was surrounded by a brick wall, stationed small pickets of foot jägers on the road, and with the dragoons I followed for a little way the road which the enemy had taken.

There were individual houses along the road from which the inhabitants had not fled. I ordered quarters in these houses for two battalions of grenadiers, who were to move in at once, after which I took the road back to my outpost. I could learn nothing further about the enemy.

Toward evening Major Maitland arrived, whereupon I immediately set out again. The major gave me a good guide, who led me to a plantation which was situated at a crossroad halfway between the outpost and Rahway. It was a dark night and I could see nothing but the crossroad. I remained under arms without a fire, posted sentries around me, and had the road patrolled as far as the vicinity of Rahway by an officer with twenty jägers and six dragoons, who brought back no news.

On the morning of December 1 I set out on my march as soon as Major Maitland had joined me. Toward noon I passed Rahway, which place was named after the river that traverses it and forms a defile, and which had been occupied during the previous night by a detachment of the Donop Corps. I learned here that the army had marched toward the Raritan and I followed.

During the afternoon I heard heavy gunfire in the distance, whereupon I encouraged the men to march faster so that we would not arrive too late. Toward evening I joined the army, which had deployed upon the heights of the Raritan, where they had erected batteries which cannonaded the enemy situated on the opposite side. The enemy returned the fire with his own guns.

There was a bridge across the river at the landing[76] which the enemy had broken off, and where some twenty houses were situated on both sides.[77] The houses on the opposite side had been occupied by enemy riflemen and those on this side by jägers under Captain Wreden, whom I joined as soon as I had rendered my report to Colonel Donop. The firing continued on both sides until late in the night, during which we lost several brave men. Especially, I regretted the loss of a very good friend on this day. He was Captain Weitershausen[78] of the Hessian grenadiers, who wanted to watch the action and lost his life by a rifle shot that shattered his spine, of which wound he died the next day.

On this occasion the jägers captured two sloops below the bridge, loaded with stocks of clothing and wine. There was a large quantity of shoes and long trousers on board, which came at just the right time, because our men could no longer proceed in their own boots.

During the dark night the Americans left the right bank of the Raritan River. Captain Wreden immediately crossed the damaged bridge with his jägers and took post on the height at Barker's [?] plantation, and the bridge was quickly repaired.

At the same time I was ordered to follow the road upstream for an hour and a half, and to take my post at the plantation opposite the house of Pastor Beach[79] to cover the ford there. I was to patrol diligently toward Bound Brook, since Lee's army had moved this way in the mountains of Morristown toward the right flank of the army.[80]

The entire army went into cantonment on the plantations along the Raritan River opposite New Brunswick, and I was assured that the campaign should have ended here.[81] But since so many loyalists arrived at headquarters from the country who assured the Commanding General that Washington and his army were in a wretched condition, and that if the campaign were continued the enemy army would disperse and break up, it was decided to follow the enemy farther. This information, that Washington was not stronger than eight thousand men and that large numbers deserted his colors daily, was confirmed during the march, especially in the vicinity of Hackensack, where we found many loyalists.[82]

Several distinguished persons arrived from Pennsylvania, who implored the general to press General Washington as closely as possible so that we might overtake him in the vicinity of the Delaware, by which his retreat would be cut off. There we could surely destroy or capture his disheartened army. Indeed one of them, Mr. Galloway,[83] was so enraged over the delay of the English that he said out loud, "I see, they don't want to finish the war!", which every honest man must think.

For seriously, why did we let the corps of five to six thousand men withdraw so quietly from Fort Lee?

Secondly, why did we tarry so many days until the enemy had peacefully crossed the Second River?

Thirdly, why did we march so slowly that the enemy could cross the Raritan safely?

And fourthly, why did we not pursue the enemy at once, instead of lingering here for five days?

One had to conclude, therefore, that we had hopes of ending the war amicably, without shedding the blood of the King's subjects in a needless way.[84]

PART SEVEN

From the crossing of the Raritan up to the arrival on the left bank of the Delaware.

On the afternoon of the 6th [of December] toward four o'clock the army began marching in two columns. The column on the right, consisting of the jägers, Hessian grenadiers, the 42d Regiment of Scottish Highlanders, and two troops of the 16th Regiment of Dragoons, which Lord Cornwallis personally accompanied, marched up the Raritan to Van Veghten Bridge,[85] where it bivouacked on the road during the night.[86] The column on the left, which consisted of the English infantry under General Leslie, crossed over the Raritan bridge at the landing and remained on the heights beyond New Brunswick, likewise in bivouac during the night.

Toward nine o'clock in the evening I was ordered to report to Lord Cornwallis, where I was given the mission of going with two reliable jägers to Van Veghten's plantation,[87] which was situated an hour and a half away from the bridge. I was to pick up the master of the house, as well as a mounted guide who knew the Morristown area, and bring them back. Lord Cornwallis advised me not to risk many men, since patrols of the Lee Corps roamed constantly as far as this plantation, whereas a few men could easily get through without noise. If I should be captured, steps would be taken at once for my exchange, and I was selected for this task because he relied on me fully.

I was given the following information about the route and the area. The road led straight to a bridge, in the vicinity of which another road descended on the right from the mountains[88] that the Lee patrols had taken. Beyond the bridge was the plantation, which had a courtyard surrounded by a wall.

I then took two jägers upon whose bravery I could depend, as well as my groom, who was well armed, and carried out the prescribed order. The night was very dark and I arrived safely at the bridge, where I found a sunken road to the right which led to the mountains. I ordered one jäger to follow this road for a short distance and the other to remain at the bridge.

I crossed the bridge and rode up along the wall of the courtyard seeking the entrance. I found it and ordered my groom to stand there and let no one out. Then I rode into the courtyard, where I found many people with horses harnessed to wagons. I asked the first person I met: "Where is the master of the house? Take me to the house and tell him to come out at once, because there is an adjutant of General Lee here who must speak to him." The owner appeared and I put my saber to his throat, saying: "Sir, I am a Hessian! You must immediately bring me a good mounted guide who knows the country to the right. Then you will come with me up to the bridge where Lord Cornwallis stands with the army, who wants to talk to you! Your whole courtyard is occupied by jägers. If you don't do what I want at once, I shall set fire to everything, but if you do, all your property shall be protected."

The man was thunderstruck, begged forbearance for his life, and asked permission to go back in the house for a moment to fetch his hat. I permitted him this and he came back quickly and ordered a Negro to harness a horse to a wagon and follow him. We no longer talked, for I was extremely uneasy about the whole business. I reached the bridge, called away the jägers, and continued on my way back for a good quarter hour without speaking a word. At last the good man asked me: "Where is the general? Where is your army?"—"There, where you see the fire!"—"You dared to come up here with only three men?"—I began laughing loudly, for I was in safety once more. Toward midnight I arrived safely at the army and Lord Cornwallis was glad to see me again.

On the morning of the 7th, an hour before daylight, Quartermaster

General Erskine went with the jägers, a detachment of Scots, and one hundred horse toward the mountains of Morristown to collect information on the corps of General Lee.[89]

During this march I was sent with twenty jägers and as many dragoons to the vicinity of Blacker's [?] copper mine to seize a very disaffected man. I tried to approach the dwelling of this rebel by aid of a guide without being discovered, but I did not find the man at home. His family was on the point of following him with bag and baggage, consisting of seven loaded wagons and a coach. I rummaged through the entire house, while the mistress of the house followed at my heels with three children, and with tears in her eyes continually begged me not to take everything away from her. I assured her that I wanted nothing but her husband, which, however, she did not seem to believe. She gazed in astonishment when I marched off again, leaving her wagons and coach standing, and contenting myself with forty-five bottles of Madeira wine which I divided among my men, and for once drank myself. On my way back I met with the detachment under General Erskine, and we followed the army, which we met again at Rocky Hill.

Toward evening the two columns united at Princetown, in and around which place the army went into cantonment. Both jäger companies were assigned posts in a wood a half an hour from the town on the road to Trenton, where we were repeatedly alarmed during the night by enemy parties and remained under arms the whole night.

On the 8th the army marched in one column to Trenton, where it arrived in the afternoon. The village lies on a height less than half an hour from the left bank of the Delaware River. The jägers were detached immediately to Falls Ferry[90] to seize the rear guard of the enemy at the crossing, but the last boats were already leaving the shore when we were still about three hundred paces away. The enemy, who discovered us from the right bank, rendered us the honor of firing eighteen heavy guns at us until we were all dispersed; without great damage, however, for we lost only one jäger in spite of the devastating fire.[91]

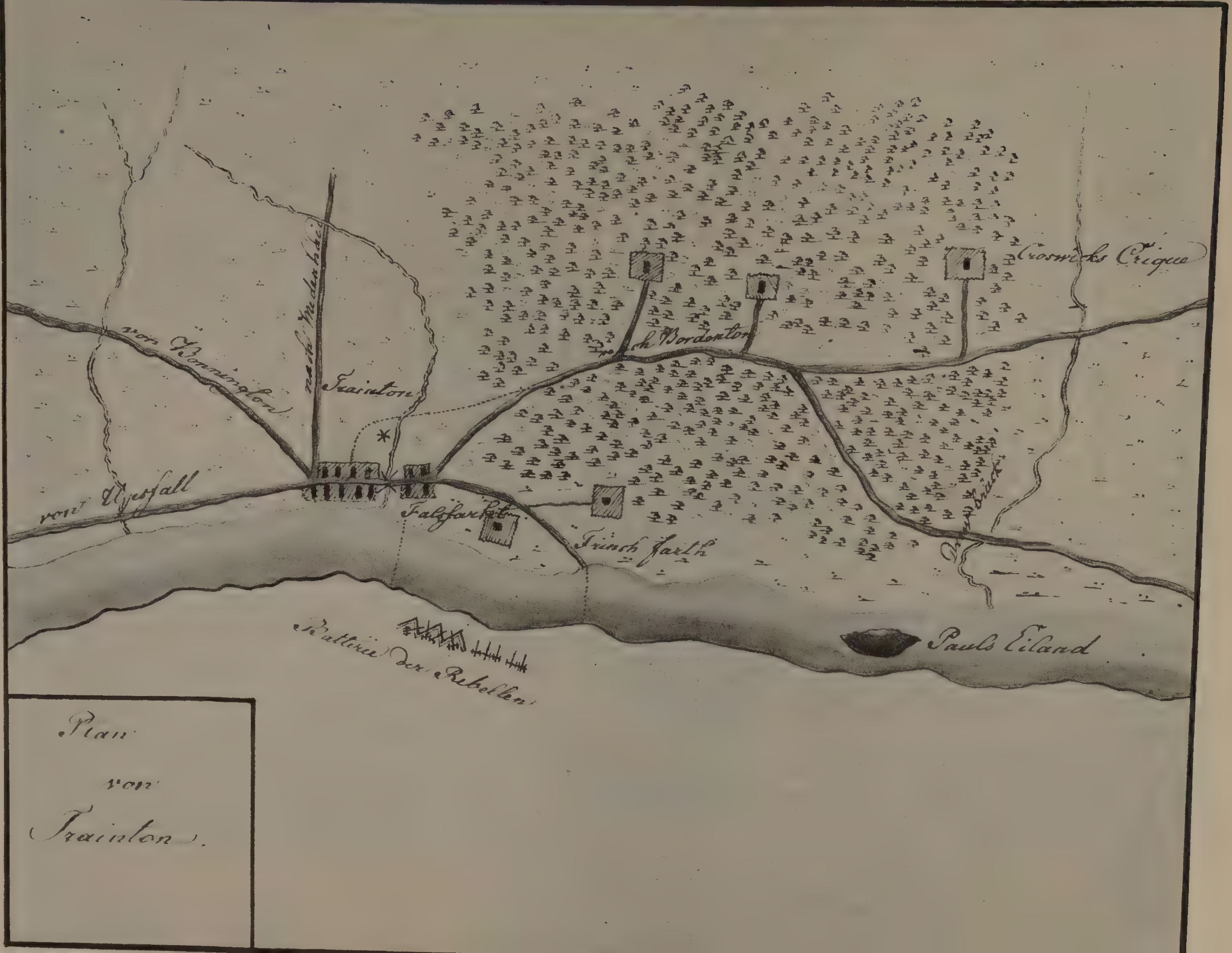
The jägers were assigned posts in a small wood near Falls Ferry to protect this crossing over the Delaware. The army was quartered in the following cantonments: in and around Pennington, to the right of Trenton, were the headquarters and the English infantry; in Trenton, Colonel Donop and the Hessian Grenadier Brigade; at Trent Ferry, the 1st Battalion of English Light Infantry; and at the drawbridge,[92] the 2d Battalion.

The troops were to rest in these positions. But as soon as the Delaware, which freezes almost every winter in this area, was covered over with ice, the army was to cross the river and capture Philadelphia, where it was expected to end the war, since Washington's army consisted of only three thousand men, of which the majority were dispirited.[93]

But should the winter be mild, as might be expected, since no snow had

PLAN OF TRENTON

This plan shows the village of Trenton before the battle. Like the plans of the Bordentown, Burlington, and Mount Holly areas that follow, it may have been drawn during the period between the occupation of Trenton and the abandonment of Mount Holly, December 8 through 26, 1776. Assunpink Creek, crossed by a bridge, runs through the village. The roads to Upper Falls, Pennington, Maidenhead, and Bordentown branch out in various directions. The asterisk may represent the wheel of a mill. Below on the left bank of the Delaware River is Falls Ferry, and to the right Trent Ferry, the dotted lines indicating their crossings. The small dark squares in larger shaded squares represent houses surrounded by gardens or fields. Between the two ferry landings on the left bank is Trent House, with the Eagle Tavern across the road to its right. Still further to the right the drawbridge over Crosswicks Creek is indicated. The batteries of American guns are shown drawn up on the opposite bank of the Delaware.


von Upsfall
von Bonnington
nach Medenhde
Trainton
nach Bordenton
Croswicks Crique
Falsfarth
Trinch Farth
Pauls Eiland
Batterie der Rebellen
Plan von Trainton.

fallen so far, then a fleet was to sail into the Delaware and destroy the enemy fleet lying off Philadelphia, and the army would cross the river in this vicinity with the aid of pontoons.

On this two-day march, which could have been done in twelve hours by an army that carried so little artillery, it became clearly evident that the march took place so slowly for no other reason than to permit Washington to cross the Delaware safely and peacefully. I was assured that Lord Cornwallis had orders from General Howe to proceed in such a way.—The two Howe brothers belong to the Opposition Party.—Therefore no more need be said. They will not and dare not act otherwise.[94]

PART EIGHT

After the arrival of the English army at the Delaware up to the surprise attack on Trenton.

During the night of the 9th Colonel Donop received information to be on his guard. A corps of Americans had passed the defile at Crosswicks, behind the left flank of the army, in order to attack and cut off the light infantry at Trent Ferry and the jägers at Falls Ferry. I took a patrol along the Delaware and Captain Lorey patrolled beyond Crosswicks with twelve mounted jägers and an officer with thirty dragoons. However, all this was a false alarm.

On the morning of the 10th Colonel Donop took the jägers and three hundred grenadiers with two fieldpieces and both amusettes to reconnoiter Burlington. This place lies five hours below Trenton on the Delaware, where there is a ferry crossing to Philadelphia.[95] It was intended to extend the left flank of the army as far as that place in order to control more territory.[96] Halfway, in the vicinity of Bustleton, we ran into an enemy detachment of about one hundred men, which was attacked and partly killed or captured, through which we learned that the town of Burlington was protected by six row galleys[97] which had the command of this detachment.

In the afternoon our detachment arrived on this side of the town. The adjutant of the colonel was sent at once to the commodore[98] of the galleys asking him if he would leave the vicinity of the Delaware, failing which the town would be set on fire.[99] The commodore requested two hours' time to consider, during which interval Colonel Donop and the majority of the officers had a midday meal with the town councilor.[100] Everyone enjoyed it, looked at the clock, and noticed that the two hours had almost elapsed. Just as we were impatiently awaiting the reply, a jäger came running with the news that the galleys were approaching the town.

Everyone sprang from the table, but instead of the reply, there was a rain of bullets from the topmasts which accompanied us on our way out of the town. Since we had no heavy guns with us to drive off the galleys, we left the town and marched back.

On the morning of the 11th the detachment arrived at Bordentown, which place lies on the Delaware between Burlington and Trenton, where there is another ferry crossing. The jägers took post here with orders to patrol diligently toward Burlington, and the colonel returned to Trenton with the grenadiers. The village was deserted by its inhabitants, save for a few, and was therefore plundered clean.

Colonel Rall, who had followed the army with the three Hessian regiments, Alt Lossberg, Knyphausen, and Land Grenadier, marched into Trenton on the 14th to occupy it. Since the army lay much too crowded, the quarters were extended and changed on that day in the following manner.

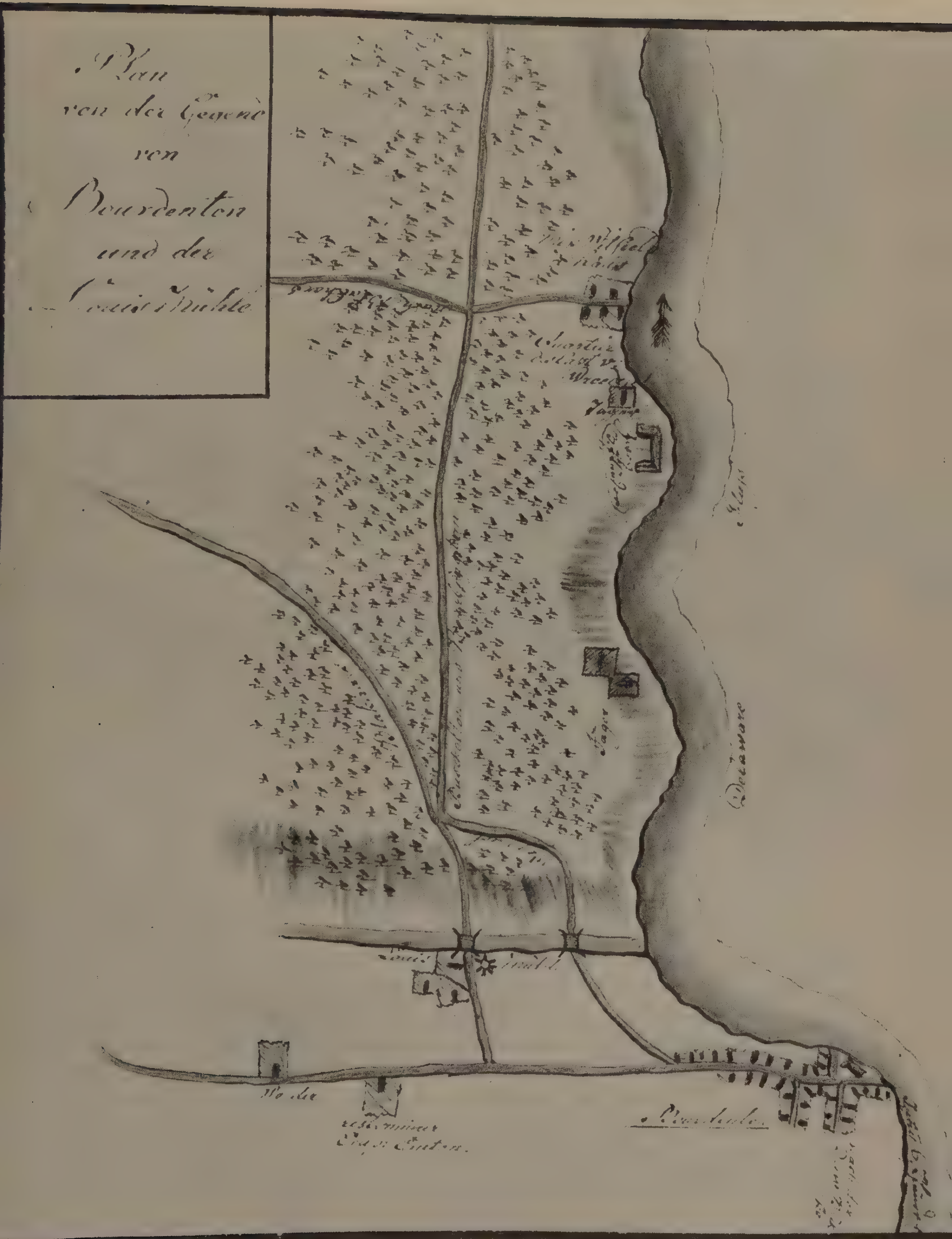
Pennington was abandoned, and Trenton covered the right flank of the quarters where the Hessian Colonel Rall was billeted with his brigade. Two companies of the Knyphausen Regiment covered the Falls and Trent crossings on the Delaware, and a detachment of a major and one hundred and fifty men took their post at the drawbridge to keep open communications between Bordentown and Trenton. Colonel Donop took up his quarters in Bordentown together with the Grenadier Battalion Minnigerode. The Battalion von Linsing was billeted on the plantation along the road from Bordentown to Crosswicks. Colonel Stirling[101] occupied Black Horse[102] with the 42d Scottish Regiment and the Hessian Grenadier Battalion Block, which covered the left flank of the army. I was stationed at the Lewis Mill[103] with the jäger company to protect communications between Black Horse and Bordentown. Captain Wreden was posted along the route from Black Horse to Field's[104] crossing on the Delaware. Lieutenant Grothausen, with a detachment of fifty jägers, took post at Dickinson's house[105] on the Delaware to the left of Trenton with instructions to patrol constantly to Pennington.

Lord Cornwallis took up his quarters at Brunswick with his brigade, the Grant Brigade, and the English grenadiers. General Leslie and his brigade received quarters at Princetown, the light infantry occupied Maidenhead[106] and Kingston, and the regiment of dragoons was distributed in and around Princetown.

On the 13th I went on a patrol beyond Slabtown[107] toward Mount Holly with one hundred men, partly Scots and jägers, where I ran into an enemy party which had driven together several hundred head of cattle. I attacked them, captured several men, and took some forty head of oxen from the enemy. I learned that General Mifflin[108] had crossed the Delaware with one thousand men and had taken his position at Mount Holly,

PLAN OF THE AREA OF BORDENTOWN AND THE LEWIS MILL

The mill of Lieutenant Colonel William Lewis is shown on Black's Creek in the lower part of the plan. Bordentown appears in the lower right-hand corner, with references to the direction of the drawbridge and the location of two 6-pounders along the bank of the Delaware River. The roads above lead to Black Horse (now Columbus), Bustleton, and Burlington. Ewald's plan shows Captain von Wreden quartered at the Field Tavern ("Miss Witfield house"), with two 3-pounders mounted in a work below to cover the river.



Plan
von der Gegend
von
Bourdenton
und der
Creiss Mühle

Delaware
Jäger
Jäger

in order to attack the left flank of the army if Washington should cross the Delaware. I reported this at once to Colonel Donop, who for a moment was tempted to drive Mr. Mifflin away.

On the 19th Colonel Donop ordered me to accompany him to Black Horse to inspect the cordon of the left wing. The colonel took along Captain Lorey with twelve mounted jägers, an officer and thirty Scots, and Colonel Stirling to reconnoiter the area of Mount Holly. We arrived at the village unhindered, where we obtained information that Colonel Griffin with two thousand men was stationed at Eayrestown, seven miles from Mount Holly. At eight o'clock in the evening we arrived back in Bordentown.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 20th, Colonel Donop ordered me to proceed at once to Burlington with a detachment of thirty jägers and fifty grenadiers to learn the true situation of the enemy row galleys. He said he had requested heavy artillery from the Commanding General, which he expected any day under escort of the fourth Hessian grenadier battalion.[109] As soon as it arrived he would march to Burlington to drive off the row galleys there and occupy the town, whereupon he promised to give me the post at Mount Holly with all the advantages accruing therefrom. I thanked him for his kindness, but I could not resist saying that I feared the cordon was extended too far, and that I firmly believed, despite all the talk of the wretched condition of Washington's army, that Washington would still undertake something, especially when he was in a position to lose everything otherwise.

I marched at once to Burlington. The air was filled with such a heavy snowstorm and the wind blew against me so strongly that I could not see a hundred paces ahead. Toward eight o'clock in the morning I arrived on the height of Hancock's Bridge, where I halted and sent out a patrol which reconnoitered the area on the other side of the bridge, where there was a deep defile. The patrol returned but had learned nothing about the enemy.

I left here a noncommissioned officer with two jägers and eight grenadiers to cover my rear. Two English miles further on I found a second defile, near which a road from Slabtown led to the highway. I learned here that ten miles away, beyond Mount Holly, Colonel Griffin stood with fifteen hundred men, whom I had passed to the left and in my rear.

I posted a noncommissioned officer with twelve grenadiers here. With the rest of the detachment I approached the Yorkshire Bridge,[110] which was situated only one English mile from Burlington, where the road from Mount Holly joined the highway. There were a few houses on both sides of the bridge, where I learned from one of the inhabitants that the row galleys still retained their station. Another one assured me that they were lying off Bristol, and someone even told me that they had sailed to Philadelphia.

Now, since I desired to submit a correct report, I had the officer and the remaining men occupy two houses here to cover my rear. But in case this officer was attacked by a superior force of the enemy, he was to try to escape along the Delaware and report the incident to the colonel. I then took two jägers and two grenadiers, whom I instructed to follow me but watch carefully to see if I encountered anything unpleasant. In case firing should come from the houses or in the streets of the town and they saw I had fallen into enemy hands, they should return the fire, withdraw, and report it to the officer at the Yorkshire Bridge, who would retreat quickly.

I rode into town and ordered my groom to follow me. I inquired after the galleys at the first house, where I obtained information that they were anchored near the town. At the next house I was assured the opposite. Finally I became annoyed over the different reports, galloped through the town to the bank of the Delaware, and found six galleys and two schooners anchored in the middle of the river. I rode back without meeting the slightest unpleasantness, although people gathered from all sides in town and looked at me and my four men as though we were strange animals.

I rode up to the front of the house of the mayor,[111] who lived in the center of the town, and ordered him to provide quarters at once for two thousand men and to procure provisions, as they would march in within an hour. I left the town, marched back, and arrived in the afternoon on the other side of Assiscunk Creek, where I rested my men. I had scarcely arrived there when a wagon appeared with the town councilor, who had followed me and who asked to speak to the Commanding General. I laughed in his face and dragged the gentleman along with me for company to Bordentown, where I arrived around midnight and rendered my report to Colonel Donop, who was not pleased that the galleys had been reinforced by two schooners.

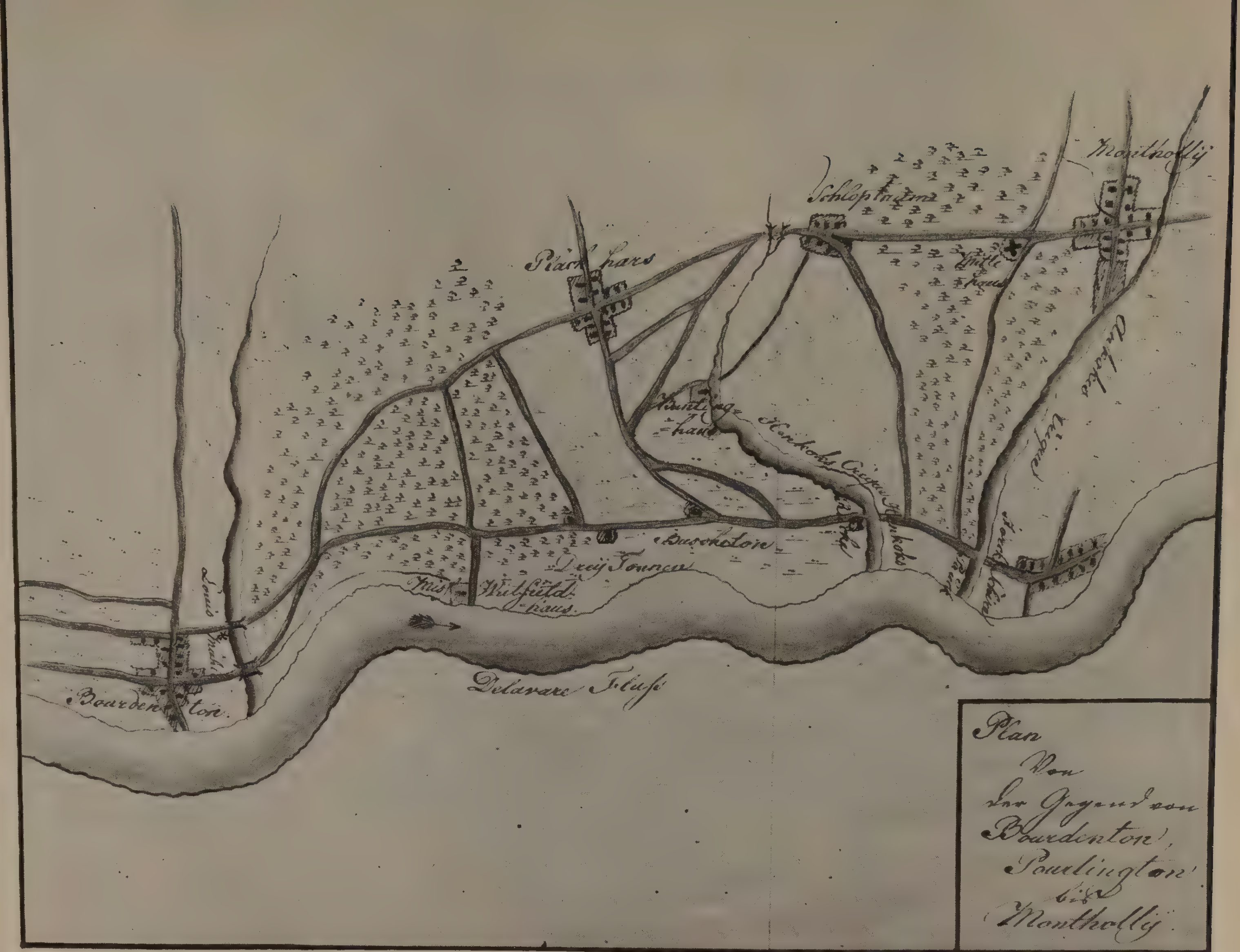
The reason for my successful patrol was probably the extremely stormy weather, because the enemy parties which constantly crossed this road had avoided doing so. But if Colonel Griffin had gotten the slightest wind of it, I certainly would have been cut off.

In the afternoon of the 21st I was ordered to take my post at Bustleton, which was halfway between Bordentown and Burlington.

In the afternoon of the 22d I was reinforced with an officer and fifty grenadiers and took post at the Bunting house. This post was situated further on from Black Horse and Bustleton and consisted of a plantation lying upon a hill where the roads coming from Mount Holly and Bur-

PLAN OF THE AREA OF BORDENTOWN, BURLINGTON TO MOUNT HOLLY

On the left the plan shows Bordentown and the Lewis Mill on Black's Creek. The lower road from Bordentown leads to the "Miss Wietfield house" (now Fieldsboro) and to the Three Tuns Tavern and Bustleton. The road crosses Hancock's Creek, named for a local landowner, and continues to the Yorkshire Bridge over Assiscunk Creek (not Ankokes Creek, an old spelling of Rancocas Creek, as Ewald has it). Rancocas Creek flows into the Delaware River southwest of Burlington. The upper road from Bordentown leads to Black Horse (Columbus) and Slabtown (Jacksonville), continuing past the Friends Meeting House to Mount Holly at the upper right. Near the center is the Bunting house, where Ewald had his outpost on December 22, 1776.

Plan
von
der Gegend von
Bourdenton,
Poulington
bis
Montholly
Montholly
Schlopfartem
Mühle haus
Ankokos Crique
Plaisir haus
Hunting haus
Henkoks Creque
Henkoks
Kirche
Brück
Yorkshire
Burchtown
Dreij Tonnen
Mühl
Wilsfield haus
Louis Mahl
Bourdenton
Delaware Fluss

lington intersected. Toward the enemy I had woodland, through which these roads ran, and behind me was an extensive meadow.

I had scarcely arrived at this post when the enemy appeared in the wood. I took the jägers to reconnoiter him and to learn with whom I had to deal. I skirmished with the enemy, who, since I attacked him quickly, withdrew toward Burlington with a loss of several dead and wounded. I pursued him for a short distance, and after I was certain of his retreat I returned to my post. One of my jägers was killed and another severely wounded.

No sooner had this skirmish ended than I heard heavy small-arms fire mixed with cannon fire in the vicinity of Black Horse or Slabtown. This firing caused me no little embarrassment because it was in my rear. I decided to investigate the firing and to fall upon the enemy's rear during his own attack. I hurried as fast as I could; however, the enemy had already been driven back by the grenadiers with heavy losses.[112] Colonel Donop ordered me not to return to the Bunting house, but to choose a post in front of Black Horse.[113]

During the night I received orders to draw back with the jägers behind the pickets of the grenadiers to give the men a few hours' rest, because the colonel intended to seek out and defeat the enemy the next day.

On the morning of the 23d at five o'clock Colonel Donop set out toward Mount Holly with the 42d Regiment of Scots, the two grenadier battalions, Linsing and Block, the twelve mounted jägers under Captain Lorey, and my jäger company. I formed the advanced guard, supported by Captain Lorey and a company of Scots.[114]

In the wood behind Slabtown we ran into an enemy party which took a new position at a Quaker church lying on a hill at the end of the wood, behind which the entire enemy corps was deployed.[115] The colonel immediately ordered the Linsing Battalion to attack the hill on which the church stood. The Block Battalion was ordered to the left, and the jägers, with four companies of Scots under Colonel Stirling, moved to the right through the wood to cut off the enemy from Mount Holly or to gain mastery of the bridge across the Rancocas Creek, which intersects this town.

The enemy, discovering this movement, withdrew in the greatest disorder through Mount Holly and across the bridge after the grenadiers had taken possession of the church. Since the jägers and Scots pressed close behind them, a part sought to throw themselves into the houses near the bridge, but they were soon dislodged by the fieldpieces. However, the greater part of the enemy gained the wood lying beyond the town, through which the highway ran to Philadelphia, and by which the enemy saved himself. The jägers and Scots pursued the enemy for several miles through the wood, but he made no further stand. Almost two hundred men were captured, two cannon seized, and somewhat over one hundred men may well have been killed on both sides.[116]

The entire corps under Colonel Donop took up quarters in the town,[117] and I received mine at the exit to Philadelphia.[118] Because of its position, this town is a very excellent trading place and inhabited by many wealthy people. Since the majority had fled and the dwellings had been abandoned, almost the whole town was plundered; and because large stocks of wine were found there, the entire garrison was drunk by evening. Luckily for me, my quarters were in the section most poorly stocked, by which chance the jägers remained fairly sober. Meanwhile, the grenadiers were bringing in so much wine that the majority of the jägers became merry toward midnight, and I had great trouble to keep them together.

Early on the morning of the 24th I was sent out with twenty jägers and fifty Scots to reconnoiter the road to Moorestown as far as the Long Bridge,[119] to learn if it was occupied by the enemy or destroyed. The road there consisted of a succession of defiles through a thick wood. Toward ten o'clock I arrived unhindered at the bridge and found that it was ruined. Presently a few shots came from the other side where the Americans were hidden in several houses, through which a Scotsman was killed. I deployed the jägers along the creek to answer the enemy with brisk rifle fire and to reconnoiter the area more closely, after which I withdrew and rendered my report.

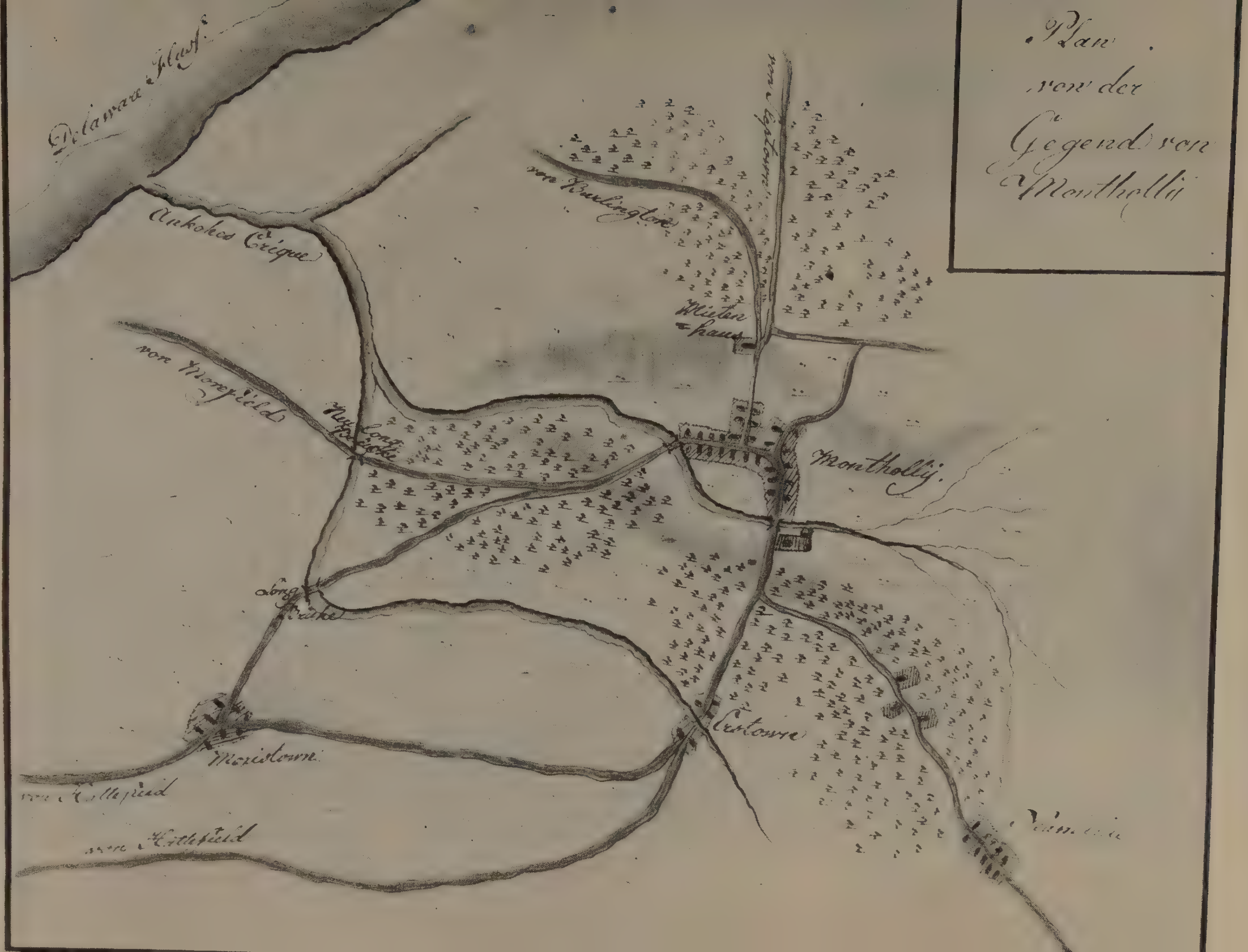
I had hardly arrived at my post when I was ordered to patrol as far as Burlington with ten jägers and fifty Hessian grenadiers, in order to reconnoiter the station of the enemy vessels which constantly covered the place. I returned at midnight. The snow had risen so high since yesterday that we could hardly get through.[120]

Today a trumpeter arrived in Mount Holly from General Washington, who presented a proposal to Colonel Donop concerning the exchange of some of his officers who had been captured at Mount Holly. The next two days would show that this was a ruse to find out whether the colonel was still in Mount Holly or was already marching back to Bordentown, which every reasonable man desired, since Trenton as well as Mount Holly were without any further support.

About two o'clock on the morning of the 25th, I was informed that Colonel Reynolds[121] had just arrived at New Mills[122] with two captains who were lodged with him at his house,[123] where both captains awaited their wives. I reported this at once to Colonel Donop, who permitted me to take a party of Scots for this stroke. Thereupon I took eight jägers and twenty Scots and arrived at the spot shortly before daylight. I approached the house quietly, surrounded it with the jägers as it stood apart from all the other houses, and kept the Scots together a short distance from the

PLAN OF THE AREA OF MOUNT HOLLY

Just north of Mount Holly at the junction of the Slabtown (Jacksonville) road, the road to Burlington, and Woodpecker Lane is the old Friends Meeting House, which was situated at the base of the mount where the so-called Battle of Mount Holly occurred on December 23, 1776. Ewald reconnoitered the area across the North Branch of Ankokes (Rancocas) Creek to the Long Bridge (now Hainesport), which is on the South West Branch of the same creek. In the lower right of the plan is New Mills (now Pemberton), where Ewald captured Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Reynolds and two captains early on Christmas morning.



Plan von der Gegend von Montholli

Delaware Fluß
Ankokes Crique
von Burlington
von Leptown
Mieten haus
Montholly
von Morefield
Neu Long Brücke
Long Brücke
Moristown
Crotowne

house to defend myself, since the enemy was posted only one hour away from the village.

Accompanied by two Scots, I approached the front door, which I found unlocked, entered the house, and heard several people talking loudly in a room on the right-hand side. I knocked on the door and someone called, "Come in!" I opened the door, stepped into the room, and bid a good morning to the party, which consisted of three officers and four ladies who were drinking tea. I was offered a chair and a cup of tea, which I accepted. They looked at me and did not know what to make of me, for my uniform was covered over with snow which had been falling all night.

At the moment when I took the cup of tea, one of the ladies wanted to go out of the room, but she was somewhat rudely pushed back into the room by one of the Scots and returned with an "Oh! Lord!", whereupon the entire company was surprised. At this instant I put an end to the affair, identified myself to the gentlemen, and announced the agreeable news that they were my prisoners. The officers drew their swords, and the ladies fell at my knees and begged me to leave them their husbands. The two Scots entered the room, and I advised the men to give me their swords or they would be cut down. They followed my advice, and I permitted them to take a tender farewell of their wives. I left the house with my prisoners, followed by good and bad wishes from the beautiful mouths of the ladies. I made my march back in all haste and arrived at midday in Mount Holly.[124]

Early on the morning of the 26th Captain Lorey and I roamed over different roads in the country to collect horses and slaughter cattle; for the colonel, who was extremely devoted to the fair sex, had found in his quarters the exceedingly beautiful young widow of a doctor.[125] He wanted to set up his rest quarters in Mount Holly, which, to the misfortune of Colonel Rall, he was permitted to do. However, our control over this area came to an end today.

Both parties were occupied with driving off several hundred oxen, cows, pigs, and sheep, amidst the fervent wailings of the inhabitants, who followed us constantly, when a messenger appeared who delivered us orders to come back immediately and leave all the animals behind.

In the afternoon both parties returned. The colonel notified us that General Washington had suddenly attacked the three regiments under Colonel Rall at Trenton, and he was awaiting our report at any minute.[126] At the same moment, the second messenger of doom arrived, confirming the report and adding that all had been taken prisoner.[127] Since it was to be assumed now that Washington would occupy the Crosswicks pass in the rear of the Donop Corps, which had always been neglected, and cut it off from Princetown, the colonel set out with his entire corps for Crosswicks with the firm resolve to cut his way through at all costs.

For my part, since we surely expected that the enemy corps under Colonel Griffin would soon be on our necks, I had to hold both passes of Mount Holly with one hundred and fifty men, partly jägers and partly Scots and grenadiers, until I was either completely wiped out or ordered to retreat, so that the colonel would be safe on his flank.[128]

Now, since the town was stretched out and I could not trust the inhabitants, I stationed myself at the farthest end, where a number of houses were situated on a hill.[129] I quickly filled these houses full of brush and straw, and since the wind blew toward the town, I notified the people that at the moment an outbreak occurred or the enemy attacked me, I would set fire to the houses and the entire town. At this time night fell and a terrible storm of wind and rain suddenly came up.[130]

I posted myself behind these houses in a garden, which was surrounded on four sides by a hedgerow. Since I had to cross a plain for an hour in the direction of Black Horse, I was inclined to withdraw in square formation. I had the town patrolled constantly as far as the exits and the citizens kept quiet.

After midnight a spy brought me orders from Colonel Donop to withdraw at once to Black Horse, which was accomplished safely. There I found a new order to escort the baggage to Crosswicks, and to protect it against any mishap. But the colonel, who had tried to gain the Crosswicks pass with his troops in order to save them, had been willing to abandon the baggage, and had imagined the Americans would attempt to capture it from Trenton. However, Washington had withdrawn across the Delaware after carrying out the surprise coup. Fortunately for Colonel Donop, the second column, which was intended to cut off this corps from Crosswicks, could not cross the Delaware at Burlington because of the heavy ice floes.[131]

I found the baggage in movement on the other side of Black Horse. It consisted of several hundred wagons, carriages, and carioles—all loaded with plundered goods—and I very much wished that the enemy would take it away from me. I formed the rear guard and let the jägers wander along both sides of the column to prod the drivers on with blows, to keep order, and to make them go faster.[132]

At daybreak the weather changed rapidly, which is often the case in this part of the world, so that a hard frost set in after the heavy snow and rainy weather which formed slippery ice. Since no horse was roughshod this hindrance caused delay, so that I first caught up with the Donop Corps at ten o'clock on the morning of the 27th at Crosswicks, where the Grenadier Battalion Minnigerode and Captain Wreden's jäger company were also arriving from Bordentown and Field's crossing. In the afternoon the march continued to Allentown, where the corps arrived in the evening and took up quarters in devastated and abandoned houses which numbered about eighty.

On the 28th we marched to Kingston, a village consisting of about sixty to seventy houses of which only one was inhabited. The two highways from Brunswick to Trenton and Rocky Hill ran through this place. The jägers occupied and patrolled the passes of Rocky Hill, Trenton, and to the left toward Cranbury.

On the 29th our patrols and spies brought in reports that General Washington, whose army had increased to 16,000 men through the coup of the Rall Corps, had crossed the Delaware in two columns not far from Trenton and had encamped behind Trenton Creek.[133] News also arrived from Rocky Hill that the former Lee Corps, now commanded by General Lincoln, was approaching our right flank from the mountains of Morristown.[134]

On the 30th the Donop Corps left Kingston and joined the army in Princetown, around which the army had been concentrated and cantoned under General Leslie, except for the Grant Brigade. In the town there were about three hundred and twenty houses besides the college building, in which an entire regiment was quartered.[135] Six redoubts were constructed and mounted with 12- and 6-pounders on the heights toward Trenton.

Thus had the times changed! The Americans had constantly run before us. Four weeks ago we expected to end the war with the capture of Philadelphia, and now we had to render Washington the honor of thinking about our defense. Due to this affair at Trenton, such a fright came over the army that if Washington had used this opportunity we would have flown to our ships and let him have all of America. Since we had thus far underestimated our enemy, from this unhappy day onward we saw everything through a magnifying glass.

This great misfortune, which surely caused the utter loss of the thirteen splendid provinces of the Crown of England, was due partly to the extension of the cordon, partly to the fault of Colonel Donop, who was led by the nose to Mount Holly by Colonel Griffin and detained there by love, and partly to the jäger detachment under Lieutenant Grothausen, who was posted at the Dickinson house near Trenton. Had this officer patrolled diligently as far as Pennington on the morning when Washington crossed the Delaware, the enemy would have been discovered.[136] He could have thrown himself into the house to cover the road to Trenton, which would have detained General Washington until Colonel Rall could support him, for the colonel did not lack resoluteness. Instead of doing this, the jägers abandoned their post as soon as they caught sight of the enemy. Had Grothausen even thought to support the picket under Captain Altenbockum[137] and Lieutenant Wiederhold,[138] or cover their flank, at least it would have helped them. These two courageous officers withdrew under steady fire as far as the village against the entire force of General Washington.[139]

The brave Colonel Rall was shot dead as he rushed with his regiment to aid the picket.[140] The three other commanders lost their heads, and so the three regiments laid down their arms in an open place after some losses.[141] Had the thought occurred to but one of these three gentlemen of the disgrace facing them, and had only one of them thought of forcing the bridge over Trenton Creek, which surrounds the village on the left, then I believe we still would have gained an advantage this way.[142] One might also ask, why didn't everyone jump into the water, since over three hundred men of the three regiments saved themselves in this manner?—Thus the fate of entire kingdoms often depends upon a few blockheads and irresolute men.

PART NINE

After the surprise at Trenton up to the arrival in the cantonment quarters in and around New Brunswick.

On the 30th reports came in almost hourly of the approach of Washington's army. Since Lord Cornwallis arrived at the army in Princetown,[143] it was planned shortly afterward to give the enemy a beating and thereby repair the damage at Trenton.

On the 31st, two hours before daylight, the entire army stood to arms on the heights around Princetown, since the enemy had strengthened his position at Maidenhead and we had information that Washington would attack.

In the evening around ten o'clock an American officer was taken prisoner by a Scottish patrol. This man had sneaked through the outpost and posed as an English adjutant at a Scottish post, from which he demanded the password on the excuse he had forgotten it, having been sent off by Lord Cornwallis to look around for the Americans. But the Scots did not like this story, and held him securely until one of their patrols arrived, to whom they delivered him.

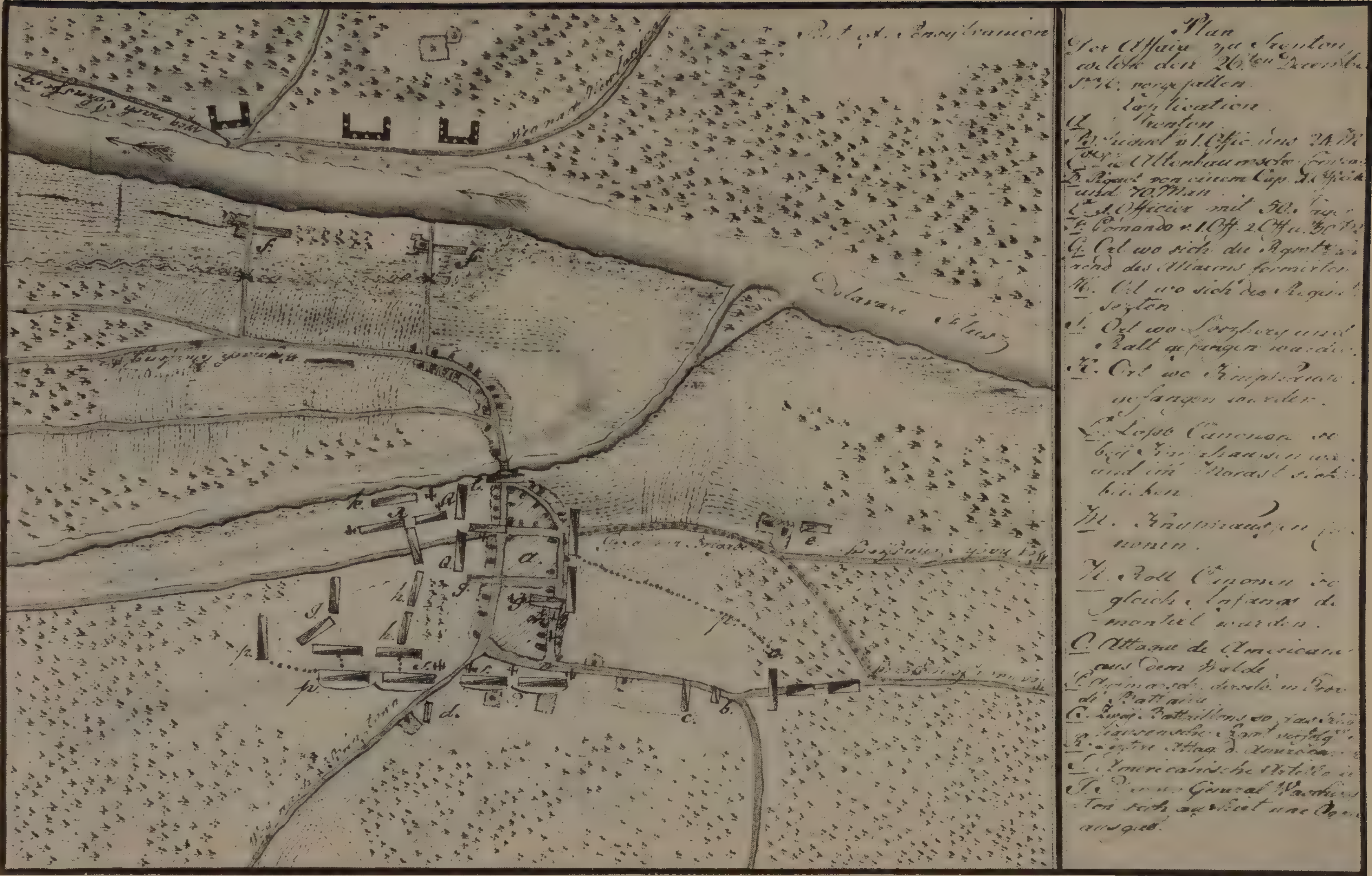
When he was brought to Lord Cornwallis, he immediately identified himself and his mission. He was a major of riflemen, who intended to make a surprise attack on the [42d] Scottish regiment as soon as he had succeeded in learning the password.

PLAN OF THE AFFAIR AT TRENTON, WHICH OCCURRED ON THE 26TH OF DECEMBER 1776

Ewald's plan of the Battle of Trenton is drawn in the style of his other plans, but the "Explanation" is not in his own hand. Similar plans were made by three Hessian officers captured at the battle: Lieutenants Jacob Piel, Andreas Wiederhold, and Friedrich Fischer.

The Explanation reads as follows:

"A. Trenton. B. Picket of 1 officer and 24 men [Lt. Wiederhold]. C. The Altenbockum Company [Capt. von Altenbockum]. D. Picket of one captain, 1 [noncommissioned] officer, and 70 men. E. 1 officer and 50 jägers [Lt. von Grothausen at Dickinson's house]. F. Command of 1 officer, 2 [noncommissioned] officers, and 30 men. G. Place where the regiments formed during the alarm. H. Place where the regiments stopped. I. Place where the Lossberg and Rall [regiments] were captured. K. Place where the Knyphausen [Regiment] was captured [Assunpink Creek]. L. Lossberg cannon which remained in the marsh with Knyphausen [Regiment]. M. Knyphausen cannon. N. Rall cannon, which were dismantled immediately at beginning. O. Attack of the Americans from the wood. P. Deployment of the same in order of battle. Q. Two battalions pursuing the Knyphausen Regiment. R. Last attack of the Americans. S. American artillery. T. Plan [place] where General Washington posted himself and issued his orders." Three American batteries are shown across the Delaware River.


Plan
der Affaire zu Trenton
welche den 26.ten Decemb.
1776. vorgefallen.
Explication
A. Trenton
B. Picquet v. 1. Offic. und 24. M.
C. die Altenbaumsche Grenad.
D. Piquet von einem Cap. 2. Offic. und 70. Man.
E. 1. Officier mit 50. Jäger
F. Comando v. 1. Off. 2. Offic. u. 30 [illegible]
G. Ort wo sich die Regimenter während des Allarms formirten.
H. Ort wo sich das Regim. setzten.
I. Ort wo Lossberg und Rall gefangen wurden.
K. Ort wo Knyphausen gefangen worden.
L. Sechs Canonen so bey Knyphausen waren und im Morast stecken blieben.
M. Knyphausen [illegible] nommen.
N. Zwei Canonen so zugleich [illegible] demontirt wurden.
O. Attaque der Americaner aus dem Walde
P. [illegible] in Front der Battaille
Q. Zwey Battaillons so [illegible]
R. [illegible] Attaq. d. Americaner
S. Americanische [illegible]
T. [illegible] General Washington sich zurück [illegible] ausgieng.
Delaware Fluss
a
b
c
d
e
f
g
h
k
l
p

In the Year 1777.

At daybreak on January 1, Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby marched toward Maidenhead with the English light infantry, Captain Lorey with the mounted jägers, and the Donop Jäger Company under Captain Wreden in order to dislodge the enemy from this pass. About the same time, I was sent with two English dragoons and twenty jägers to Rocky Hill to occupy the bridge across the Millstone River, which makes a formidable defile there owing to the very mountainous region. Through this place I was to cover the right flank of the Grant Corps, consisting of two regiments of English light infantry and the fourth Hessian grenadier battalion under Major Köhler,[144] which was marching from Brunswick to Princetown. Enemy parties showed themselves at different times, but never approached within rifle range. Since only one family lived on this side of the bridge, whom I kept guarded, and everyone who wanted to cross the bridge was stopped, the enemy could not gather any information about me.

For several days the snow had risen high, and the cold was exceptionally severe in the afternoon. In addition, the men had no bread and I had nothing to eat. I remained under arms in this position until eleven o'clock at night, when I received orders to march to Princetown. At this time the weather began to break, and since it was raining heavily the march was very unpleasant.

On the 2d at daybreak I arrived in Princetown, where I found the entire army under arms. I was ordered to draw biscuit[145] and brandy from the depot for the men, and to continue marching to Maidenhead, where I found Colonel Donop with the Hessian grenadiers, the jägers, and the light infantry. I learned here that yesterday Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby, with the jägers and light infantry, had attacked the enemy, who had defended himself very well and had not left the pass until the grenadiers were brought up against him. There were about one hundred and forty men lost on both sides, among whom were a jäger corporal and six jägers.[146]

About noon Lord Cornwallis arrived with the whole army. The baggage had remained at Princetown under protection of two regiments, and a detachment of light infantry continued to hold the pass at Maidenhead. The army set out in one column toward Trenton in the following order: the vanguard under Colonel Donop consisted of the two jäger companies, one hundred Hessian grenadiers, and two troops of light dragoons from the 16th Regiment. Then followed the light infantry and a number of 6-pounders, the English and Hessian grenadiers, the remnants of the decimated Hessian brigade,[147] two English brigades, and the 16th Regiment of Dragoons.

The army was scarcely in motion when the advanced guard came upon an enemy outpost, which withdrew into a small wood through which the highway ran to Trenton, where Lieutenant von Grothausen—fortunately for him—was shot dead along with several jägers. The Grenadier Battalion Minnigerode and the decimated brigade took post upon a height in this area, where a road from Allentown ran into one going to Trenton. We learned from the prisoners who fell into our hands in this skirmish that Washington and his army stood behind the Assunpink at Trenton, and that a detached corps under Colonel Haussegger,[148] a Swiss, had occupied the heights on this side of Trenton.

Toward evening we reached the heights, which were occupied by the enemy with an infantry corps, some cavalry, and several guns. The jägers and light infantry, supported by the Hessian grenadiers, attacked the enemy at once, whereupon he withdrew through Trenton across the bridge to his army after slight resistance. But the rear guard was so hard pressed by the jägers and light infantry that the majority were either killed or captured. The jägers and light infantry immediately attempted to occupy the houses of the town on this side of the bridge. Since the enemy had likewise occupied the houses on the other side, which lay in front of the enemy army, a stubborn outpost fight occurred here whereby many men were killed and wounded on both sides. During this fighting the army deployed upon the heights before the town.

General Washington, who desired to bring an end to this action, brought up several howitzers to dislodge us from the houses, which nevertheless were held until the dark night.[149]

Lord Cornwallis then ordered the light infantry and Scots to occupy the right bank of Assunpink Creek to keep a sharp eye on the movements of the enemy. We intended to renew the battle at daybreak, but Washington spared us the trouble. This clever man, who did not doubt that Lord Cornwallis would realize his mistake during the night and would dispatch a corps to the left beyond Crosswicks, whereby he would be forced by circumstances to surrender, had decamped at nightfall.[150] Since he could not risk returning across the Delaware, he made such a forced march under cover of darkness that he arrived at daybreak at Princetown, where he overwhelmed the corps under General Leslie, took six 6-pounders and a part of the baggage, and withdrew past Rocky Hill into the mountains.

At daybreak on the morning of the 3d[151] we suddenly learned that Washington had abandoned his position. At the same time we heard a heavy cannonade in our rear, which surprised everyone. Instantly we marched back at quick step to Princetown, where we found the entire field of action from Maidenhead on to Princetown and vicinity covered with corpses. Colonel Mawhood[152] and the 17th Regiment had contributed much to saving the stores, the guns, and the baggage. With a part of the regiment he had thrown himself into the college building, which was situated advantageously, and since Washington dared not delay for long, he was unable to force this post.[153]

This brilliant coup which Washington performed against Lord Cornwallis, which raised so much hubbub and sensation in the world and gave Washington the reputation of an excellent general, derived simply and solely from Lord Cornwallis's mistake of not marching in two columns to Trenton. Had one column marched to Crosswicks by way of Cranbury, the American general would have had to abandon Trenton and still would have remained in a too unfavorable and precarious situation, since he had no depot for his new army in our vicinity. Then Lord Cornwallis would have needed only to pursue him steadily, whereby his army, lacking everything, would have been destroyed in a few days. Colonel Donop suggested to Lord Cornwallis that he march in two columns, of which the left one would go by way of Cranbury. But the enemy was despised, and as usual we had to pay for it.

In the afternoon the entire army reached Princetown, marching in and around the town like an army that is thoroughly beaten. Everyone was so frightened that it was completely forgotten even to obtain information about where the Americans had gone. But the enemy now had wings, and it was believed that he had flown toward Brunswick to destroy the main depot, which was protected by only one English regiment.[154]

Hurriedly the army was issued three days' rations of biscuit and brandy, left behind the stores, all the sick, the wounded, and the greater part of the baggage, and moved with such haste toward Brunswick that, although it was only a five-hour march, over one thousand wagoners first reached Brunswick toward evening on the 4th. If the enemy had pursued them with only a hundred horsemen, one after another would have been captured.[155]

Several days later it was learned that after the coup at Princetown, General Washington and his army had camped in the woods at Rocky Hill, two hours from Princetown, until the morning of the 4th—completely exhausted, without ammunition and provisions—and only then had resumed the march past Bound Brook and Basking Ridge to the mountains of Morristown, where the army had a main depot.

PART TEN

From the arrival of the army at New Brunswick up to the opening of the second campaign.

After the arrival of the army at New Brunswick, it was assigned the following cantonment quarters. New Brunswick was the headquarters, and the following troops were cantoned at this place, which consisted of about four hundred houses, partly deserted and partly destroyed: the two battalions of English grenadiers under Colonel Monckton,[156] the four battalions of Hessian grenadiers under Colonel Donop, the two English brigades under General Grant, the artillery, and the 16th Regiment of Light Dragoons.

Since this place lies in a valley surrounded by hills, several redoubts and flèches[157] were erected to cover the approaches from South Amboy, Princetown, and Millstone. The two light infantry battalions, under Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby, cantoned in the houses above Brunswick at the Raritan bridge and occupied the approaches from Hillsborough and Bound Brook. Lord Cornwallis's brigade, under Colonel Webster,[158] cantoned in and around Bonhamtown. The 42d Scottish Regiment had occupied Piscataway, adjoining the English brigade under General Leslie, which cantoned on the plantations up to Raritan Landing. The English Guards Brigade cantoned at the landing, and Chevalier Osborn[159] with three hundred grenadiers occupied the outlying houses where the road runs to Quibbletown[160] and Bound Brook. Captain Wreden and the Donop Jäger Company, and the twelve mounted jägers under Captain Lorey, were stationed at a plantation on the road to Bound Brook in front of the English grenadiers.

I received my post at a house beyond New Brunswick on the road to Princetown. This house lay isolated on a hill and was constructed of brick, three stories high. I had a part of the apple and peach orchard near the house toward Princetown cut down, and placed as many trees as were necessary at the three entrances to barricade them.

At daybreak on the 5th I conducted a patrol toward Princetown, where I learned that this place as well as Millstone was strongly occupied by the enemy.

On the same day I received orders to march to the landing and select a post in the vicinity of the Donop Jäger Company, where I found a suitable one at White's plantation. Since the two plantations occupied by both jäger companies had very small and wretched buildings, the jägers had to build huts.

After a very exhausting campaign, these quarters, where the soldier could not even get straw for his bedding, were to serve for refreshing the troops. For this whole region had been completely sacked during the army's march in the past autumn, and had been abandoned by all the inhabitants. The entire army had been stripped bare of shoes and stockings by the constant marching during the bad weather. Uniforms were torn and the officers, especially those of the jäger companies, had almost nothing on their bodies. The winter now began to set in very severely, for snow had fallen for several days over a half-man deep.

On the 8th patrols were conducted toward Bound Brook and Quibbletown, places not yet occupied by the enemy. The news arrived that Washington had taken up his headquarters in Morristown, and the entire army had been quartered in and around this area, partly in cantonment and partly in wooden huts. The advanced posts were at Basking Ridge.

On the 9th Lord Cornwallis visited the jäger posts, and when he saw that the men were very cheerful despite their ragged clothing and hard duty, he ordered me to assure the jägers that plentiful provisions would arrive any day, and that each jäger would be clothed at his expense.

On the 12th we received information that the enemy was marching toward Quibbletown and Bound Brook, and from this time on we patrolled constantly as far as these areas.

On the 13th the Americans entered Bound Brook and Quibbletown and visited us toward ten o'clock in the evening. Their intention was to surprise my post nearby, but since they were greeted with shots from all the sentries, they merely fired several hundred shots in the direction of our picket's fire and withdrew.

The jäger post duty now became quite serious, since Bound Brook and Quibbletown were less than one hour's march away. The teasing now occurred daily, and when they did not visit us, we rendered the honors to the Americans. Not only did the men have to stay dressed day and night, but they had to be kept together, the horses constantly saddled, and everything packed.

Although everything necessary for the men was arriving in abundance from New York, nevertheless the horses also had to be fed, and the little fodder which we found in this area could not last long. For this reason foraging had to be undertaken, and since the Americans were close on our necks, we could not procure any forage without shedding blood.

On the 23d the jägers received the promised gift from Lord Cornwallis, which consisted of a complete uniform for each man. The uniforms were to have clothed a new corps.

In the night of the 26th I received orders to be at the landing bridge with fifty jägers before daybreak. There I found General Leslie, Colonel Donop, two hundred men of the light infantry, four hundred men of the English regiments, the Grenadier Battalion Linsing, and fifty horse. Foraging was to be undertaken near Samptown,[161] between Quibbletown and Samptown.

At daybreak this detachment set out toward Samptown. I formed the advanced guard and was supported by the light infantry. The enemy attacked our spread-out chain several times, but because of its excellent deployment he could not prevent the foraging. A few men were killed and wounded on both sides.[162]

Early on February 5 I received orders to report to Colonel Osborn's quarters. Foraging was to be undertaken near Quibbletown, commanded personally by Lord Cornwallis. General Grant would make a feint at Samptown with two English regiments, and General Mathew would make a false attack against Bound Brook with the jägers and the Guards Brigade.

At daybreak on the 8th Lord Cornwallis set out. I formed the advanced guard with fifty jägers, supported by four hundred light infantry. Behind them followed four hundred Scots, one hundred dragoons, a number of light 6-pounders, four hundred English grenadiers, two Hessian grenadier battalions, the foragers and the wagons, and four hundred Englishmen drawn from several regiments.

The road leading from Raritan Landing to Quibbletown ran continuously through the woods, in which three devastated plantations were situated. At the first plantation I ran into an enemy post of riflemen who withdrew after stubborn resistance, of whom several were killed and captured on their retreat. We followed this party so swiftly that we arrived with them before Quibbletown at the same time. The place lies on two hills, between which a creek winds through a ravine that is spanned by two bridges. The stone walls around the gardens as well as the houses on both sides of the ravine were occupied by enemy riflemen, who abandoned the village after strong resistance when artillery was brought up, and withdrew into the nearest wood on the other side of the village.

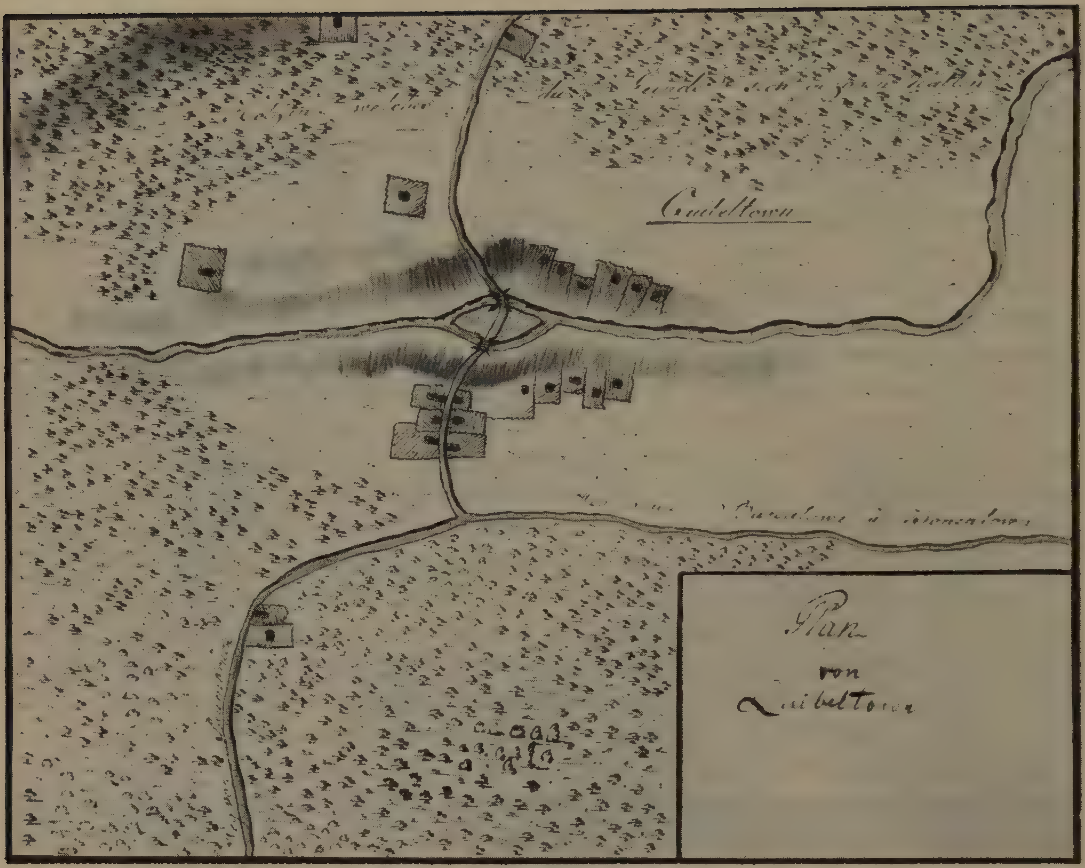
The place was occupied at once by the light infantry and the Scots, and a battery was erected on the hill on this side. I occupied the stone walls between the village and the wood with the jägers, where I skirmished steadily with the enemy as long as the foraging continued.

I took my position in the form of a semicircle, and discovered that the enemy was deployed along the wood to the right and left in such a manner that I was outflanked from both sides. But since Quibbletown was occupied, I did not run a risk of being cut off.

Toward three o'clock in the afternoon the foraging was completed and I received orders to retreat, which, in full view of the enemy, was very disagreeable. I had hardly begun the movement when I was so heavily attacked from all sides by a vast swarm of riflemen that only a miracle of bravery by my men could save me. Nevertheless, I reached the village, where the crossings over the bridges were covered by the battery.

The enemy took possession of the outlying houses on the other side and erected cannon behind stone walls, whereupon a stubborn fight occurred and many brave men were lost. I received orders here to form the rear guard and two companies of light infantry joined me. The road was not more than five to six hundred paces from the village up to the wood, where several cannon had been placed to cover my retreat, but I was left on my own through the wood.

The enemy hung on our rear until we reached our outposts. Lord


Quibeltown
Plan
von
Quibeltown

PLAN OF QUIBBLETOWN

The stream flowing through the village is Bound Brook. The road below leads to the village of Bound Brook on the left and to Piscataway and Bonhamtown on the right. The inscription at the top of the plan reads: "Wood in which the enemy had withdrawn."

Cornwallis honored me by publishing an order expressing his satisfaction with me and my courageous men, and each jäger received a gift of one piaster.[163]

Since the army would have been gradually destroyed through this foraging, from here on the forage was procured from New York. Meanwhile, these encounters were very beneficial for the army, for a renewed spirit entered the hearts of the soldiers, who had become completely disheartened by the disasters of Trenton and Princetown.

On the 12th I received orders to go to the headquarters, where Lord Cornwallis showed his confidence in me by entrusting me with drawing up a plan for a surprise attack on Bound Brook. But since it was necessary for a column to cross the Raritan above Bound Brook, the attack was postponed until spring.

From this time on until the end of March, nothing important happened due to the constant high snow, except for the daily skirmishing of our patrols and the continual alarms of the outposts on both sides. Scarcely a day passed when we did not have to stand under arms for hours in the deepest snow. But the men lacked nothing, for the most excellent provisions of salted beef and pork, peas, butter, rice, and flour for bread, along with the best English beer, were continually supplied during this time. Indeed, the concern of the English nation for its soldiers went so far that twenty overcoats of the finest English material were furnished free to each company, which were distributed to the sentries and the sick.

With the end of the month of March we watched the snow disappear, and everything was green in a few days. On the 4th of April, Wreden and I paid a visit to Bound Brook. We drove the enemy outposts across the causeway into the town, and returned without loss with booty of fifteen head of oxen, which enemy soldiers had grazed on our side of the causeway.

On the 10th we learned that a French major, Mr. von Ottendorff,[164] had arrived with a newly organized corps consisting of Germans and Frenchmen for the reinforcement of the post at Bound Brook.

On the 11th this hero tried his luck against us. He attacked my post at daybreak, and I was forced to withdraw across a small ravine. At ten o'clock in the morning he came again, but since Captain Wreden came to my aid at once, he was driven back with losses and we escorted him up to the enemy outposts. But since he had firmly resolved to dislodge me today, he reappeared for the third time at three o'clock in the afternoon. Captain Wreden was on hand instantly, and the English grenadiers of the Guards under Chevalier Osborn also came to our assistance, whereby the good Ottendorff was kept so warm that he had trouble getting away with his skin.

Toward evening on April 12th Lord Cornwallis sent his adjutant to advise me that the surprise attack on Bound Brook would be made during this night.

At eleven o'clock in the evening, Colonel Harcourt[165] with fifty horse, the two light infantry battalions under Colonel Abercromby, and a battalion of English grenadiers under Colonel Meadows[166] marched by way of Hillsborough, crossed the Raritan River below the Van Veghten bridge, and arrived behind Horne's[167] plantation, where the generals Lincoln and Wayne lay in their quarters under cover of three 4-pounders mounted in the rear of the enemy quarters. The guard was partly cut down and partly captured, the three cannon seized, and the two generals fled without their breeches.[168]

Colonel Donop started out just at this time. His detachment consisted of fifty dragoons, four hundred Hessian grenadiers, and four fieldpieces. His objective was to gain mastery of the flying bridge over the Raritan River at Bound Brook, where the guard was successfully attacked.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 13th, General Grant marched on the road from Raritan Landing toward Bound Brook with the jägers, the two amusettes, the Guards Brigade, and four 4-pounders.

Two companies of light infantry under Major Maitland marched to the right toward Quibbletown past Green Brook to cut off the enemy from Quibbletown, and to watch for whatever support might come from there.

Lord Cornwallis had ordered me to form the advanced guard of General Grant's column. For this I took Lieutenant Trautvetter and thirty volunteer jägers. At daybreak I came upon an enemy picket on this side of the stone causeway which led to Bound Brook through a marsh along the Raritan River for five to six hundred paces over two bridges.[169] The picket received us spiritedly and withdrew under steady fire. I tried to keep as close as possible to the enemy to get across the causeway into the town at the same time. This succeeded to the extent that I arrived at the second bridge at a distance of a hundred paces from the redoubt which covered it and the flying bridge.

The day dawned and I was exposed to a murderous fire. When I looked around for my men, I saw that no one had followed me except the brave Lieutenant Trautvetter, my hornblower[170] Müller, Corporal Doerinckel, and the jägers Reichmeyer, Meister, Mergel, Haschell, Gurckel, Buchwald, and Ruppel; the last two being severely wounded.

We had no choice but to lie down on the ground before the bridge, whereupon I ordered "Forward!" sounded constantly. Luckily for us, Colonel Donop's column appeared after a lapse of eight or ten minutes, whereupon the Americans abandoned the redoubt. We arrived in the town with the garrison of the redoubt amidst a hard running fight, and the greater part were either cut down or captured.[171]

Just at this time the assault of Colonel Harcourt's column occurred; hence every American who could escape took flight. But since the light infantry had not come up close enough around Green Brook only three hundred men were captured, among whom were the adjutant of General Lincoln, one captain, and two officers.[172]

Afterward the place was ransacked and plundered because all the inhabitants were rebellious-minded, and then the entire corps withdrew along the road from Bound Brook to Brunswick. The jägers formed the rear guard and the enemy, who had rushed support from Basking Ridge, showed himself only at a distance.

About noon I arrived back at my post. I learned later that I was accused of attacking too rashly, for General Grant's attack had been a feint. But I had not heard a word about it. I should have been advised if this attack was to have been a feint, for then I would have only skirmished with the enemy picket. As I set out with the advanced guard, General Grant said to me: "Captain Ewald, you know the area. I say nothing further to you. You know everything else."

Although the surprise attack had scared off the enemy for some time and he let us alone for a few days, he now began to harass us in a different manner. Since the 18th of April, Mr. von Ottendorff had prowled about at night in the ravines across the river and had fired on our posts, through which several sentries were killed and wounded. The enemy had also hidden several times in the barn of the preacher[173] across the river and fired on my quarters through holes cut in the barn walls.

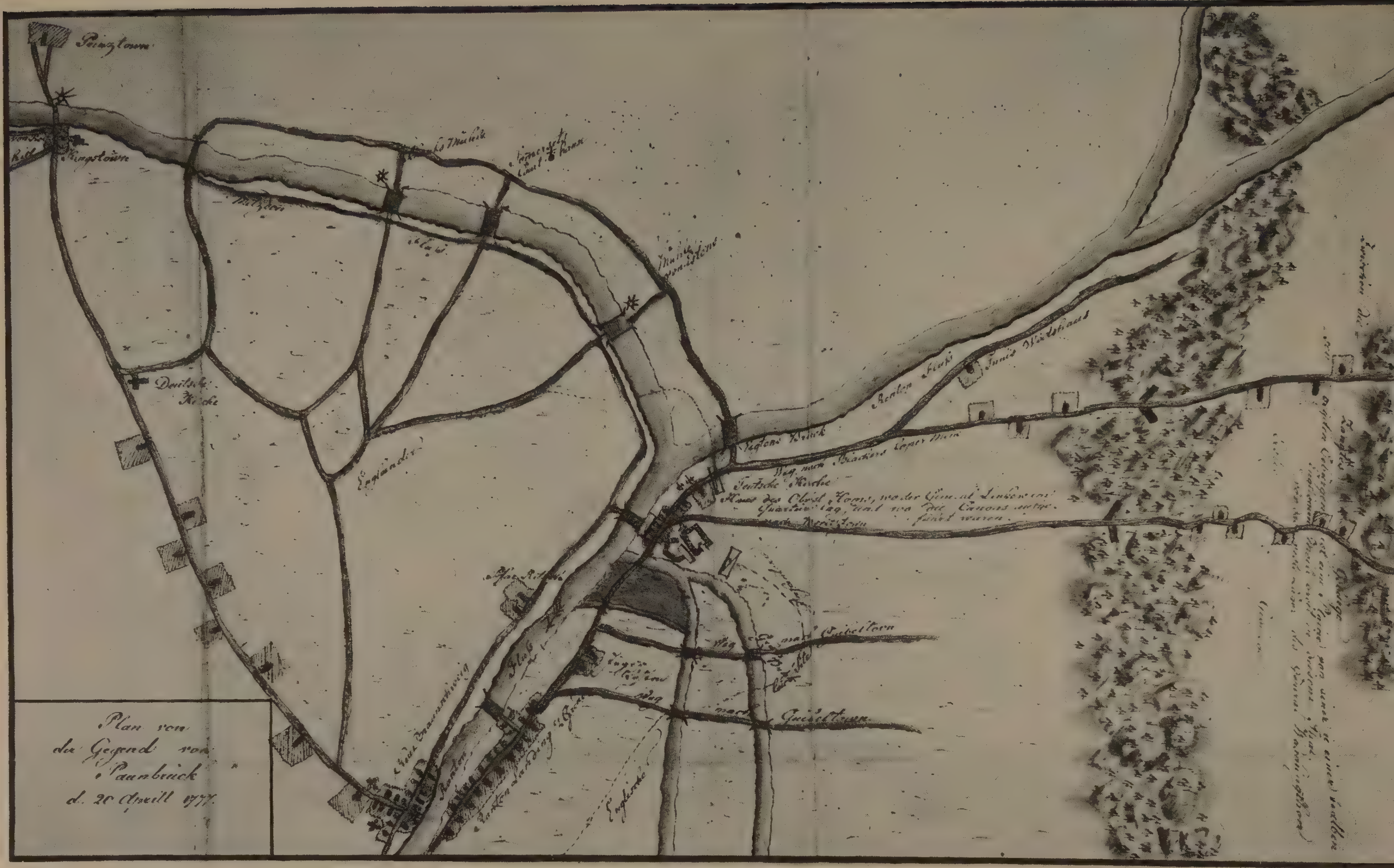
Therefore I decided to draw these guests into an ambuscade. On the 20th, several hours before daybreak, I put an amusette behind a false hedge which I had fashioned from bushes, placing it so that the barn could be pierced easily. I sent Lieutenant Trautvetter with twelve jägers to a small hollow on this side of the river across from the parsonage, with orders to keep hidden until the Americans were dislodged from the barn by the fire of the amusette. Then they were to rise and accompany the piece with sharp rifle fire. All went well. As soon as day broke, the riflemen began their harassing with their long rifles. After the third cannon shot, the barn became silent and the enemy left it, whereupon he fell into the jägers' fire. Since the road ran up along the river, which was not over a hundred paces wide, the jägers had the best possible range, and every jäger killed or wounded his man.

After several hours an officer with a trumpeter appeared and requested permission to take away the dead and severely wounded on a wagon. I permitted this and asked the officer if he would not visit us again soon. He shook his head, and they took away their dead and wounded on two wagons. There were five dead and two badly wounded.

On the 28th I received orders to maintain my post only in daytime. At

PLAN OF THE AREA OF BOUND BROOK, 20 APRIL 1777

This plan shows the four routes of the attack on Bound Brook on April 13, 1777. New Brunswick is located in the lower left of the plan, across from Raritan Landing. Ewald's advanced guard of General Grant's column attacked on the road over the causeway near the morass or open shaded section above Raritan Landing. Across the river from the morass is the house of the Reverend Abraham Beach ("Pfar Ritsche"), pastor of Christ Church in New Brunswick. Bound Brook and its works are shown between the morass and the Van Veghten Bridge, also called Long Bridge, in the center of the plan. The inscriptions read: "German Church" and "House of Colonel Horne, where the quarters of General Lincoln were situated, and where the cannon were mounted." Judge Philip Van Horne's house was known as Phil's Hill or Convivial Hill. The three wheels at the bridges in the upper left of the plan represent mills on the Millstone River. The approaches to Washington's first winter encampment at Morristown, with the barriers in the First Watchung Mountains, are shown at the extreme right of the plan. The inscription reads: "Between these two mountains in this valley is a plain one and a half English miles in breadth, in front of the rest camp of General Washington." To the right a part of the Second Watchung Mountains is shown.

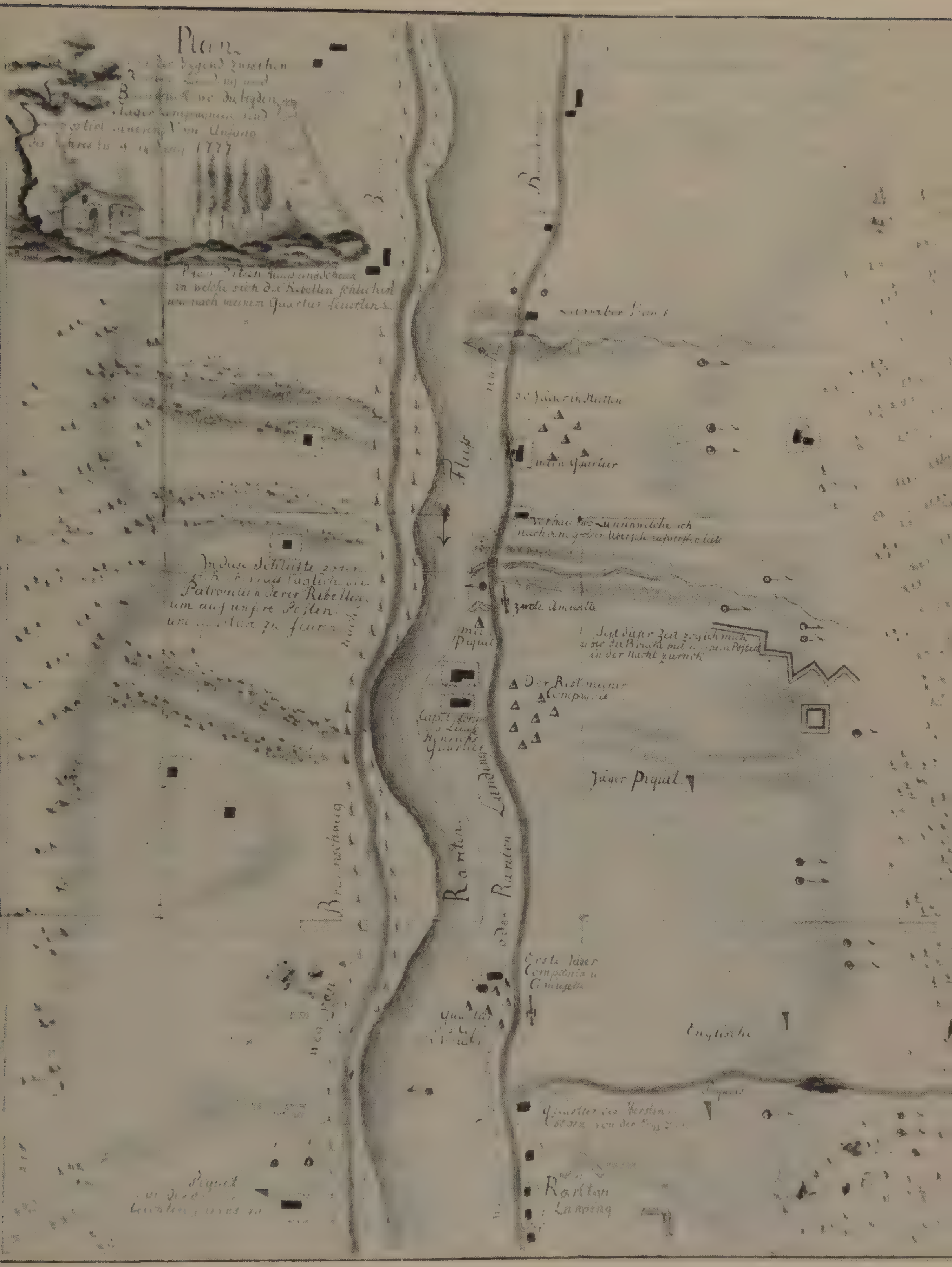


Plan von
der Gegend von
Baunbrück
d. 20 April 1777.

Prinztown
Kingstown
Milzdon
Mühle
Mühle von Stone
Deutsche Kirche
Engländer
Rarlen Fluß
Junis Wirtshaus
Veglens Brück
Weg nach Brackers Leper Mein
Teutsche Kirche
Haus des Obrist Horns, wo der Gen.al Lincoln sein Quartier lag, und wo die Canons entire . fünf waren.
nach Moristown
Weg nach Quibeltown
Weg nach Quibeltown
Fluß
Neu Braunschweig
Engländer
Zwischen die
Zangles
Gebirge
von
vigden Gebürgen ist eine Plaine von einer u einer halben
Englischen Meile breit in diesem Thal.
[illegible] General Washington

PLAN OF THE AREA BETWEEN RARITAN LANDING AND BOUND BROOK WHERE THE TWO JÄGER COMPANIES HAVE BEEN POSTED. FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR UNTIL 14 JUNE 1777

This plan shows the jäger pickets on the left bank of the Raritan River below Bound Brook. The round markers with pennants indicate jäger sentries. A picket of the English light infantry is located on the right bank in the lower left-hand corner of the plan. The small sketch in the upper left-hand corner represents Reverend Abraham Beach's house and barn or granary. The inscription under the house and barn reads: "Pastor Beach's house and barn, into which the rebels sneaked and fired at my quarters." Ewald drove the Americans out of the barn with an amusette. This plan was probably drawn by Lieutenant Carl Moritz von Donop, 1st Jäger Company; the signature under the sketch reads "v. D. *fecit.*"


Plan
der Gegend zwischen
Raritan Landing und
Braunschweig wo die beyden
Jäger Compagnien sind
postirt gewesen von Anfang
des Jahres bis 4 ten Juni 1777
in welche sich die Rebellen schlichen
und nach meinem Quartier feuerten.
Brunswick
Fluss
Raritan
Landing
Der Jäger in Hütten
mein Quartier
Verhau
nach dem grossen Überfall aufwerfen liess
zwote Amuselle
mit Piquet
Seit dieser Zeit zog ich mich
über die Brücke mit meinen Posten
in der Nacht zurück
Der Rest meiner Compagnie
Capt. Lorey und Lieut. Heinrichs Quartier
In diese Schlüfte zogen
sich fast täglich die
Patrouillen derer Rebellen
um auf unsere Posten
und Quartier zu feuern
Jäger Piquet
Braunschweig
nach
von
Erste Jäger Compagnie und Amusette
Englische
Piquet
Quartier des Obersten
Raritan
Landing
Piquet

night I was to withdraw across the sunken road, where the remainder of the company was stationed under Lieutenant Hinrichs, because the enemy had reinforced the two posts at Bound Brook and Quibbletown. On the same day I ordered the construction of a flèche in front of the small wooden bridge over the ravine, a rampart at the beginning of the ravine, and a small redoubt behind it on the hill.

On the afternoon of the 30th the enemy again attacked my post. Captain Lorey fought with eight mounted and ten unmounted jägers, while I tackled the enemy on his right. I cut him off from the highway to Bound Brook behind a hill around his left flank, fell on his rear, cut down ten men, and took six prisoners.

On the 15th of May we received information that the enemy had abandoned Elizabethtown and Newark and had concentrated his army at Basking Ridge.

On the 16th the Americans left their posts at Samptown and Quibbletown. Since nothing new had happened for several days, I rode into headquarters on the 24th to report to Lord Cornwallis what I had learned about the movements of the enemy. I had to stay for dinner, during which time the news arrived that the enemy would abandon Bound Brook at nightfall, having already withdrawn his outposts in front of this place. Hence Lord Cornwallis decided to send to me an officer with twenty dragoons from the 16th Regiment, who were to patrol as far as Bound Brook to see if the place had been abandoned.

The officer arrived with the dragoons about ten o'clock in the evening. He was a young man who seemed to have much good will, but no knowledge of this business. Therefore I decided to conduct this patrol myself, since I knew every trail in the neighborhood. I passed the defile, left ten foot jägers there, and went by a roundabout way to the plantation, where an enemy picket formerly had been stationed.

I summoned the inhabitant of the house by a dragoon, and informed the officer that he should send two dragoon flankers as far as the bridge before Bound Brook, whom he was to follow slowly and cautiously.

The plantation was not quite sixteen hundred paces from Bound Brook. I stopped in the middle of the road with my groom, close to an apple orchard. The dragoon returned with the owner, who walked through the orchard and remained standing behind the railing. He assured me that Bound Brook was deserted, but he spoke in such a low voice that I became suspicious. I then ordered him to climb over the railing and come to me, and when he refused I threatened him with a beating.

I had hardly uttered these words, when rifle fire coming from the orchard made the air hot around my nose. We sprang back and received more fire in the face from the road. I reached the sunken road, where my horse fell down with me, and my groom and the dragoon rode over me without ceremony, so that I was quite trampled down. My horse jumped up and ran after my men. I wanted to flee on foot, but my right knee and leg had received such a severe bruise that I could not stand on it. I tried to save myself by crawling, but this too was impossible. I placed myself quietly near the side of the road and awaited my fate. Startled by the firing, the dragoon flankers galloped back from the bridge, riding over me but leaving me miraculously unharmed.

Fortunately for me, the jägers had caught my horse, whereupon my hornblower Müller, jäger Bauer, and jäger Ewald decided to search for me, even if it meant risking their lives and liberty. To my great joy, these faithful fellows appeared and found me in my wretched situation. Since the Americans were placed some distance from the sunken road and fired in that direction, I asked both jägers to return fire and had the hornblower blow "Forward!" Thereupon the enemy ceased firing; the rest of the jägers came up; one put me on a horse, and I arrived safely at my post, where I was bandaged.

The jägers now saw that my hat was missing, and Bauer and Müller left at once to look for it. I implored them not to commit such foolishness, since they had done everything for me that was human and courageous. But they departed with these words: "No, those rascals must not get our captain's hat, which they would carry in triumph into Bound Brook tomorrow!" And I actually received my hat again!—Does not such love and loyalty of the soldier for his officer merit admiration and recording for posterity?—These men deserve a monument hewn in marble, and I shall never forget it.

At daybreak on May 25, Colonel Abercromby arrived at my post with the light infantry. He had been ordered by Lord Cornwallis to talk to me about the incident. He took the jägers with him and had scarcely reached our sentries when he ran into a strong American corps. A hard fight ensued in the vicinity of the house where I was lying like Lazarus. Both sides brought up cannon, and each party received support from its army. This fight continued until three o'clock in the afternoon, and many men were lost on both sides.[174]

Toward evening I was transported to Brunswick, where I was confined to bed for over fourteen days, and for more than half a year I had to do my service on horseback. All the general officers honored me with their visits, and reproached me somewhat because I had not been ordered to go with the party. However, such reproaches are pleasant to hear when one has done more than his duty.

On June 8 Lieutenant von Wangenheim[175] arrived with seventy-five recruits from Hesse for the Jäger Corps. The entire recruit transport had consisted of one thousand men. With the same fleet had arrived at New

York two Anspach regiments, each of 600 men, under Brigadier Eyb,[176] and a jäger company of 116 heads. The recruits for both companies consisted of a few adventurers and experienced jägers, and they were generally fine-looking men. Through them we received positive information that each company would be augmented to 175 men, and that three new companies of foot and one of horse would be organized. Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb[177] was to command this corps, and Cavalry Captain Prueschenck[178] of the Schlotheim Dragoon Regiment was to be the corps major.[179]

Neither my friend Captain Wreden nor I liked this news, because we would lose our independent commands. Besides, we foresaw that such a large corps could not possibly consist of such excellent men as those of which both companies were now composed; hence less honor was to be gained. Therefore we decided to send in our resignations and enter the English service, where they had offered to raise a corps for each of us. However, we let ourselves be deceived by good words and the *pour le mérite* order.[180]

PART ELEVEN

From the opening of the second campaign in the year 1777 up to the embarkation for the expedition to Chesapeake Bay.

On the 12th of June the Commander in Chief, General Howe, and the Commanding General of the Hessians, Lieutenant General Heister, arrived at New Brunswick with ten infantry regiments, the 17th Regiment of Light Dragoons, the heavy guns, and a number of pontoons, and encamped upon the heights around the town. The general rumor in circulation was that we would cross the Delaware and march to Philadelphia, and, it was hoped, lure General Washington by a diversion out of his strong position in the mountains between Morristown and Basking Ridge, where his army had been concentrated. The Anspach Jäger Company, consisting of skilled forestry jägers who were the handsomest young men one could imagine, also arrived here.

On the 13th at ten o'clock in the evening the army set out toward Hillsborough, and on the morning of the 14th it pitched camp in square formation between Millstone and Middlebush. Captain Wreden, with the Donop jägers and a half of the Anspach jägers, stood at the army's right on the road to the mountains, and I, with my company and the other half of the Anspach jägers, covered the left toward Rocky Hill near Millstone.[181]

General Washington, who neither moved nor let himself be lured out of his strong position by this demonstration, sent out several detachments daily which observed and harassed our army, whereby constant skirmishing ensued.

At daybreak on June 19 the English army marched back to the heights of New Brunswick, because General Howe found that Washington would not let himself be deceived. Indeed, we already certainly believed, including the English Commanding General, that Washington had learned from England of the impending expedition to the south.[182] On this march all the plantations of the disloyal inhabitants, numbering perhaps some fifty persons, were sacrificed to fire and devastation.

The army arrived at its encampment in the afternoon, and the enemy watched our march with light cavalry in the distance. At this camp, all the jägers were assigned their posts at the same place where they had been stationed during the entire winter. The right wing of the army stood toward Bonhamtown, which the light infantry covered.[183]

During this maneuver General Mathew covered the baggage of the army at New Brunswick against Washington's army with an English brigade, the Grenadier Battalion Köhler, the decimated brigade under Colonel Loos, and a battalion of provincials.

On the 20th I was ordered to relieve the light infantry of the English Guards at Samptown with eighty jägers and an amusette. This post was situated in front of the army's center and covered a defile which ran through a wood.

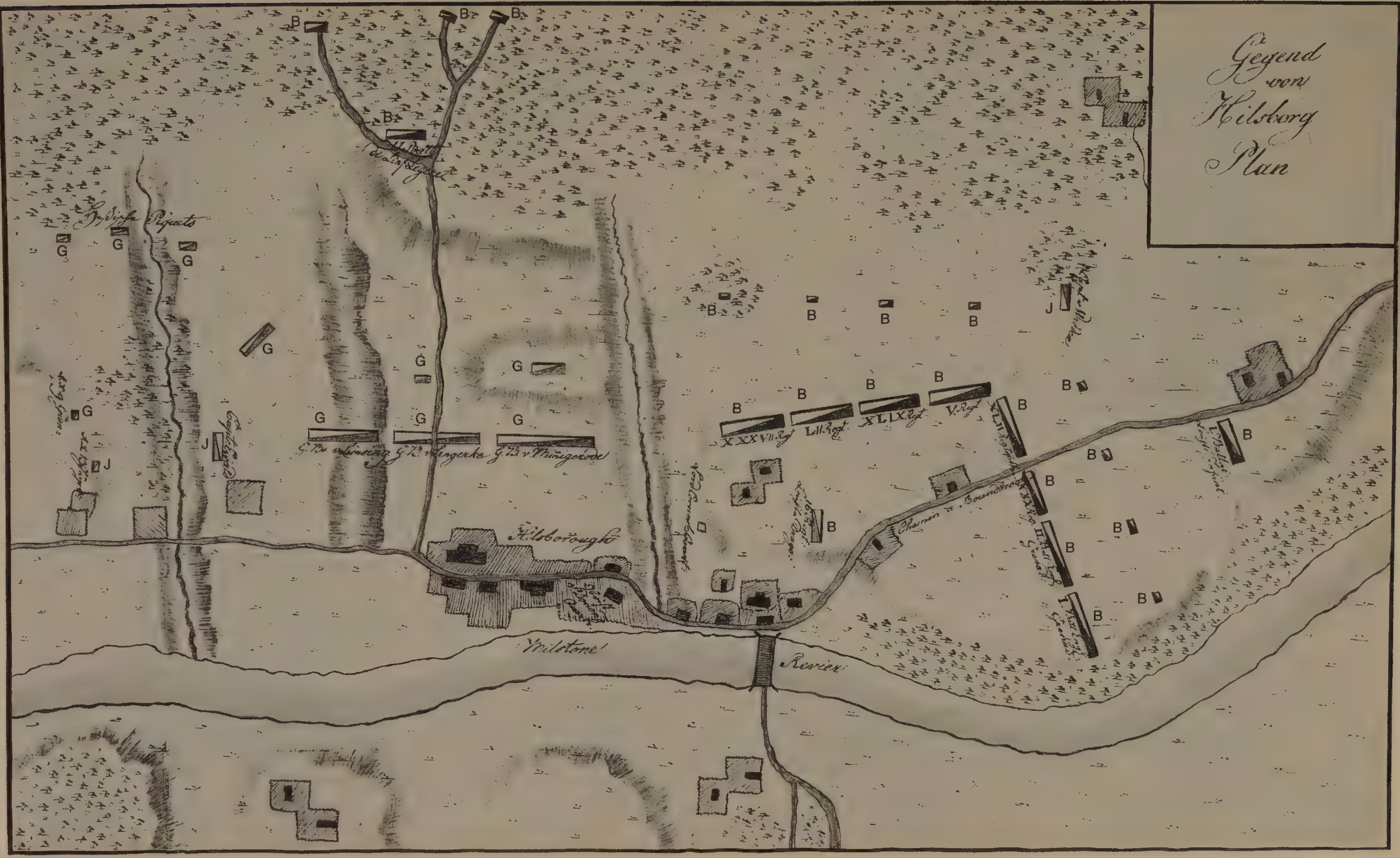
On the 21st and 22d all our outposts were alarmed and harassed by the enemy, both day and night. I had two men badly wounded in a skirmish on the 22d. General Washington had advanced with his army and ordered the exits of Bound Brook, Quibbletown, and Samptown occupied with light troops, by which one could see that he was well informed of everything that was happening.

At daybreak on the 23d the army set out toward Amboy. The enemy had alarmed all the outposts all night long, and a great number of riflemen, supported by light cavalry and guns, followed us so closely that we had to withdraw under constant skirmishing up to the vicinity of Bonhamtown. The Queen's Rangers had been assigned to cover the right flank, but it had strayed too far from the army, and was attacked so severely by a superior force that half of the corps was killed or wounded. During this retreat the detachment under Captain Wreden also suffered very much.

The army deployed in the neighborhood of Bonhamtown to support the rear, since it was expected that Washington would make vigorous attacks with his entire army. The Commander in Chief received information that the Scottish mountains,[184] over which the army had to march, were occupied by the enemy. General Leslie was detached to this pass with the 71st Highland Regiment and my jäger detachment, where we

PLAN OF THE AREA OF HILLSBOROUGH

This plan is believed to be the only contemporary map extant showing a part of General Howe's unsuccessful maneuver to lure Washington out of his strong positions into open warfare. On June 13, 1777, Howe and Cornwallis left New Brunswick and marched to the Millstone River. This plan shows the 1st Division of the British army, under Cornwallis, deployed on the high ground around the village of Hillsborough. At the lower middle part of the plan is Schenck's Bridge, by which the British crossed to Hillsborough. Captain Ewald's company is shown to the left of the three Hessian grenadier battalions. At the fork of the road above is the 2d Battalion of Light Infantry, with its outposts beyond. Eight British regiments are faced in the direction of Washington's army along the "Chemin à Boundbrook" ("road to Bound Brook"). At the right are Captain Wreden's jägers and the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry. In and near the village are the 16th Regiment of Light Dragoons and the quarters of Colonel von Donop and Lord Cornwallis.


Gegend von Hilsborg Plan
Hilsborough
Milstone
Revier
Chemin v. Boundbrook
V. Regt.
XLIX Regt.
LII Regt.
XXXVII Regt.
XLII Regt.
XXXIII Regt.
II. Batt. Engl. Grenad.
I. Batt. Engl. Grenad.
I. Battal. Leicht. Infant.
II. Battal. de Leicht. Infant.
16. Regt. Leicht. Drago.
Lord Cornwallis Quartier
Capt. v. Wrede
Capt. Ewald
G. Br. v. Linsing
G. Br. v. Lengerke
G. Br. v. Minnigerode
Hessische Piquets
J
B
G

J = Jäger Corps
B = British
G = German

discovered an enemy corps of six hundred men and several light guns. General Leslie immediately ordered it attacked by the jägers, supported by the Highlanders, and we became master of the mountains after a hard fight despite heavy enemy fire, whereby several officers and some thirty Americans were captured.

At ten o'clock in the evening the army arrived at Amboy, where it encamped in a crescent on the plains around the town, and where both wings were covered by Prince's Bay.[185] The jägers received their post on the road to the Short Hills.

On the 24th Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb and Major Prueschenck arrived with the newly raised jäger company and the troop, still without horses, whereupon Wreden and I began to fuss and grumble again. The mounted jäger company consisted of men drafted from the Hessian hussar and cavalry regiments and deserters from all the services of Europe. The Prueschenck company consisted of deserters and insolent rabble, whereat blood turned to water and all spirits sank in all of us of the old staff, who until now had commanded the most upright and obedient of men.

Even Colonel Donop, who was delighted with the reinforcement of the Jäger Corps, because it was his idea, was startled over this riffraff. He showed his displeasure to the good Prueschenck, who had commanded these people and could bring about good order, but who had not the spirit for it. The discontent of our old men was so great that they refused to serve with this rabble. In the meantime, however, their resentment gradually diminished, since these people had brought along over sixty amazons[186] whose acquaintance was soon sought.

The 25th. Since I was duty officer today, I had to conduct a patrol with fifty old and fifty new men. I mixed the detachment so thoroughly that one old and one new jäger were constantly together. But during the march such a noise and laughter arose among the new men that the enemy could have heard us a half an hour away. Afterward I had this dregs of humanity severely beaten with stout canes, and luckily for us we did not meet the enemy. Several of our reliable corporals were sent to this company and were permitted a free hand. After a short time, a different discipline was brought about.

Toward two o'clock in the afternoon, several troops of light horse were seen in the vicinity of our outposts with whom we skirmished. About four o'clock, enemy infantry and artillery approached and a hard skirmish ensued. Several wounded Americans fell into our hands, from whom we learned that a corps of three thousand men was situated at Westfield. During this skirmish the jägers had four killed, five wounded, and three missing. The newly arrived jägers—such bad rubbish as they were—conducted themselves very well during this fight.

General Howe presumed that the advance of the enemy corps could signal no other intention than that of falling upon our rear guard when the army crossed over Prince's Bay to Staten Island. Therefore, at two o'clock on the morning of the 26th the jägers, the light infantry, all the grenadiers, three infantry brigades, and the light dragoons set out in two columns to disperse the enemy. The right-hand column under Lord Cornwallis, consisting of the Donop, Prueschenck, and mounted jäger companies, the Hessian grenadiers under Colonel Donop, the English Guards, and a part of the dragoons, took their route directly toward Westfield. The left-hand column under General Vaughan, which the Commander in Chief personally accompanied, consisted of the Anspach and my jäger companies, the light infantry, the English grenadiers, the English infantry, and the rest of the dragoons, which took their route by Metuchen Meeting House to cover the attack against the enemy army.

The enemy had taken his position on the steep bush-covered heights; his right was protected by deep ravines and his left by a thick wood. The jägers tried to approach the enemy in the rear through the ravines, and the Hessian grenadiers made an attack on the right, supported by the Guards. The enemy was attacked with the bayonet and driven back, whereby Colonel Minnigerode and his grenadier battalion greatly distinguished themselves, taking from the enemy three Hessian guns which had been captured at Trenton.[187] The loss of the enemy in dead and prisoners was reckoned at about five hundred men, and on our side at about one hundred and thirty dead and wounded, the Minnigerode Battalion having lost the most men.[188] The entire army withdrew afterward upon the heights of Westfield Meeting House,[189] where it remained overnight in bivouac.

On the 27th the army withdrew in two columns to Rahway, where it was protected by the Rahway River.

On the 28th the army marched back in two columns to its former encampment at Amboy. On this march an enemy party followed our rear guard, but it was constantly repelled by the jägers.

Since it was extremely hot, especially on the 26th, some twenty men died marching, among whom were seven jägers of the troop, who had to make this march on foot burdened with their hussar boots and great hussar sabers. The Commander in Chief was greatly annoyed at Colonel Donop because he had used these men before they were mounted.

During the night of the 28th and early morning of the 29th the greater part of the army crossed over Prince's Bay to Staten Island. The rear guard under Lord Cornwallis, consisting of the jägers, the light infantry, and both Highland regiments, crossed the bay toward evening on the 30th. The entire army took up camp from Billop's Ferry[190] to Richmond.

The 1st of July. Today all the officers of the army were notified that they could sell their horses to the Hessian mounted jägers and to the artillery park for ten guineas apiece, since no one up to the grade of colonel would be permitted to take a horse with him on the imminent expedition. By this order, the mounted jägers received their mounts in the nicest manner in the space of two days.

After this order I proceeded at once to the headquarters to report that I was still completely incapable of doing my service on foot because of my hard fall on my right leg, whereupon I was permitted to take a horse with me.

CHAPTER 2

From the embarkation at Staten Island up to the winter quarters at Philadelphia.

PART ONE

From the embarkation at Staten Island in the Hudson River up to the landing at Turkey Point in the Elk River in Maryland.

On the 3d of July it was ordered that the following corps and regiments should hold themselves ready for embarkation:

1. The Jäger Corps, which now consisted of three Hessian, one Anspach, and one mounted company, each being made up of 173 men.[1]
2. Two battalions of light infantry.
3. Two battalions of English grenadiers and the English Guards.
4. The three Hessian grenadier battalions, von Linsing, Lengerke, and Minnigerode.
   [Number 5 is missing.]
6. The English Guards.
7. The Queen's Rangers, and Ferguson's[2] sharpshooters, which had recently arrived from England.
8. Five English brigades.
9. Two Hessian brigades.
10. A part of the heavy artillery.
11. The two light dragoon regiments.[3]
12. The 71st Scottish Regiment. Note: Is already counted as the 5th Brigade.

In all, these troops amounted to about fifteen thousand men,[4] and the generals accompanying them, besides General Howe, were Lord Cornwallis, Grant, Grey, Agnew, Knyphausen, and Stirn.[5]

Today the recall of General von Heister came from Hesse, and General von Knyphausen received the command of the Hessian troops.[6]

From the 4th up to the 9th, this entire army was embarked with everything that was necessary for the expedition at Decker's Ferry, Cole's Ferry, Simonsen's Ferry, and Reisen's Ferry on Staten Island.[7]

Since the wind was constantly easterly, the fleet remained at anchor between Long Island and Staten Island in the vicinity of Denys's Ferry[8] up to the 19th. But on the morning of the 20th, about nine o'clock, a light wind arose, whereupon the fleet weighed anchor and put to sea on the same day. The fleet consisted of some two hundred sail[9] and sailed in the following formation:

	The frigate, *Liverpool,* 32 guns.	
	The *Eagle,* 64 guns, on board which were Admiral Howe and the Commanding General Howe.	
Raisonnable, 64 guns	1st Division, Captain Parrey;[10] the transport ships of the English Guards, the light infantry, Queen's Rangers, and Ferguson, on which ships were red and white pennants for signals.	*Augusta,* 64 guns
	2d Division, Captain Dickson;[11] the transport ships of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th English brigades, which had red pennants for signals.	
	3d Division, Captain Harris;[12] the ships of the 5th English Brigade and the supply ships for the navy.	
	4th Division, Captain Sutherland;[13] the transport ships of the English light dragoons, which had red and blue pennants.	
Isis, 50 guns	5th Division, Captain Barker;[14] the transport ships of the English artillery, engineers, Hessian grenadiers and jägers, which had blue pennants.	*Somerset,* 64 guns
	6th Division, Captain Solmann;[15] the two Hessian infantry brigades with General Stirn, and the supply ships of the army, which had blue and white pennants.	
	The *Nonsuch,* 64 guns; a fire ship called the *Vulcan;* the *Vigilant,* with forty 32-pounders. This last ship, which had been built with a flat bottom at New York, was to be used against Philadelphia.	
Swift sloop, 16 guns	Four row galleys	*Dispatch,* 16 guns

The 21st. The fleet ran so deep in the sea that we lost sight completely of the coast of America. We had a northwest wind until the 26th, when it became easterly and stormy, and the fleet drifted toward the coast.

Around midnight a great noise arose on the ship. When one inquired after the cause, a jäger of the watch cried out: "I just want to report that we are going to sink soon; the ship is already full of water!" The army chaplain Cöster of the grenadier brigade, who wanted to see where he was going, asked for light, at which the entire crew burst into loud laughter. But it did not take long for the ship's captain to discover that the alarm had arisen from a sailor who had fallen asleep on the deck and had dreamed that the ship was about to sink.

On the 31st we were at 39° north latitude and discovered the two promontories, Capes Henlopen and St. James, which border on the mouth of the Delaware Bay. We found here the man-of-war *Phoenix,*[16] 64 guns, which cruised before the mouth of the Delaware and delivered its report to Admiral Howe.[17]

The 1st of August. The wind was good; the fleet ran to sea again and veered southward. We perceived that under this turning toward the Delaware lay a hidden strategem of the admiral to make the enemy army uncertain of our landing.[18]

The 9th. Thus far we had very light southerly winds for the most part. We were at 38° 12′ north latitude and had again approached land. Since the 1st we have had the most violent thunder and lightning each evening from seven to ten o'clock, combined with the heaviest downpour and storm. Yesterday's thunderstorm killed the ship's carpenter of the *Jenny,*[19] but did not do much damage to the ship.

On the 15th we were at 37° 7′ north latitude. We could see Cape Henry and the coast of Virginia, and the fleet dropped anchor in the mouth of Chesapeake Bay at seven o'clock in the evening. The mouth of the bay is so wide here that one can hardly make out the land on both sides. Since we could sail with the help of the tide, we sailed constantly with the flood tide and anchored at the ebb tide, for the wind was continuously very light and we often had complete calm.

During the night of the 20th we heard over twenty cannon shots from the land, which was the signal for the approach of our fleet, and indicated the gathering of the Americans. Today I dined at midday with Commodore Griffith[20] on the *Nonsuch,* where we learned through a messenger sent to shore that Washington was awaiting the English army behind Brandywine Creek.[21] We saw today a great many white swans and sea eagles.

On the 22d, about five o'clock in the morning, the anchors were raised with a favorable east wind and the transport ships, which had the jägers, light infantry, and grenadiers on board, were given the signal to take the head of the fleet under full sail. Since Lord Howe, out of caution, frequently took soundings himself in a boat at the head of the fleet, the passage went very slowly, and the anchors were cast three times today.

The 23d. The fleet arrived at noon today at the mouth of the Susquehanna, where it anchored. Admiral Howe and General Howe went on board the boat again to reconnoiter the mouths of the Susquehanna, the

North East, and the Elk rivers, taking along two row galleys for their protection. Captain Wreden and thirty jägers were loaded on one galley, and I with the same number of men on the other one. In the vicinity of Turkey Point we discovered a number of armed men, on foot and on horse. The galleys approached within gunshot range, whereupon the Americans withdrew and we sent several rifle shots after them. We returned to our ships during the night.

At the same time, all the brigade majors and adjutants received orders to appear on the *Roman Emperor*[22] at four o'clock on the morning of the 24th, returning about six o'clock with the following order: "The troops are to prepare immediately for disembarkation. They will be supplied by the ships with rum, biscuit, and cooked salt pork for five days. They are to board the flatboats at once when they arrive alongside the transport ships. During the landing, they will try to assemble with the greatest expedition, without maintaining company position. Each boat will take aboard fifty men."

The first disembarkation, under Lord Cornwallis and Colonel Donop, consisted of the foot jägers, the light infantry, the English grenadiers, and the Guards. Should the enemy oppose the landing, Lord Cornwallis would order the disposition for further attack.

The second disembarkation, under General Agnew, consisted of the Hessian grenadiers, the Queen's Rangers, Ferguson's sharpshooters, and the 4th and 23d regiments.

The third, under General Grey, of the 28th, 49th, 5th, 10th, 27th, 40th, 55th, 15th, and 42d regiments.

The fourth, under General Knyphausen, of the 44th, 17th, 33d, 37th, 46th, and 64th regiments.[23]

The fifth, under General Stirn, of both Hessian brigades, the Leib, Donop, and Mirbach regiments, and the Combined Regiment under Colonel Loos.

The cavalry disembarked after the infantry, and all the artillery and ammunition, supply wagons, and other stores after the cavalry.

PART TWO

From the landing on Turkey Point until the army arrived at Philadelphia.

On the 25th of August, at two o'clock in the morning, the flatboats arrived alongside the transport ships of the first disembarkation, which were quickly boarded by the troops and set in motion according to the order. Five boats formed one line, led by a naval officer in a small boat, with Captain Baurmaster[24] commanding the boats. Two sloops and the four row galleys covered the troops. Both Howe brothers were present.

About ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the first disembarkation landed on Turkey Point in the Elk River in the Province of Maryland,[25] amid boisterous shouts of joy and in the best order. Several enemy parties were seen, which honored us with a few cannon shots at long range but withdrew in great haste. The entire fleet followed the boats, and dropped anchor in the area where the first disembarkation had landed. The jägers, under Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb, immediately moved forward a half an hour into the country through a pathless region which was cut through with brushwood and steep rocks. They took post in a wood where we found the highway to Head of Elk[26] and several devastated plantations. By evening, four disembarkations had landed.

The whole peninsula, or headland, was a real wilderness. Just as we found the uncultivated vine,[27] the sassafras tree, and wild melon in this region, so also was it full of different kinds of vermin. The woods, especially, were filled with snakes and toads. Each tree was full of big chafers,[28] which made such a noise during the night that two men could not speak to each other and understand what was said. Added to this, a violent thunderstorm came with a downpour whereby the warmth of the air, which had been extremely intense during the day, increased to such a degree that we believed we would suffocate in the fiery air. This terrible weather continued until about ten o'clock on the morning of the 26th. Since no one was permitted to take more equipage than he could carry on his back, which meant only a shirt and a pair of stockings, and because all were without horses and wagons, everyone got so wet that it had to be strictly forbidden to change clothes.

In the afternoon the Jäger Corps conducted a patrol into the country toward the North East River. We found waist-high grass, oxen, sheep, turkeys, and all kinds of wild fowl. Since we did not find any of the enemy, we skirmished with these animals, of which so many were killed that the entire Corps was provided with fresh provisions. The heat was so great that several jägers fell down dead. Toward evening several thunderstorms came up again with a heavy downpour, which continued until the forenoon of the 27th.

On the 28th at four o'clock in the morning the greater part of the army marched toward Elktown in the following order: (1) the foot jägers and an officer and twenty mounted jägers; (2) the two battalions of English light infantry; (3) the Queen's Rangers; (4) Ferguson's sharpshooters; (5) the two battalions of English grenadiers; (6) an artillery brigade; (7) the three Hessian grenadier battalions; (8) an artillery brigade; (9) the English Guards; (10) the 1st and 2d brigades of English infantry, and the wagons with the military chest, tools, hospital, ammunition, and provisions; (11) three troops of English dragoons; (12) the mounted jägers; and (13) the 71st Highland Regiment.

The rest of the army remained on Turkey Point under command of

General von Knyphausen. We found an enemy post stationed behind a creek about a half an hour this side of Elktown, which withdrew after an hour's skirmish.[29]

As soon as we became master of this defile, the Jäger Corps had to cover the right flank of the army. I marched with eighty jägers to the right of the Corps, with orders to keep to the right as far as possible. In the distance I discovered a number of masts, which I drew near to see where these vessels were situated. I tried to gain a hill at whose base ran a river[30] in which I saw some twenty ships lying at anchor. I fired several shots at the people standing on the decks, who immediately made signs for peace with their hats and white kerchiefs, whereupon I had the ships boarded by an officer and twenty jägers. I learned from the sailors and passengers that the ships were partly loaded with all sorts of personal effects belonging to the fleeing inhabitants of Elktown, and had been prevented from running out of Chesapeake Bay by our fleet. I asked several sailors about the value of their cargo, because it was indeed an excellent prize for us. They assured me that it surely had ladings for a hundred thousand piasters, which, besides the effects, included much indigo, tobacco, sugar, and wine. I ordered the officer not to touch anything, and reported it at once to the Commanding General, who accompanied the Jäger Corps. The jäger detachment was replaced by Englishmen, and that was the end. I found here that my honesty was carried too far; they laughed at me, and I learned from my mistake.[31]

The army encamped beyond the town in quadrangle formation, and the Jäger Corps, with the light infantry and the Queen's Rangers, were posted in a wood in front of the army where the two roads branch off to Christiana Bridge[32] or Wilmington. In this entire region we did not find a single living creature except wild animals; hence the army needed a guide, but the inhabitants had run off, taking with them all the livestock. Patrols were sent out on all sides to hunt for people and horses. But since this entire area was overgrown with woods, and we had no information about the enemy, no one was permitted to go any farther than where he could get support from the army.

At daybreak on the 29th, and in the morning about nine o'clock, the army was alarmed on all sides by enemy parties. A few foot jägers and some infantrymen were killed and wounded, since our sentries beyond the two highways could scarcely see over twenty paces in front of themselves because of the thick wood.

Toward three o'clock in the afternoon I had to conduct a patrol for an hour on the highway with one hundred foot jägers. In the distance I discovered some enemy sentries, who ran away without firing. In a short time a few men appeared again, who fired, wounding a jäger, and ran off. I did not return fire, and drew back under cover of the half-moon without being pursued by the enemy.

On the 30th General Knyphausen crossed the Elk River to disperse an American corps in the neighborhood, and to hunt up horses and slaughter cattle for the army. Toward evening the jäger post was alarmed by the enemy, whereby a sentry was shot dead.

On the 31st Quartermaster General Erskine with one thousand Englishmen conducted a party to Fisher's Mill, which was situated four hours to the left of Elktown. The mill was occupied by three hundred Americans, whereby a considerable flour storehouse fell into our hands. During this fight we captured a colonel, several officers, and fifty men, through whom we learned that General Maxwell[33] had occupied Iron Hill with three thousand men, and that the main army under General Washington was stationed behind Brandywine Creek.

The 1st of September. Early today the Queen's Rangers under Major Wemyss, which were posted to the right of the jägers, were attacked by an enemy party, which was driven back, and one captain and several men of the Ottendorff Corps were captured. The name of the captain was Üchritz.[34] He was a Saxon nobleman, and had served in the army of the Electorate of Saxony. He did not wish to be exchanged, but asked for permission to return to Germany. He reported that the American army had sixteen thousand regular troops in very good condition, and that a Prussian colonel named Baron von Steuben[35] had arrived at the army, who is said to be an able man and highly regarded by General Washington. Several French officers had also arrived: the Marquis de Lafayette[36] and the Chevalier Armand.[37] The latter had raised a legion.

On the 3d at daybreak the army left its camp at Elktown and set out. General Grant remained behind at Elktown with his brigade to protect the communication of the army with the fleet. On this march I had the advanced guard, whereupon the Commanding General recommended the greatest caution.

The army marched past Amborn[38] to Aiken's Tavern[39] in the Welsh district of Pennsylvania.[40] At daybreak the army halted here momentarily. The Quartermaster General gave me six dragoons and ordered me to march at once to the left, where I should follow for five to six hundred paces a road which led to Iron Hill and Christiana Bridge. I took the dragoons with me to find the road that I had to take, and had not gone a hundred paces from the advanced guard when I received fire from a hedge, through which these six men were all either killed or wounded. My horse, which normally was well used to fire, reared so high several times that I expected it would throw me. I cried out, "Foot jägers forward!" and advanced with them to the area from which the fire was coming. My horse followed the men, but I did not observe that the good animal, which had carried me the whole day, was wounded in the belly; it died in the evening. At this moment I ran into another enemy party, with which I became heavily engaged. Lieutenant Colonel von Wurmb, who came up with the entire Corps assisted by the light infantry, ordered the advanced guard to be supported.

By this time it was broad daylight and we saw the mountain,[41] which was overgrown with woods, rising up like an amphitheater and occupied by enemy troops. The Commander in Chief himself appeared and ordered Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb to drive the enemy off the mountain. The charge was sounded, and the enemy was attacked so severely and with such spirit by the jägers that we became masters of the mountain after a seven-hour engagement.

During our fight the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry, under Colonel Abercromby, tried to take the enemy in the rear, but was prevented from doing so by a marsh, whereby the jägers alone enjoyed the honor of driving the enemy out of his advantageous position. The majority of the jägers came to close quarters with the enemy, and the hunting sword was used as much as the rifle. Our loss consisted of eleven dead and forty-five wounded, while the enemy lost very many men including two colonels, according to statements of the prisoners, who numbered five officers and some forty men.[42]

In the afternoon the army encamped behind Cooch's Creek. General Knyphausen, who had procured about three hundred horses and a great number of slaughter cattle on his expedition, took his position to the right of the army at Aiken's Tavern. The Jäger Corps received its post in a wood on the highway to Newark, between Cooch's and Fisher's mills, to the left of the army.

On the 4th the Jäger Corps received the following expression of thanks from the Commander in Chief in an order of the army:

> The courageous manner in which Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb, all the other officers, and the entire personnel of the Jäger Corps, defeated yesterday the picked troops of the enemy army on the mountain near Cooch's Mill, deserves the highest praise and the fullest acknowledgment of the Commander in Chief, and has attracted the greatest admiration of the entire army.
>
> W. Howe[43]

The brigade under General Grant joined up today with the army, from which we learned that the fleet had left the Chesapeake and sailed to the Delaware. Everyone now clearly saw that the army would remain destitute of tents and all necessities until we were master of Philadelphia.

On the 6th the news arrived that General Sullivan was advancing up to the heights of Newark with two thousand men to control this defile. Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb marched at once toward Newark with the Jäger Corps to reconnoiter the enemy, but we found only a small post, with which our advanced guard under Captain Wreden skirmished. We captured two prisoners, who assured us that the Americans had lost thirteen officers in the skirmish of the 3d, among whom were four staff officers.

On the afternoon of the 7th, several battalions from Newark were seen in the vicinity of our outposts, whereupon the entire army received orders to march at once. Toward evening the army set out in three divisions in the following order:

First Division

1. The dismounted Jäger Corps, and one officer with twelve mounted jägers.
2. The two battalions of light infantry.
3. The two English and the three Hessian battalions of grenadiers.
4. The English Guards Brigade.
5. The mounted jägers.

Under Lord Cornwallis

Second Division

1. Two troops of the 16th Regiment of Dragoons.
2. The 1st Brigade of English artillery.
3. The 1st and 2d brigades of English infantry.
4. The 2d Brigade of artillery.
5. The 3d and 4th brigades of English infantry.
6. The war chest, ammunition, provisions, and hospital wagons.
7. The 3d Battalion of the 71st Scottish Regiment covered the right flank.

Under General Grant

Third Division

1. The 3d Brigade of English artillery.
2. The Stirn Brigade of the four Hessian regiments.[44]
3. Two troops of the 16th Regiment of Dragoons.
4. The 40th Regiment.
5. The 1st and 2d battalions of the 71st Scottish Regiment.
6. The Queen's Rangers and Ferguson's Corps.

Under General Knyphausen

The Pioneer Corps was divided into four divisions, with the first marching at the head of the English grenadiers and the remaining three in front of each artillery brigade.

The army marched past Newark and toward morning on the 8th crossed the White Clay Creek, which was surrounded on both sides by steep, rocky heights that formed a most frightful defile half an hour in length.[45] I still cannot understand why Sullivan abandoned this position, where a hundred riflemen could have held up the army a whole day and killed many men. My hair stood on end as we crammed into the defile, and I imagined nothing more certain than an unexpected attack at the moment when we would have barely stuck our nose out of the defile. For the precipitous rocks on both sides of the creek and along the defile were so steep that no one could scale them. But I surmised Sullivan had reasoned that General Howe would never choose this route, because he had stationed himself behind the Christiana Bridge. He had interspersed the marshy bank with thirty cannon, making a good defile there, which position was now bypassed during this march.

The army pitched camp on the wooded heights along the road from Lancaster, where it intersects the road from Newport. We learned through several prisoners who fell into the hands of the jägers that Washington was awaiting the English army behind Brandywine Creek.

This region of Pennsylvania is extremely mountainous and traversed by thick forests; nevertheless it is very well cultivated and very fertile. Because we descended upon the inhabitants so quickly, contrary to their expectations, they had not left their plantations, and those who tried to escape fell into the hands of the army.

Toward evening one of our patrols brought in a coach harnessed to six very fine horses. Found in the coach was Lady Patterson,[46] the wife of an American colonel—a lady who before autumn had overtaken her beauty must have been attractive—together with her maid, a dainty blonde, and three Negro servants. The entire baggage was thoroughly searched, and everything belonging to the colonel was distributed among the jägers. Since darkness now fell over this *partage d'Arlequin,*[47] and these ladies did not dare to continue their journey at night, they were put up for the night in our gypsy dwellings, which were mostly nothing but huts of brushwood.

At daybreak, after we had treated the ladies to breakfast and had exchanged their six good horses for six very patient ones, they resumed their journey. They bid us farewell and we wished them a pleasant journey. I do not believe they had ever dreamed in all their lives of making a *toilette* under such circumstances.

The 9th. Since we received intelligence that General Washington had crossed Brandywine Creek and was drawing up, the army set out in two columns in the afternoon to Kennett Square. Lord Cornwallis commanded the column on the right, and General Knyphausen the one on the left. During this march the English army exposed its right flank to the enemy; therefore all the light troops had to cover the right. Of this march, which occurred during a very dark night, there is not much to tell, except that it went through impassable and marshy woods, and that we often were in the greatest danger of going astray, without knowing how we would get through.

Meanwhile, we arrived on the morning of the 10th at Kennett Square, where the army brigades rested one behind the other. General Knyphausen remained here with the left column, while the column under Lord Cornwallis marched a good hour to the right as far as East Marlborough, where it camped along the highway to Philadelphia with the Jäger Corps covering the right flank.

The inhabitants in this region are generally Quakers, who, since they did not want to participate in the war, did not flee, but arrived in crowds and asked for protection. Here, in this area, the army found an abundance of everything, through which the insatiable appetite of the soldier was satisfied to the greatest extent. We received positive information here that the greater part of the American army had entrenched behind the left bank of the Brandywine.

On the 11th, at two o'clock in the morning, the entire army set out in two columns. The one on the right, under General Knyphausen, began marching to Chad's Ford. The approaches there ran through a marshy wood to the crossing, which the enemy had strongly fortified. The column on the left, under Lord Cornwallis, which General Howe personally accompanied, began marching to the left toward Jefferis's Ford,[48] where the Brandywine Creek has two branches which are very good for crossing, in order to outflank the fortified position of the enemy.

General Knyphausen had hardly set out on his march to Welch's Tavern when the Queen's Rangers and Ferguson's sharpshooters, which formed the advanced guard, fell into an enemy ambuscade concealed in a marshy wood on the right and left of the highway, through which nearly half of the two corps was either killed or wounded. Since the army now followed hard on these advanced troops, General Knyphausen ordered it to attack the enemy in the wood as soon as the advanced guard had recovered somewhat from its shock.

The 2d Brigade and the 4th Regiment covered and supported this attack on the left, with the 1st Brigade on the right, while the Stirn Brigade moved into the defile to the marsh. The enemy then put more troops across the Brandywine to support the troops on the wooded heights, and to make passage across the marsh more difficult. In order to prevent this, General Knyphausen ordered the Queen's Rangers to cross the marsh. They attacked the enemy with the bayonet so courageously, without firing, that he lost ground. During this attack Major Ferguson, who tried to get through an almost impenetrable morass, fell upon the enemy's left flank with his handful of sharpshooters, whereupon the enemy abandoned his position on this side of the Brandywine.

The entire Knyphausen Corps then crossed the marsh, where the 4th and 5th regiments on the left had to move across the creek at the plank bridge to dislodge the enemy stationed in front of them. At this moment

General Cleaveland[49] moved up on the high ground adjacent to this road with two heavy and two light 12-pounders, placing two more 6-pounders underneath, in order to fire upon the battery of the enemy situated on the other side. The 27th Regiment covered our battery, and the 28th Regiment occupied the height lying beyond the marsh. The remaining troops drew up through the wood between the three regiments, near the right bank of the Brandywine, in spite of the heaviest cannon fire. The enemy was driven out of this hilly country by sustained artillery and small-arms fire. He tried to defend the crossing of Chad's Ford and the bridge in the most stubborn manner, but had to give way to the spirited attack of the 4th and 5th regiments.[50]

Since the enemy now abandoned the left bank of the creek, and we were masters of the ford, General Knyphausen ordered the army to halt and to ground arms until he received further information of General Howe's attack.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, they perceived in the distance that the enemy was moving from his left to his right, and they saw that the road to Chester was crowded with wagons. Toward four o'clock they learned of the approach of the column on the left, under Lord Cornwallis, through continuous cannon and small-arms fire, whereupon General Knyphausen immediately formed again for his attack.

General Cleaveland quickly brought down his guns from the heights to the shore to cover the crossing. The 4th and 5th regiments formed the van, followed by the two battalions of the 71st Highland Regiment, Ferguson's Corps, the Queen's Rangers, the 23d Regiment, the remainder of the 1st and 2d brigades, the dragoons, and the four Hessian regiments under General Stirn.

The enemy had a battery of heavy guns on the road from Chad's Ford, covered by infantry and cavalry, with which they could fire on the road from the ford. The enemy had a second battery placed more to the right near a wooded spot on a hill, and a third was farther to the left, which, however, was directed toward Cornwallis's column.

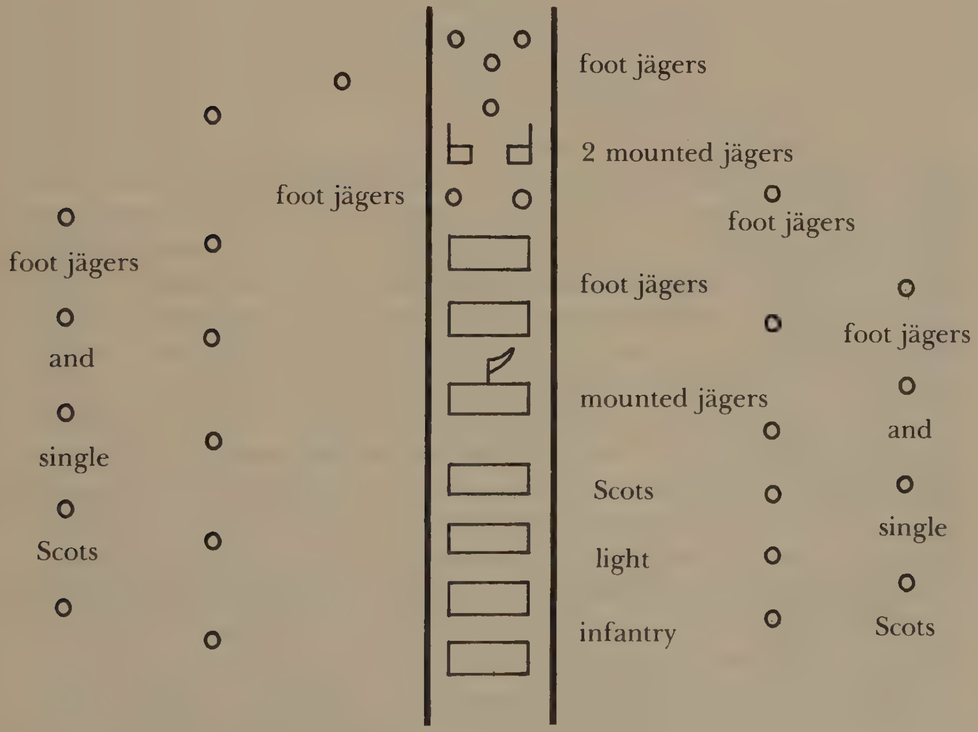
The 4th and 5th regiments, along with the 71st Highland Regiment, Ferguson's, and the Queen's Rangers, waded through the creek at Chad's Ford, which is about fifty paces wide and a half-man deep, under grapeshot and small-arms fire from the enemy's first battery. They continued their march on the aforesaid road in the best order without firing a shot, deployed with complete composure, attacked the battery and the escort with the bayonet, stabbed down all who offered resistance, and captured four cannon and a howitzer.

A part of the enemy infantry[51] took a new position behind the first fence or wall, defending itself from wall to wall in the best way possible, but was constantly attacked from post to post by our gallant troops and finally completely driven back over the hills toward Chester. During this attack the 23d Regiment and the remaining part of the 1st and 2d brigades moved to the left and fell upon the fleeing enemy, who were beaten by the corps under Lord Cornwallis.

This was the attack under General Knyphausen, which actually was supposed to be the sham attack on the enemy. I will now pass to the one under Lord Cornwallis, in which I personally participated.

I led the advanced guard of the column under Lord Cornwallis, which consisted of sixty foot jägers, Lieutenant Hagen[52] with fifteen mounted jägers, a company of Highlanders from the 42d Regiment under Captain McPherson,[53] and a company of light infantry under Captain Scott.[54] I had hardly marched half an hour when I ran into a warning post of the enemy, five to six hundred men strong, who withdrew from one favorable position to another under constant skirmishing until around noontime.[55]

Now, since I was ordered to march as slowly as possible, and to use all caution in order not to fall into an ambuscade, as the area was traversed by hills, woodlands, marshes, and the steepest defiles, I marched in the following order.


foot jägers
2 mounted jägers
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foot jägers
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mounted jägers
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light
infantry
foot jägers
and
single
Scots

Lord Cornwallis had sent me a guide who was a real geographical chart and almost a general by nature.[56] During the entire march I often spoke with him regarding the area which was beyond the horizon. He constantly judged so correctly that I always found the enemy there where he presumed him to be. His description was so good that I was often amazed at the knowledge this man possessed of the country.

About two o'clock in the afternoon the army crossed the Brandywine, which has two branches enclosed by hills,[57] where the road ran up along a deep and winding precipice. I halted on this side of the defile, where Lord Cornwallis himself came to me. My guide asserted that if we did not meet with the enemy here, he must have been defeated by General Knyphausen, whose fire we had heard during the whole day and which moved on with us.[58]

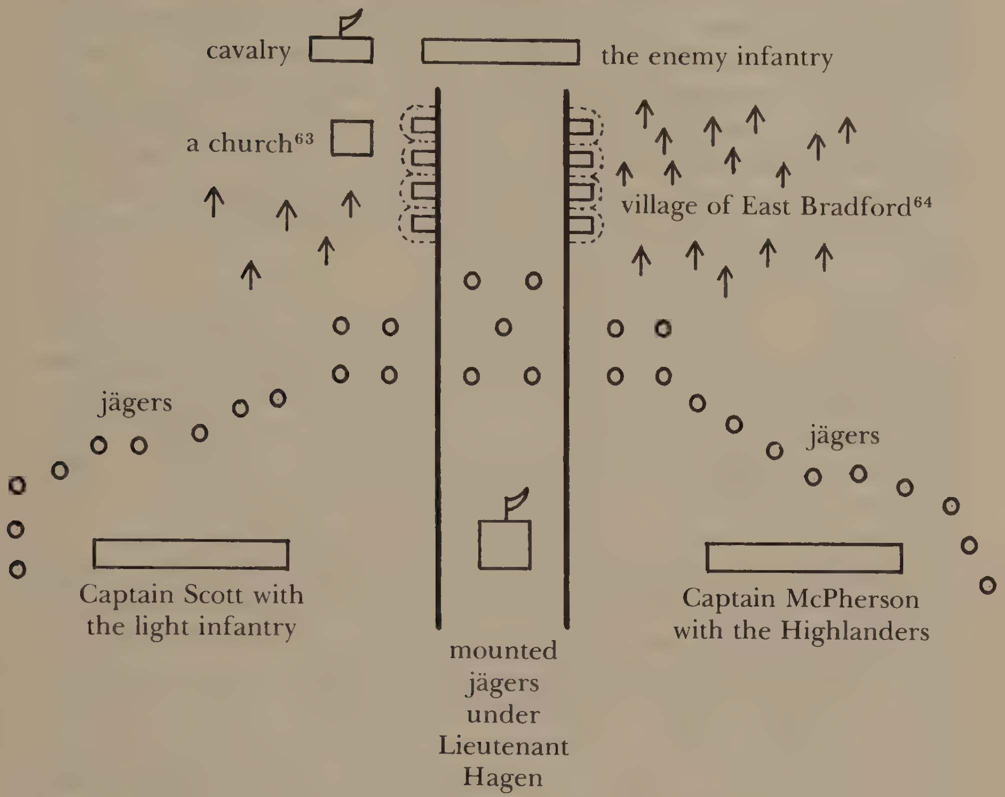
I took twelve jägers and let them pass the defile by twos, two hundred paces apart, with instructions to take post as soon as all twelve were across and had reached a point where they could see far around. But as soon as the van of the enemy was encountered, they were to retreat by twos.

I was astonished when I had safely reached the end of this terrible defile, which was over a thousand paces long, and could discover nothing of the enemy a good half hour away. Lord Cornwallis, who had followed me, was surprised himself and could not understand why the warning post with which I had fought from morning until around noon was not stationed here.[59] The pass had been left wide open for us, where a hundred men could have held up either army the whole day.[60]

The advanced guard then passed the defile and the entire army followed. A good quarter hour distant, or two thousand paces, Lord Cornwallis again came to me and ordered me to halt.[61] The army then marched up, regiment behind regiment, and halted for about a half an hour, whereupon Adjutant General Ross[62] brought me orders to proceed and said to the jägers: "One more good hour's marching and you will eat Welsh hens. General Knyphausen has thoroughly beaten Washington."

About half past three, I caught sight of some infantry and horsemen behind a village on a hill in the distance, which was formed like an amphitheater. I asked my guide what he thought about these guests, whereupon he replied that this was surely a party covering the road to Chester on which Washington was retreating. I said, "Good, we will attack the village," and rode over to Captain McPherson, whom I had to consult because he was the senior captain. I gave him my opinion, which he, as well as the worthy Scott, fully agreed with.

I drew up at once and deployed the jägers, asking McPherson and Scott to support me on both flanks, and ordered the mounted jägers to follow the foot jägers in the center. My disposition was about as follows.


cavalry
the enemy infantry
a church[63]
village of East Bradford[64]
jägers
jägers
Captain Scott with the light infantry
Captain McPherson with the Highlanders
mounted jägers under Lieutenant Hagen

I reached the first houses of the village with the flankers of the jägers, and Lieutenant Hagen followed me with the horsemen. But unfortunately for us, the time this took favored the enemy and I received extremely heavy small-arms fire from the gardens and houses, through which, however, only two jägers were wounded. Everyone ran back, and I formed them again behind the fences or walls at a distance of two hundred paces from the village. They shouted to me that the army was far behind, and I became not a little embarrassed to find myself quite alone with the advanced guard. But now that the business had begun, I still wanted to obtain information about these people who had let me go so easily.[65]

I then took with me the mounted jäger Hoffman, a very courageous fellow, and two Scots and tried to reach a hill[66] which lay to the right of the village. I gazed in astonishment when I got up the hill, for I found behind it—three to four hundred paces away—an entire line deployed in the best order, several of whom waved to me with their hats but did not shoot. I kept composed, examined them closely, rode back, and reported it at once to Lord Cornwallis by the jäger Hoffman.[67]

As I rode back, I crossed a road that led to the right through a light wood. I told a Scot to follow this road for a few hundred paces. I rode after him, and caught sight of a whole enemy column with guns marching through the valley in which Lord Cornwallis's column had been marching for some time, a quarter or a half hour away to the right. They must have been from the defeated troops, which wanted to rejoin the part of the army behind East Bradford. Had I had a battalion with me, I would have cut off this column. I rode back to my detachment and reported this event.[68]

During this entire time the enemy had not stirred in the village. The army came up and deployed behind the advanced guard in approximately the following order, as far as I could discover. The light infantry was directly behind me; the jägers[69] were on the left of the light infantry, which joined the English Guards and the English grenadiers. I saw the artillery brought up in several sections. The Hessian grenadiers and the remaining troops formed the second line. From this time on, I did not see one general. Where they were reconnoitering, I don't know.[70]

As soon as the army had drawn near me by three or four hundred paces, and I received no orders, I attacked the village and the church on the hill, which the enemy abandoned as soon as he saw the line of the advanced guard at the same hill.[71] The enemy army had moved up during the fight on this hill,[72] behind which I had discovered him. Now the enemy was boldly attacked along the entire line and driven back as far as Dilworthtown, after a steady, stubborn fight from hill to hill and from wall to wall, during which five enemy cannon were taken by the English grenadiers. The army halted on the heights several hundred paces from the village. During the action Colonel Wurmb fell on the flank of the enemy, and Sergeant Bickell[73] with six jägers moved to his rear, whereupon the entire right wing of the enemy fled to Dilworthtown.[74]

As I called back my advanced guard, which had fought dispersed along the whole line, and was reforming in front of the English grenadiers, Lord Cornwallis appeared and ordered the two colonels, Meadows and Monckton, to occupy the village with both battalions of grenadiers.[75]

Now, since I believed that the action had ended, I told Colonel Monckton, whom I knew quite well, that I wanted to ride with him and ordered the jäger officers to assemble the advanced guard. We had hardly reached the village when we received intense grapeshot and musketry fire which threw the grenadiers into disorder, but they recovered themselves quickly, deployed, and attacked the village. Colonel Meadows asked me to ride back and get assistance.

In the distance I saw red coats and discovered that it was General Agnew with his brigade.[76] I requested him to support the grenadiers, and pointed out a hill which, if he gained it, the enemy could not take the grenadiers in the flank. He followed, and we had no sooner reached the hill than we ran into several American regiments, which were just about to take the grenadiers in the flank and rear. At this point there was terrible firing, and half of the Englishmen and nearly all of the officers of these two regiments (they were the 44th and 64th regiments) were slain. I certainly believe that the affair would have turned out to be an even more dirty one if an English artillery officer had not hurried up with two light 6-pounders and fired on the enemy's flank with grapeshot, whereupon the enemy retreated toward Chester. Night fell over this story and the hot day came to an end.[77]

During the night the army remained on the battlefield in the position in which it had fought. General Knyphausen had maneuvered his column so skillfully during the battle that the left wing of his corps joined up with the troops of the right wing under Lord Cornwallis. Had General Howe set out two hours earlier, or marched faster, Washington's army would have been caught between two fires, and could have been cut off from the Schuylkill and completely destroyed. In fact, several good friends from headquarters assured me that this mistake was caused by the guides, who had declared the route shorter than we found it to be.

The loss on our side was estimated at nine hundred killed and wounded, among which were sixty-four officers.[78] The Jäger Corps lost some thirty men, among whom were Captain Trautvetter, and Lieutenant Förstner[79] of the Anspach Jäger Company, who were killed while serving with the advanced guard.[80]

The loss of the enemy was said to have been fairly equal with ours. Over four hundred men were captured, among whom were some forty officers.[81]

When one reviews the entire attack on the enemy, one will perceive that General Howe is not a middling man but indeed a good general, and it really is regrettable that the result of the battle fell short of the excellent and carefully prepared plans. For my part, I conclude that the slow march of the left column took place with all deliberation, so that the American army would not be destroyed to pay a fresh compliment to the Opposition Party, and to bring forth a new proposal. My suspicions were strengthened anew when I observed the army on the battlefield overnight—perfectly quiet, without a single man sent after the enemy and without any outposts—so quiet, in fact, that if Washington had been such a great man as they proclaimed him to be on the other side, and had returned during the night, he would have been able to recover everything lost, double and triple.[82]

On the 12th, in the afternoon, General Grant marched toward Chester with the 1st and 2d brigades, since we received information that the enemy was entrenching there. We also learned from several well-disposed inhabitants who arrived at camp that the entire road from Chad's Ford to Chester had been so crowded with baggage and artillery during the night that the enemy army in its flight did not know how to get through. These people could not express sufficiently their astonishment that the jägers and light infantry had allowed this great number of wagons to move off so peacefully.

On the 13th Lord Cornwallis followed General Grant with the English light infantry, the grenadiers, and a part of the dragoons to take possession of Chester and Darby.

Toward afternoon the Jäger Corps marched an hour behind the army to take post on the road to Turk's Head,[83] because we had received intelligence that Washington had divided his army into two parts. Hence we now had the enemy in the front and in the rear, although we had gained a victory.

On the 15th the Jäger Corps sent constant strong patrols toward Turk's Head, which usually encountered enemy patrols. They skirmished with them and brought in several prisoners, through whom we obtained the information that Washington would not move his army to Philadelphia but toward Lancaster to keep his rear open, and that he would abandon Philadelphia to us without striking a blow.

Before daybreak on the 16th, the army marched in the following order to Goshen Meeting House[84] to rejoin Lord Cornwallis's troops: the Jäger Corps, the Hessian grenadiers, the English Guards, the Hessian Leib Regiment, the artillery, General Agnew's brigade, and the baggage; the Hessian Regiment Donop formed the rear guard. The march went by way of Turk's Head. One hour this side of the Goshen Meeting House the news arrived that the enemy had taken an advantageous position in the mountains of Valley Forge near White Horse,[85] whereupon the army altered its march to the left. But the advanced guard had hardly arrived at the Boot Tavern[86] when they learned that an enemy corps of two to three thousand men had appeared on the left flank of the army.

After receiving this information, Colonel Donop immediately took the advanced guard of the jägers under Captain Wreden and the mounted jägers under Captain Lorey to reconnoiter the enemy. A half an hour away he ran into an enemy party, which withdrew. The colonel pursued them too far, through which mistake an enemy party passed between him and the army and cut off his retreat. Captain Lorey, fearing an enemy trick, urged the colonel to go back, because he believed this enemy party was sent out to lure him into a trap. The colonel agreed and drew back, but found his return route occupied by the enemy. Captain Lorey decided to break through with the horsemen to relieve the foot jägers, notwithstanding that the enemy had posted himself very favorably behind walls and fences and kept up a sustained rifle fire. This was successful and the colonel got off with his skin.—That is not a trade for one to follow who has no knowledge of it.—We all laughed secretly over this partisan trick.

After this report, which Colonel Donop personally delivered to the Commanding General, the Jäger Corps companies were stationed on the left flank of the army at intervals of eight hundred to one thousand paces. At this moment, I believe that it was about five o'clock in the afternoon, an extraordinary thunderstorm occurred, combined with the heaviest downpour in this world.[87] The army halted. On the left was a thick wood, from which our flank patrols had been dislodged by the enemy.

General Knyphausen, who arrived at my company on horseback, ordered me to attack the people in the wood, and the same order was sent to the other companies. I had to cross open ground for several hundred paces before I reached the wood in which the enemy was hiding. During this time I was exposed to enemy fire, which did not seem to be very heavy, since most of the rifles did not fire owing to the heavy rain. I ordered the jägers to fire and discovered at the second shot that the rifles misfired. But since the attack had to be carried out, I ordered the hunting swords drawn.[88] I reached the wood at top speed and came to close quarters with the enemy, who during the furious attack forgot that he had bayonets and quit the field, whereby the jägers captured four officers and some thirty men. The entire loss of the Jäger Corps in this fight consisted of five killed, seven wounded, and three missing.

The army encamped in the vicinity of Boot Tavern in a quadrangle formation. This terrible rain caused the roads to become so bottomless that not one wagon, much less a gun, could get through, and it continued until toward afternoon on the 17th, which gave the enemy time to cross the Schuylkill River with bag and baggage. Indeed, the enemy corps under General Maxwell held up our march somewhat, but it would not have provided much advantage for Washington's army had not the severe downpour occurred.[89]

I firmly believe that we still could have caught up with the greater part of the enemy army, at least the baggage, somewhere near the right bank of the Schuylkill River, if it had been the will of General Howe. But the three-day delay on the battlefield after the battle convinced me that we certainly would have halted even if no rain had fallen, because we surely knew that we were hard on Washington's heels.[90]

On the 18th, at four o'clock in the morning, the army marched in the same order as the day before yesterday past White Horse and the Valley Forge hills, in which area General Grant and Lord Cornwallis and their troops joined up with the army. Toward evening the army encamped on the high ground of Tredyffrin. The jägers received their post where the two roads from Yellow Springs converge near Swedes' Ford.[91] We received information here that the enemy was moving toward Readingtown. During the night a part of the light infantry took possession of an enemy magazine at Valley Forge, which contained four thousand barrels of flour.

On the 19th, at two o'clock in the morning, the army received orders to march in the following order: the Jäger Corps, the 2d Battalion of Light Infantry, the English grenadiers, a part of the artillery, the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th English brigades, the Stirn Brigade, another part of the artillery, the Hessian grenadiers, the 16th Regiment of Dragoons, and the wagons. But since the enemy threatened to recross the Schuylkill at Yellow Springs to destroy the magazine at Valley Forge, the army received counterorders, and Lord Cornwallis went at once to Valley Forge with the 2d Battalion of Light Infantry and the English grenadiers to cover the magazine. Today Quartermaster General Erskine took twenty mounted and twenty foot jägers under Captain Lorey to reconnoiter the hilly area on the left of the Valley Creek, but found it was not occupied by the enemy.

On the 21st at daybreak the army marched according to the previous orders of the 19th, but with the difference that the Stirn Brigade had to take post on the heights of White Horse until the army had passed the defile. About ten o'clock the army passed the defile of the Valley Creek, where Lord Cornwallis was situated on the right bank of this creek. At midday the army crossed the Pickering Creek, where it halted. It set out again in the afternoon and encamped toward evening by the right bank of the Schuylkill in Charlestown Township in Chester County.

On the 22d, at six o'clock in the morning, I conducted a patrol with eighty jägers, fifty grenadiers, and a noncommissioned officer with twelve mounted jägers to Pikeland Township,[92] which lay in the rear of the army, where an enemy party was believed to be stationed.

About eight o'clock I arrived before the village. An enemy party had placed itself behind the houses and fences and fired several shots, to which no attention was paid, whereupon I ordered quick march to get straight at the enemy. But just as I drew up to within one hundred and fifty paces of the village, the enemy fled into the wood so hastily that not a single man was caught.

I passed the village, which consisted of perhaps forty to fifty buildings but had been completely deserted by its inhabitants. I deployed on the other side behind the hedges or walls and searched through the village, where I found a blown-up powder magazine and a rifle factory, in which several thousand pieces of fabricated and unfinished rifles and sabers of all kinds were stored. Meanwhile, I sent Lieutenant Hinrichs with twenty foot jägers into the wood to search it thoroughly for a short distance, but he returned without seeing or hearing anyone. I then ordered everything smashed to pieces, set fire to the factory, and marched back.[93]

At daybreak on the 23d, Lord Cornwallis crossed the Schuylkill through Paulins Ford[94] in the following formation: the light infantry of the Guards, the English grenadiers, the Guards, two troops of dragoons, and a brigade of artillery. The river here is over eight hundred paces wide and about a half-man deep. An enemy detachment which had taken post on the left bank was driven off, in which fight the light infantry of the Guards sustained some twenty dead and wounded. About eight o'clock in the morning the entire army crossed the river and marched to Norriton,[95] where it encamped in a quadrangle formation.

On the 25th, at six o'clock in the morning, the army marched in two columns toward Philadelphia in the following order: the column on the left took the highway, and the one on the right the road along the Schuylkill. During this march we exposed the rear to the enemy. The first column, under Lord Cornwallis, consisted of both battalions of light infantry, the English grenadiers, the English Guards, a brigade of artillery, the 1st, 2d, and 4th English brigades, two troops of dragoons, and the Queen's Rangers. The provisions train and the livestock accompanied this column. The second column, under General Knyphausen, consisted of the 3d English Brigade, the Stirn Brigade, and Hessian grenadiers, the rest of the heavy artillery, which was distributed among the brigades, and the Jäger Corps. The baggage marched ahead of the army, covered by a battalion of infantry and two troops of dragoons.

About six o'clock in the evening the army took up its camp two hours away from Philadelphia. The right wing extended beyond Germantown up to the right bank of the Delaware, and the left up to the waterfall of the Schuylkill. The Queen's Rangers were posted before Kensington on the road to Frankford, the light infantry in the woods before Germantown, and the Jäger Corps behind the defile of the Wissahickon Creek at the Schuylkill River.

This area is quite splendidly cultivated. The inhabitants are mostly Germans but were against us, the most ill-natured people in the world, who could hardly conceal their anger and hostile sentiments. One old lady, who was sitting on a bench before her front door, answered me in pure Palatine German when I rode up to her and asked for a glass of water: "Water I will give you, but I must also ask you: What harm have we people done to you, that you Germans come over here to suck us dry and drive us out of house and home? We have heard enough here of your murderous burning. Will you do the same here as in New York and in the Jerseys? You shall get your pay yet!"

At daybreak on the 26th of September, Lord Cornwallis, with both English grenadier battalions and the Hessian grenadier battalions Linsing and Lengerke along with a part of the artillery, marched to Philadelphia and took possession of the city. Several batteries were set up at once on the Delaware River, above and below the city.

On the 31st a convoy with provisions arrived at Philadelphia from Chester, under escort of the 71st Scottish Regiment, through which the great wants that the army had endured on the march from Turkey Point were remedied in some measure. I speak here not of tea, coffee, sugar, and wine, but only of the necessities of salt and good bread. Very often we had to go without these two essentials which are so necessary to human life. For our bread, which had followed after the army, consisted of biscuit that was filled with worms, and quite often we had to make a ration of one pound last for three days. Here and there we found something good, but this lasted only a day, because we could carry along nothing more than what we could put in our pockets or on the backs of our servants.

The 3d of October. For several days the country people began to bring some provisions to the army. In the meantime, however, high prices existed at camp. For example, a pound of meat cost eight groschen. The bread bought for sixteen groschen, a person could easily consume in two days. A bottle of wine cost a piaster or two gulden.[96] A pound of coffee and a pound of sugar were the same price.

Toward evening Professor Smith[97] from Philadelphia came to me, who owned a country seat close to the jäger post, for which I had provided protection.[98] He asked me to take a little walk with him, which I was quite willing to do since we had enjoyed several days' rest. He led me behind the camp, and when he thought no one would discover us, he addressed me with the following words: "My friend, I confess to you that I am a friend of the States and no friend of the English government, but you have rendered me a friendly turn. You have shown me that humanity which each soldier should not lose sight of. You have protected my property. I will show you that I am grateful. You stand in a corps which is hourly threatened by the danger of the first attack when the enemy approaches. Friend, God bless your person! The success of your arms I cannot wish.—Friend! General Washington has marched up to Norriton today!—Adieu! Adieu!"[99]

Thereupon this grateful man took the road to Philadelphia without saying one word more.[100]

I stood for quite a while as if turned to stone. I thought over this man's entire conversation, hurried into camp, and reported it to Colonel Wurmb, who immediately mounted his horse to report this information to General Knyphausen and to headquarters. General Knyphausen took his precautionary measures at once, but General Howe answered this news with a "That cannot be!"[101]

Meanwhile, it was true! Washington had drawn up to within a German mile[102] of the English army. Since the entire countryside was devoted to him, no person except this honest man would let us know it. We could not learn much from our patrols because they were constantly betrayed by the country people and attacked, and did not dare to venture farther than they could get support.

I was duty officer, and the colonel ordered the pickets which were posted from the Schuylkill along the Wissahickon Creek doubled at midnight. The river covered the army's front on the left. The colonel ordered me to patrol steadily both roads near the Schuylkill and the highway to Norriton. I did this unceasingly, and assigned each part of the picket its place, which should be taken at the first shot.

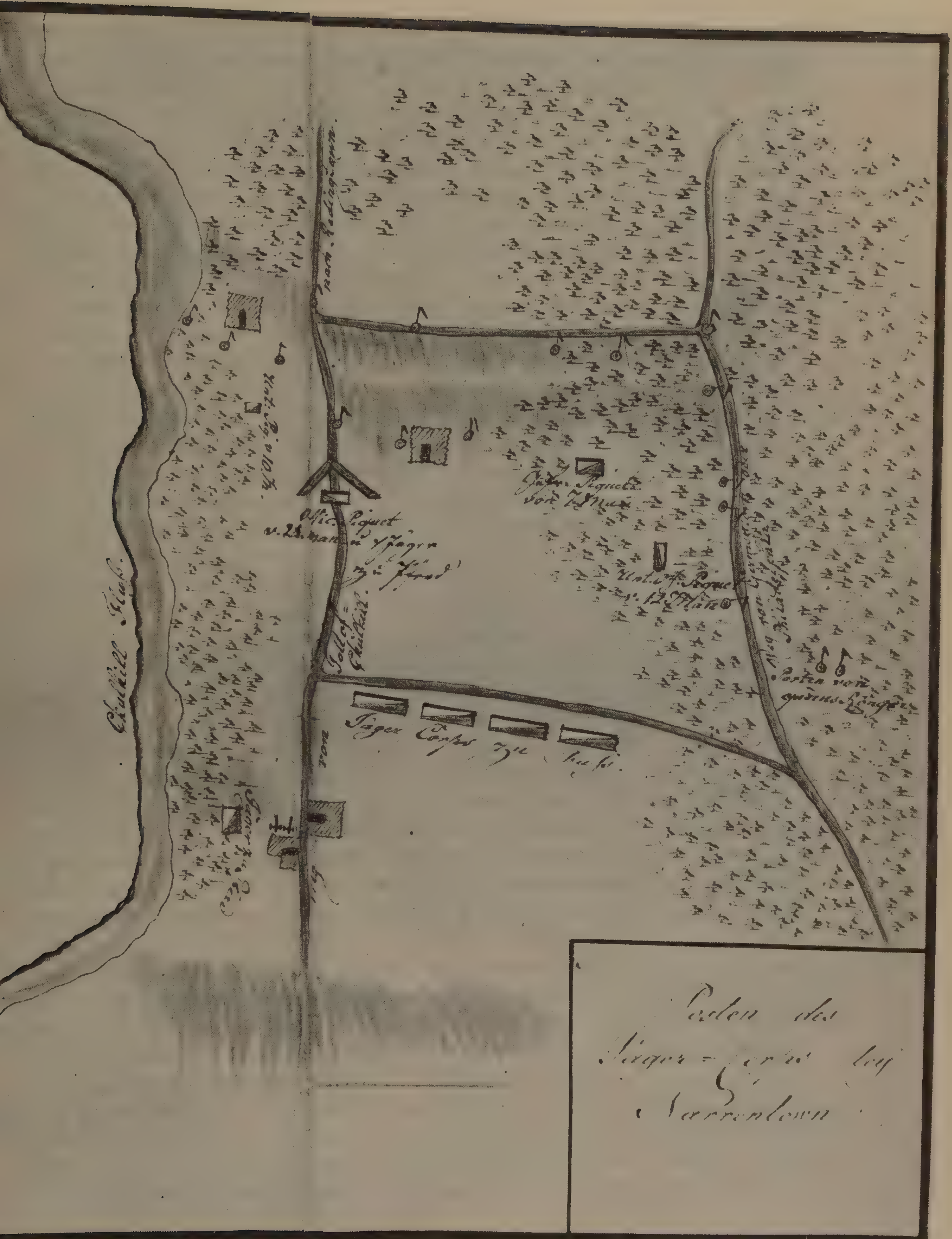
Toward daybreak on the 4th, one of my patrols ran into the enemy a quarter of an hour away and withdrew under constant fire to the defile that I had to defend. I immediately ordered the rocky heights occupied from the left bank of the Schuylkill along the ravine and bridge, which were at Vanderen's Mill, and awaited the enemy. About six o'clock he attacked the pass with two thousand men and several guns under General Potter,[103] and I held out at this post until the end of the engagement.[104]

While this attack against the army's left took place, which actually was the enemy's feint attack, Washington himself attacked the right wing, drove the light infantry back toward Germantown, and pursued it so closely that the English right wing could hardly fire its muskets. The worthy Colonel Musgrave,[105] who commanded the 40th Regiment, realized that if the enemy was not checked the right wing of the army would be defeated and the left one captured. He threw himself with three companies of his regiment into the Chew country house[106] and thereby defended the road that Washington had to take. The usually so-called "Clever Washington" immediately attacked the house with several brigades and artillery. Instead of doing that, he should have used a battalion for it and continued his advance.[107] Musgrave repelled all attacks of the enemy.

General Howe, who was awakened by the enemy cannonballs striking his headquarters, hurried to the army, courageously attacked and drove back the enemy with a great loss of two thousand men killed and wounded, and took five hundred prisoners, among which were eighty officers.[108] The loss of our army was estimated at three hundred killed and wounded,[109] foremost among which were the meritorious soldiers General Agnew[110] and the two colonels Bird and Walcott,[111] which the entire army regretted because of their outstanding valor. The jägers, of which only the picket had been engaged, counted three killed and eleven wounded, most of whom died from their severe wounds after several days.[112]

POST OF THE JÄGER CORPS NEAR NORRITON

This plan shows Ewald's position on the eve of the Battle of Germantown. The "Road from Falls of Schuylkill" at the left is Ridge Road (now Ridge Avenue), then known also as the Manatawny Road or Wissahickon Road, which led to Norriton Township. Washington's right wing under Major General John Armstrong advanced down this road toward daybreak on October 4, 1777. The house to the left of the road, where the two guns are shown, probably represents Dr. William Smith's country seat, sometimes called "Smith's Octagon" (from its semioctagonal bay) or "Smith's Folly," which overlooked the Schuylkill River. The position of the mounted jägers is shown by the box between the river and the house with the guns; the line of the foot jägers extends across the lower center. Several pickets are indicated by smaller blocks, and the round markers with pennants represent individual outlying sentries. To the right, across the "Road from Germantown or Philadelphia," is the post of Simcoe's Queen's Rangers.


Schuilkill Fluß
nach Redingtown
Unt: Piq: v 10 M.
Offic. Piquet v. 24. man u. 4 Jäger zu Pferd
Jäger Piquet von 7 Man
Unt. Off. Piquet v. 12 Man
Weg von Germantown
Posten von Queens Rangers
Jäger Corps zu Fuß
Weg von

Posten des
Jäger = Corps bey
Narrentown

On the 5th I rode over the battlefield, and with surprise and admiration approached the post which the brave Colonel Musgrave had defended. The house was built of baked stones,[113] two stories high, and the three entrances to the building could be barricaded only with tables and chairs, due to the rapid advance of the enemy. The three companies which had defended the house consisted of one hundred men at the most, since the regiment had suffered a great deal in the campaigns. During the battle some thirty men were killed and wounded. I counted seventy-five dead Americans, some of whom lay stretched in the doorways, under the tables and chairs, and under the windows, among whom were seven officers. The rooms of the house were riddled by cannonballs, and looked like a slaughter house because of the blood splattered around.

This example of a single brave and intelligent man, through whom the entire English army was saved, shows what courage and decision in war can do. For had the English army been defeated here, enclosed within the angle of two rivers with a large city of rebellious-minded inhabitants in the rear, all honor truly would have been lost, though it would have been destroyed solely through the negligence of the Commanding General.[114]

I rode from here into the city to visit the wounded, where I found these unfortunate battle victims still lying on the straw, almost without any care. There was still a lack of necessary medicines and bandages, which were requisitioned at first from the city and now awaited from the fleet.

On the 15th the enemy alarmed the jäger post at daybreak, and on the same day the batteries on Province Island began to play on Fort Mifflin[115] and on the enemy vessels. After the sixth shell the vessels weighed anchor, sailed away, and cast anchor near the left bank of the Delaware.

On the 19th, about nine o'clock in the morning, the army moved back in two columns a good hour closer to Philadelphia. The right wing was stationed at the Delaware behind Kensington, in which village the Queen's Rangers were cantoned, and the left was placed behind the Morris country house[116] on the Schuylkill. The jägers received their post behind the wood at this plantation, in front of the army's left wing. Work began today on redoubts which were to be constructed around Philadelphia.[117]

On the 20th work began on a floating bridge over the Schuylkill River at Gray's Ferry, to maintain the communication on land with the Loos Corps at Chester. The ferry house was surrounded with a wall and garrisoned with one hundred men to protect the bridgehead.

Up to now the army had obtained its provisions with great risk and much inconvenience, for they had been transported from Chester to Philadelphia in flatboats manned by armed sailors along the bank of the Delaware under cover of dark nights, in spite of enemy vessels. Should such a convoy be taken by the enemy, the army would be exposed to the greatest privation. I once saw such a provisions flotilla arrive. All the sailors had been made completely drunk to stimulate them to fight in case of an attack.

The 21st of October. About three o'clock in the morning the Jäger Corps marched to Cooper's Ferry[118] on the Delaware. The Corps crossed the Delaware in flatboats with the three Hessian grenadier battalions, Linsing, Minnigerode, and Lengerke, along with the Mirbach Regiment under Colonel Schieck,[119] and landed about eight o'clock in the Province of Jersey. I had the advanced guard with sixty jägers, followed by the Corps, the Minnigerode battalion, the Mirbach Regiment, two 6-pounders, two howitzers, the Lengerke and Linsing battalions, and Captain Lorey with twenty mounted jägers. This corps, under Colonel Donop, was ordered to seize by force Fort Red Bank,[120] through which the garrison on Mud Island maintained its communication with the mainland. Colonel Donop had volunteered for this expedition.[121]

This corps was still less than a half an hour away from the Delaware when it ran into an enemy party[122] in the vicinity of Newton Township, which withdrew over Cooper's Bridge[123] toward Burlington. I pursued it up to the end of a wood, where I discovered several hundred men on both sides of Cooper's Creek, with whom I skirmished until about four o'clock in the afternoon, after which time they withdrew. The colonel, who continued his march with the corps, had ordered me to occupy myself with the enemy until nightfall, and then to follow the corps to Haddonfield. He wanted to mislead the enemy and conceal his march. At eight o'clock in the evening I arrived at Haddonfield, where I found the corps encamped in a quadrangle on the heights.[124]

On the morning of the 22d, about four o'clock, the corps marched toward Red Bank in the same formation as yesterday, with the slight difference that I formed the rear guard with my company. About nine o'clock we crossed the pass over Timber Creek,[125] which has very marshy banks. A dam of several hundred paces extends across the creek, on which there are two wooden bridges. Two small plantations are situated on this and the other side. I was surprised that we did not leave here at least one jäger company to retain the mastery of this pass, since, after all, the success of our expedition was not yet assured. To be sure, there were the two battalions of light infantry ready for the Jersey post at Cooper's Ferry, but they could not help much if Washington had gotten wind of this expedition, passed a strong corps across the Delaware, and stationed it at Timber Creek.[126]

Our march went past Strawberry Bank.[127] About one o'clock in the afternoon the corps arrived in a wood which encircled the left side of the fort at rifle-shot distance to the left bank of the Delaware. In this wood a captain[128] and six men from the garrison of the fort fell into the hands of

Captain Wreden, who had the advanced guard. They had been ordered to get fresh meat at a plantation and knew nothing of our approach.

The entire corps remained in column on the road in the wood. The men were permitted to sit down and told to eat, but since this day was not bread or provisions day, very few had any bread to break or bite. The officers, especially, were not provided with anything. I had to march with the rear guard to the head of the corps.

During this time Colonel Donop, along with Colonel Stuart[129] (who accompanied this expedition as a volunteer), Major Pauli,[130] and Captain Krug[131] of the Hessian artillery, had already reconnoitered the fort when I reached the corps. As soon as I arrived, the colonel ordered me to inspect the fort and to give him my opinion.

I approached the fort up to rifle-shot range and found that it was provided with a breastwork twelve feet high, palisaded and dressed with assault stakes. On my way back, I met Colonel Stuart with a drummer who was to summon the fort, and right behind them I met Major Pauli, Captain Krug, and both adjutants of the colonel. All these gentlemen regarded the affair with levity. The only man who had any real knowledge, and looked upon the business as serious, was worthy old Captain Krug. I took this man aside and asked him what he thought of the undertaking, whereupon he answered: "He who has seen forts or fortified places captured with sword in hand will not regard this affair as a small matter, if the garrison puts up a fight and has a resolute commandant. We have let luck slip through our fingers. We should not have summoned the fort, but immediately taken it by surprise, for no one knew of our arrival. But now they will make themselves ready, and if our preparations are not being made better than I hear, we will get a good beating."[132]

After a lapse of a half an hour, Colonel Stuart returned with the following reply: "Colonel Greene,[133] who commands the fort, sends his compliments and he shall await Colonel Donop."[134]

After this news, which the colonel did not expect, a hundred fascines[135] were made at once by the battalions, and a battery of six regimental pieces [3-pounders], two 6-pounders, and the howitzers were mounted in the wood at rifle-shot distance from the fort. The Linsing Battalion under Captain Stamford (for Colonel Linsing[136] had stomach pains at this time) was to make the attack against the left, the Regiment von Mirbach against the center, and the Minnigerode Battalion on the bastion to the left at the Delaware. The Lengerke Battalion was stationed at the Delaware to cover the rear against an enemy landing. One hundred men from each battalion were to carry the fascines, and march in a line at a distance of two hundred paces in front of the battalion. With these the ditch was to be filled, crossed, and the fort scaled with sword in hand. I placed sixteen good marksmen at the edge of the wood in the vicinity of the battery, who were to shoot at those men who showed themselves on the parapet.

This was the order which was given, and no one thought about axes or saws with which the obstructions and palisades could be cut down.[137]

The battery began to play, and the three battalions advanced against the fort with indescribable courage. But they were received so hotly by the garrison, and by the vessels which had moved into position during the summons to rake the fort's flank, that they were repelled with great loss, although several officers and a number of grenadiers scaled the breastwork. Colonel Donop himself and his adjutant, Captain Wagner, were mortally wounded at the edge of the ditch.[138] Captain Stamford, who commanded the Linsing Battalion, was shot through the chest; Minnigerode through both legs; and the gallant Colonel Schieck, who commanded the Regiment von Mirbach, was shot dead at the barred gate. Night ended the battle, and the attacking corps reassembled at the spot from which it had departed for the attack.

Colonel Wurmb immediately ordered the Jäger Corps to move up to the edge of the wood to cover the retreat. He personally took the Grenadier Battalion Lengerke, which had protected the rear in case an enemy party had landed from the ships, and hurried with the battalion to the pass of the Timber Creek bridge to occupy it.

Since we had flattered ourselves in advance with a successful surrender, no retreat then was thought of, and no wagons brought to transport the wounded. The seriously wounded officers were carried on the guns and horses, and all the privates who could not drag themselves away on their wounded limbs fell into enemy hands. But since the enemy took the retreat for a trap, and had expected a new attack during the night, the men had to remain on the battlefield a whole night in the most deplorable condition without the slightest care, whereby the majority died of their wounds.[139]

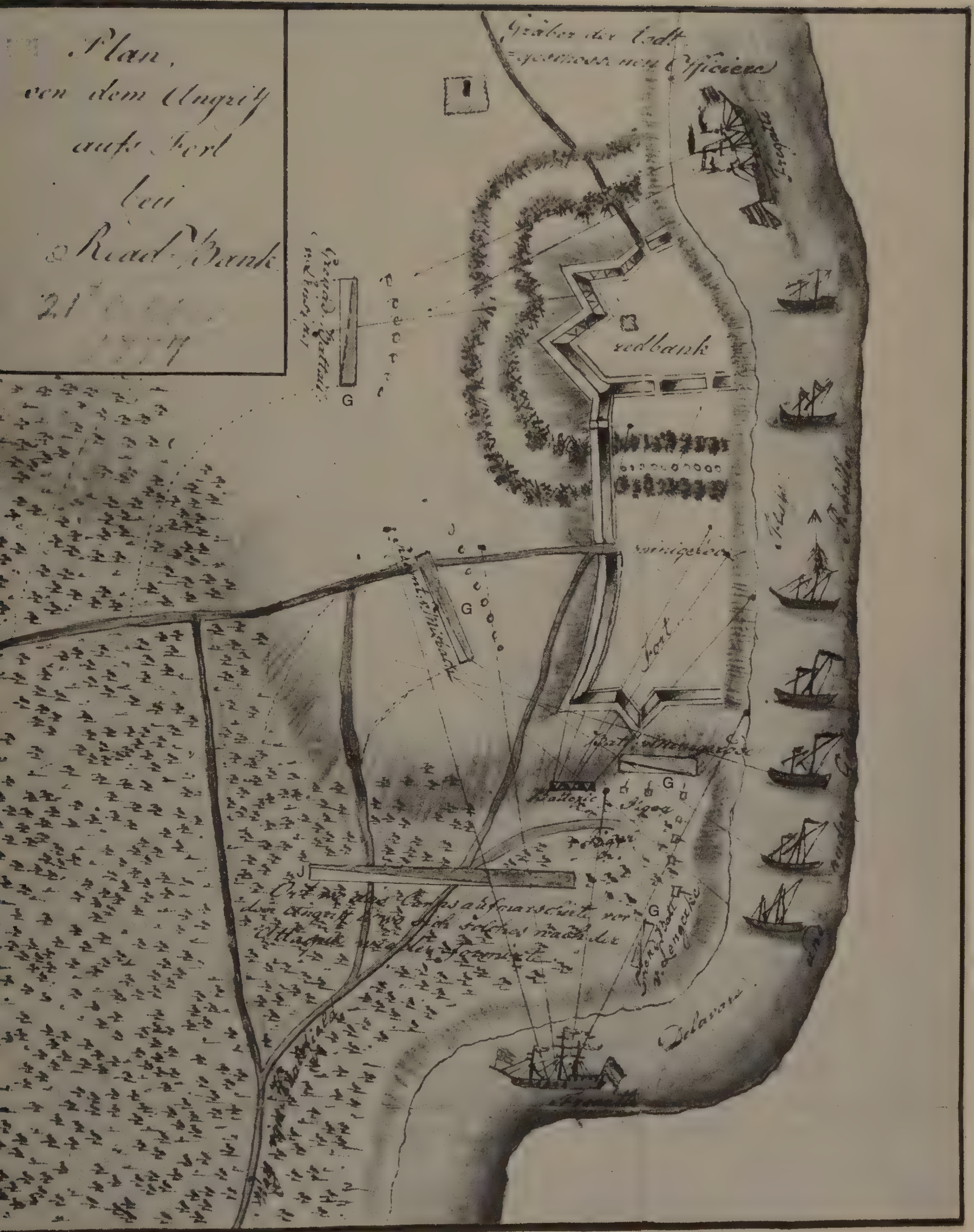
About midnight the entire corps arrived on the other side of Timber Creek, where arrangements were made at once to obtain wagons for transporting the wounded officers to Philadelphia. At eight o'clock in the morning the corps set out again, and crossed the Delaware during the night. The three grenadier battalions moved into cantonment quarters on the outskirts of Philadelphia; the Mirbach Regiment joined the line of the army; and the Jäger Corps returned to its post at the Morris house, where it arrived after midnight.

The loss in dead consisted of:[140]

1. Colonel Schieck	Regiment von Mirbach (4)
2. Captain Bogatsky	
3. Lieutenant Riemann	
4. Lieutenant Wurmb	

PLAN OF THE ATTACK ON THE FORT AT RED BANK, 21 OCTOBER 1777

The date of the attack, added later in pencil, should read 22 October 1777. At the top center is James Whitall's house. The legends read as follows: upper right, "Graves of the slain officers"; under long quadrangle, lower center, "Place where the corps deployed before the attack, and where it reformed after the attack"; along road below, "Road to Haddonfield"; along right river bank, "Frigates and row galleys of the rebels."


Plan, von dem Angrif aufs Fort bei Read Bank
21
1777
Gräber der todt geschossenen Officiere
redbank
Fort
G
J
Ort wo das Corps aufmarschirt vor dem Angriff und sich solches nach der Attaque wieder formirte
Jäger
Delaware
Fregatte

J = Jäger Corps
G = German

5. Lieutenant du Puy 6. Lieutenant Groening	Grenadier Battalion Linsing (2)
7. Lieutenant Hille 8. Lieutenant Offenbach	Grenadier Battalion Minnigerode (2)

And 143 noncommissioned officers and privates.

The wounded consisted of:[141]

1. Colonel Donop, right leg shot apart; captured.
2. Captain and Adjutant Wagner, both legs shot to pieces; captured.
3. Colonel Minnigerode, shot through both legs.
4. Captain Stamford, shot through the chest and right leg.
5. Captain Wachs, through the right leg, von Minnigerode.
6. Captain Hendorff, in the arm, von Minnigerode.
7. Captain Schotten, right arm shot off, von Mirbach.
8. Lieutenant Rodemann, through the left leg, von Linsing.
9. Lieutenant Waitz, through the neck and in the head, von Linsing.
10. Lieutenant Rieffer, left foot smashed, von Mirbach.
11. Lieutenant Berner, right leg shot to pieces, von Mirbach.
12. Lieutenant Gottschall, right knee smashed; captured; von Linsing.
13. Lieutenant Heymel, in the left knee; captured; von Minnigerode.

And 253 noncommissioned officers and privates, of whom not thirty men are convalescing.

Moreover, within eight days Colonel Donop, Captain Wagner, and Lieutenants Berner and Gottschall died of their wounds.[142]

This day was especially sad for me. I lost five of my oldest friends, among whom was a relative, and four of my best friends were severely wounded. As long as I have served, I have not yet left a battlefield in such deep sorrow.[143]

The principal mistakes of the attack were as follows:

1. We should not have summoned the fort, but attacked as soon as we arrived. Through this mistake the garrison was alerted, and the armed vessels gained time to draw near for the defense.
2. The plan of attack itself was faulty. We ought to have made the feint attack where the Linsing Battalion attacked, and the real attack in full strength there where the Minnigerode Battalion attacked, because we were covered on this side by the wood up to musket-shot range.

Moreover, the men who carried the fascines in a line should have marched in column around to one spot to fill up the ditch; as it was, the men merely threw the fascines in the ditch and no purpose was served. From my experience, the attack ought to have been made in the following manner:

An officer with twenty men, dispersed, should try to gain the outer edge of the ditch, where they continue to advance as well as fire upon those who are defending the breastwork.

At a distance of one hundred and fifty paces, an officer and fifty men must follow in column, who carry the fascines on their heads, and of whom ten to twenty men are provided with axes. These men carry their weapons over their shoulders. As soon as they arrive at the outer edge of the ditch, they throw their fascines into the ditch so that it is filled in to a breadth of four to six feet. As soon as this happens, they jump into the ditch, and those supplied with axes cut down the palisades and obstructions and attempt to climb up the breastwork, but remain on the berm.

A battalion follows at a distance of two hundred paces, which likewise approaches the ditch at quick step, crosses the bridge of fascines, and spreads out in the ditch. As soon as they have done this, they climb up the breastwork. The two wing companies remain on the berm and try to drive the enemy away from the parapet by their fire. The two middlemost companies scale the parapet, jump into the work, and attempt to overcome the garrison with the bayonet.

The second battalion follows at a distance of three hundred paces, which, if the first should be repulsed, then repeats the attack.

An attack in this manner surely would be successful, since it has vigor; and the Americans could not repel it as cheaply as they did, for they are said to have lost less than fifty men.[144]

On the whole, this attack belongs to the quixotic variety, which occurs in wars at times. For it was impossible to capture this work without the aid of armed ships, which had to be assigned to drive away the enemy vessels. But this was impossible, because the Americans had constructed very skillful chevaux-de-frise below Mud Island in the Delaware, where the entrance was blocked with a very thick chain.

In fact, the colonel was supposed to postpone his attack until the next day, the 23d, if he could not take the fort by surprise. On that day, two warships were to approach the chevaux-de-frise as closely as possible to drive away the enemy vessels by their fire. This occurred according to plan. The ships were the *Augusta,* 64 guns, and the sloop *Merlin*, 18 guns. But to magnify the misfortune, the *Augusta* ran into the sunken chevaux-de-frise and her captain[145] had to blow up the ship, whereby an officer and twenty-six men perished in a boat that was sunk by the enemy.

And I suppose, too, that had we captured the fort, we would not have dared show ourselves in it because it was exposed to the water, and the enemy frigates and galleys could bombard it. We could, of course, mount batteries to drive away the ships, but heavy guns were necessary for this, and the heavy artillery of the army was already employed. But the attack took place to cut off the enemy's communication with the Province of Jersey, which could also be done by a blockade.

In a word, Colonel Donop was a man of action. He had compared the siege of Mud Island with those of Bergen op Zoom and Olmütz,[146] and had offered to capture Fort Red Bank with one grenadier battalion, which offended the pride of the English. They led him into danger and he fell, whereby so many men—indeed, so many really brave men—had to bite the dust.

The 6th of November. For several days the batteries to the right on Province Island were strengthened with six 24-pounders. Moreover, two floating batteries were constructed, each of which was to be loaded with four 32-pounders. But they were built so lightly that hardly one 32-pounder could be carried in one boat, and they were so badly battered by the enemy's galleys as soon as they appeared that not one dared to show up again.

Thus far we are still in a bad situation. Washington is making the route by land very unsafe between Chester and Philadelphia. The greater part of the provisions still must be brought through the dangerous passage by water. Washington keeps the army so tightly bottled up by his parties that the market people must sneak through at the risk of their lives, which has forced up the price of fresh provisions so high that a pound of meat costs up to half a piaster.

Although the army could relax moderately during the lull, nevertheless the partisan war was carried on constantly in full force. Not a day passed in which the Jäger Corps, the light infantry, and the Queen's Rangers were not alarmed, and several people of the parties killed, wounded, or captured. Thus far the Jäger Corps' parties, which were being pushed daily nearly to Vanderen's Mill on Wissahickon Creek, have been fairly successful.

Since the 10th the battery of six 24-pounders on Province Island had begun to fire on the work on Mud Island, and on the enemy vessels also, through which several batteries of Fort Mifflin had been demolished. In addition, a powder magazine was blown up by a bombshell.

On the 11th I took a little stroll to Province Island to see the siege of Mud Island in the vicinity. I found that as long as our armed vessels could not pass the chevaux-de-frise, the siege would remain a precarious and lengthy task. We hoped that the *Vigilant,* with its flat bottom, would attempt this dangerous feat, although the strongest battery was aimed at this approach.

On the 13th I had to go out with one hundred foot jägers and twenty-five mounted jägers, partly to procure fresh provisions for the Jäger Corps but also to reconnoiter the enemy outpost at Falls of Schuylkill. I drove back the enemy sentries which I found on this side of Watt's Ford, whereupon a few small bodies appeared on the heights of Smith's plantation. I exchanged several shots with them, but they let me finish my business quietly and march back in peace.

On the 15th the warships *Somerset,* 64 guns, and *Isis,* 50 guns, the battery ship *Vigilant* of thirty-two 24-pounders, the *Roebuck,* 44 guns, along with a sloop, drew as near as possible in front of the chevaux-de-frise and bombarded the enemy work so severely that the main battery was silenced by evening. During this time the enemy vessels lay between Red Bank and Mud Island[147] and tried to defend the latter by their fire. Toward evening the American garrison from Red Bank was ferried across to Mud Island in flatboats, of which one boat with forty to fifty men was sunk. An enemy galley also was completely destroyed. At the same time the *Vigilant* passed the chevaux-de-frise anchored to the right of the island and battered down the main blockhouse with one broadside.

The 16th. Last night, about one o'clock, the Americans set fire to their barracks and all the fortifications and stores, along with fifteen vessels which could not pass further up the Delaware. The garrison abandoned the island under the cover of night with some small galleys and entered the mouth of the Cooper River. But they were kept under such a heavy fire from the frigate *Delaware* and the batteries above the city that another boat containing people was sunk, and an armed schooner which tried to slip through with the galleys was also destroyed. The Americans had overloaded all the cannon of the vessels with double shot, and since they made their escape on the flood tide, they ran the vessels as close as possible to the city before setting them on fire. The cannonballs struck the houses and put the inhabitants in great fear during the night; however, no considerable damage resulted.[148]

On the 22d the jäger post and that of the Queen's Rangers under Major Simcoe[149] were alarmed. Both parties began to skirmish, whereupon the Americans withdrew. The attack against the jägers was a feint, but that against the Queen's Rangers was made with more force, since they intended to dislodge the post at Dickinson's house and occupy it themselves. Meanwhile, the plan was frustrated by a courageous defense.

On the 24th, to our joy, some thirty large vessels arrived at Philadelphia laden with all kinds of merchandise and provisions, through which the army was suddenly delivered from its wants. For the citizens in Philadelphia, knowing the distress of the army, had put their few wares at such high prices that a simple green jacket, which I had to have made because I had nothing on my back, cost over thirty-three piasters. Hats were not to be had at all. A pair of boots cost twelve piasters, and three piasters and more had to be paid for a pair of shoes. The garrison from Chester joined the army today.

On the 27th the two new jäger companies arrived, along with 240 recruits for the Jäger Corps assigned to the jäger post. The officers consisted of two French officers and officers who had been ordered to this war from the regiments remaining at home in Hesse. The noncommissioned officers and jägers consisted partly of deserters from all nations, partly of ruined officers and noblemen, students from all the universities, bankrupts, merchants, and all kinds of adventurers.

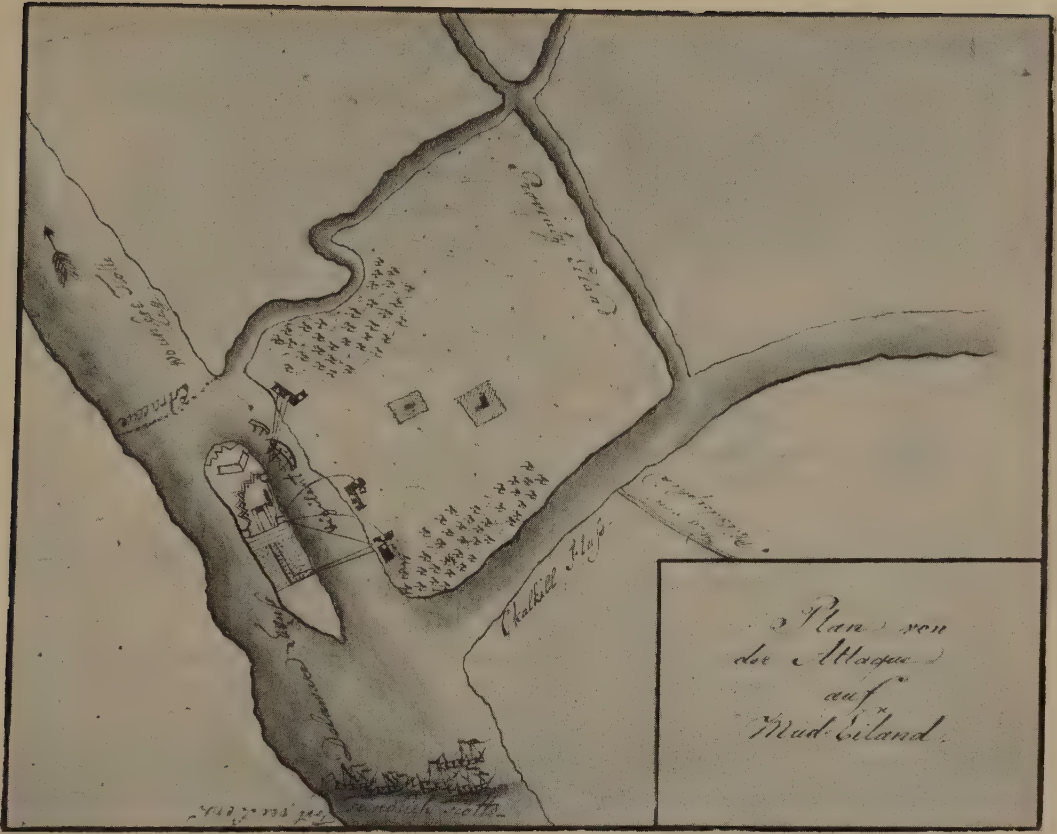
On the 28th the Jäger Corps received orders to station itself behind the

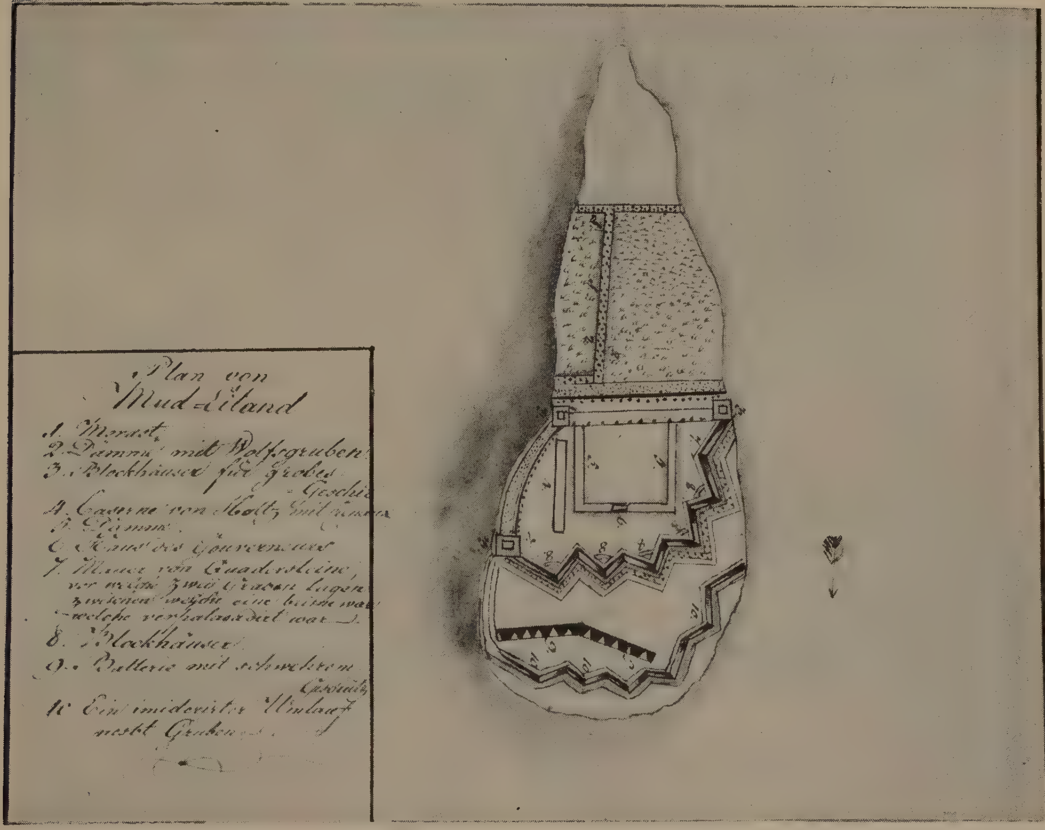
PLAN OF THE ATTACK ON MUD ISLAND

Ewald's two plans actually show Fort Island. Mud Island, situated several hundred yards upstream, was often confused with Fort Island, on which Fort Mifflin was located. Here three British batteries are shown firing on Fort Mifflin from Province Island (which includes Carpenters Island in this plan), aided by H.M.S. *Vigilant* and a sloop. To the left of the plan, above the estacade or chevaux-de-frise in the river, the inscription reads, "Where our fleet lay." At the bottom, in the river, is the "Enemy fleet" opposite "Fort Red Bank." The L-shaped mark on Province Island probably represents the Bleakley or Blakely house, which was struck three times by cannonballs during the siege and was afterward known as "Cannonball House." A British redoubt was located near this house.

PLAN OF MUD ISLAND

The key reads: "1. Morass. 2. Embankments with pits. 3. Blockhouses for heavy implements. 4. Barracks of wood with loopholes. 5. Embankments. 6. Governor's house. 7. Walls of squared stones, in front of which lay two ditches between which was a berm that was palisaded. 8. Blockhouses. 9. Battery with heavy guns. 10. A curved bastion with ditches."


Plan von
der Attaque
auf
Mud-Eiland
Chalkiel Fluſs
Englische Flotte


Plan von
Mud-Eiland
1. Morast.
2. Dämme mit Wolfsgruben.
3. Blockhäuser für grobes Geschütz
4. Caserne von Holtz mit einem
5. Dämme.
6. Haus des Gouverneurs
7. Mauer von Quadersteine, vor welche zwei Graben lagen zwischen welche eine breite wa welche verpalisadirt war.
8. Blockhäuser.
9. Batterie mit schweren Geschütz
10. Ein imidevirter Umlauf nebst Graben.

defile of the Morris plantation, which was situated on the Schuylkill in front of the army's left flank. The officers and the greater part of the Corps had cantoned partly in the very beautiful country house, built in the Italian style, and partly in the farm buildings, which numbered some twenty. Now, since no brushwood or woodland was in the vicinity of our post, and these buildings were situated eight hundred to one thousand paces before our front, all of them, together with the splendid fruit trees, were torn down to build huts. Mr. Morris, who was indeed a distinguished man in the Congress, must have suffered a loss of twenty thousand dollars, without counting the irreparable damage which resulted from the loss of his large and lovely fruit trees.

On the 2d of December, a patrol of one corporal and eight mounted jägers ran into an enemy patrol of equal strength, which was attacked at once. Several were cut down and the rest pursued, but the jägers fell into an enemy ambuscade of infantry, whereby one jäger and two horses were killed, two jägers seriously wounded, and one captured.

During these two years the Americans have trained a great many excellent officers who very often shame and excell our experienced officers, who consider it sinful to read a book or to think of learning anything during the war. For the love of justice and in praise of this nation, I must admit that when we examined a haversack of the enemy, which contained only two shirts, we also found the most excellent military books translated into their language. For example, Turpin, Jenny, Grandmaison, La Croix, Tielke's *Field Engineer,* and the *Instructions* of the great Frederick to his generals I have found more than one hundred times. Moreover, several among their officers had designed excellent small handbooks and distributed them in the army. Upon finding these books, I have exhorted our gentlemen many times to read and emulate these people, who only two years before were hunters, lawyers, physicians, clergymen, tradesmen, innkeepers, shoemakers, and tailors.

The 4th. Yesterday evening the army received orders to draw six days' rations and to be ready to march at any time, which the enemy must have discovered at once. For toward midnight our patrols instantly ran into theirs, and at daybreak we found the enemy outposts pushed up in front of ours.

In the evening a part of the army was ordered to break camp and set out toward Germantown in the following order: the two battalions of English light infantry formed the advanced guard, the Jäger Corps, the English and Hessian grenadiers and a number of 6- and 12-pounders, two English brigades, two troops of dragoons, the two Hessian regiments, Leib and Donop, and the Queen's Rangers. The light infantry ran into an enemy post, which was attacked with the bayonet and beaten back to the first houses of Germantown; some twenty Americans were captured.

On the 5th the army arrived at Chestnut Hill, where it encamped in a quadrangle. The jägers were stationed in front of the left, and the light infantry before the right. Since we threatened Washington's position, he remained immovable with his main body but attacked the Jäger Corps and light infantry with several thousand men and withdrew. A few men were killed and wounded on both sides.

About four o'clock the light infantry was attacked again, whereupon a hot fight ensued and the enemy was driven back with losses. He pushed his outposts in front of ours and alarms continued throughout the night.

On the 6th, at daylight, the enemy posts drew back. During the night the army marched off, the light infantry forming the van and the jägers and Queen's Rangers the rear guard. The villages of Cresheim and Beggarstown, through which the march passed, were set on fire by the rear guard. But since the regiments had already set fire to several houses, the conflagration was so great that the jägers and rangers could scarcely get through. The sight was horrible. The night was very dark. The blazing flames spread about with all swiftness and the wind blew violently. The cries of human voices of the young and old, who had seen their belongings consumed by the flames without saving anything, put everyone in a melancholy mood.

On the 7th the army passed Germantown, crossed the road to Frankford, and entered York Road, where it separated into two columns. The right column consisted of the English under Lord Cornwallis, and the left one of the Hessians under General Knyphausen. The light infantry formed the advanced guard of the right column, and the Jäger Corps the advanced guard of the left column, while the Queen's Rangers covered the left flank. The march proceeded toward the enemy's left, which stood on Abington Hill. The light infantry fell into an ambuscade which the American Colonel Morgan and his corps of riflemen had laid in a marshy wood, through which over fifty men and three officers were killed.[150]

In the vicinity of Edge Hill the Jäger Corps ran into an enemy post, which withdrew toward a wooded height. The advanced guard followed them and the Corps deployed at once. We arrived in the flank and rear of an enemy corps of two thousand men consisting of New Englanders and riflemen, which was thrown into great disorder and shot up so severely that a colonel, ten officers, and a large number of men were killed, wounded, or captured. The Jäger Corps had four dead and eleven wounded. The enemy was pursued up to the front of his army. Meanwhile, the Commanding General had reconnoitered the enemy position and found it unassailable.

The 9th. General Washington pushed his posts close up in front of ours and reconnoitered our position. The army encamped on the heights of Abington Township, and the Jäger Corps was posted in front of the left wing. We skirmished the whole day with the enemy, whereby several men were lost on both sides.

In the afternoon the army received orders to break camp. It marched to the left. I had the rear with ninety foot jägers and twelve mounted jägers. About four o'clock the army set out toward Philadelphia. We had hardly marched back when I was attacked by a superior party from a wood on the left. I resisted the van and the Corps came to my assistance. The enemy was driven back and two jägers were wounded. The army continued its march and arrived at its camp after midnight.

About four o'clock on the morning of the 11th, Lord Cornwallis crossed the Schuylkill bridge with a jäger detachment, the light infantry, the English and Hessian grenadiers, six 6-pounders, two troops of dragoons, and an English brigade. This corps marched to Darby, where it found General Potter with an American corps which was covered by a strong defile. Cornwallis attacked the enemy, beat him after a stubborn resistance, and captured about one hundred and sixty men. The entire area was foraged around for six to eight hours, several plantations of disaffected persons burned, and all the cattle collected for the army. On the evening of the 12th the corps rejoined the main army.[151]

On the 13th I took one hundred jägers to protect the army's woodcutters in the woodland on the other side of Middle Ferry.[152] I returned at ten o'clock in the evening.

The 16th. Today Lord Cornwallis boarded ship to travel to England, whither he had been called by the King, presumably to learn from him the true account of the two campaigns. I was fortunate enough to receive from him the following letter.

> Philadelphia 16 Dec. 1777
>
> Sir.
>
> I cannot leave this country without desiring you to accept my best thanks for your good services during the two Campaigns in which I have had the honour to command the Hessian Chasseurs. If the war should continue, I hope we shall again serve together. If we should be separated, I shall ever remember the distinguished merit and Ability's of Captain Ewald.
>
> I am Sir—
> with great esteem & regard
> your most obed^{t}. & most
> humble Servant
> Cornwallis.[153]

The 19th. Since the ten redoubts constructed upon the heights from Kensington up to the Schuylkill River at the Morris house were considered suitable defensive positions to protect Philadelphia, a part of the army marched today to its quarters in the city.

At daybreak on the 22d, the Commander in Chief crossed the Schuylkill at Gray's Ferry to forage in the vicinity of Darby and the highway to Lancaster, and to collect cattle for the army. He took three jäger companies with half of the mounted jägers, two battalions of light infantry, the English and Hessian grenadiers, several 6-pounders and howitzers, four troops of light dragoons, and the Anspach Brigade. The three remaining jäger companies with the other half of the mounted jägers and ten battalions, under the command of General Knyphausen, remained behind the redoubts for the protection of the city.

On the morning of the 24th the news arrived that a part of Washington's army had advanced toward the foraging corps and a severe fight had occurred at Darby, during which both parties had suffered a loss of several hundred men, among which were five jägers. On the 28th General Howe returned with the foraging corps.

On the 29th the positive news came to hand that Washington and his army had taken up winter quarters, which consist of wooden huts, at Valley Forge.

For several days a very deep snow had fallen, and the cold became so severe that the Schuylkill River was covered over with ice.

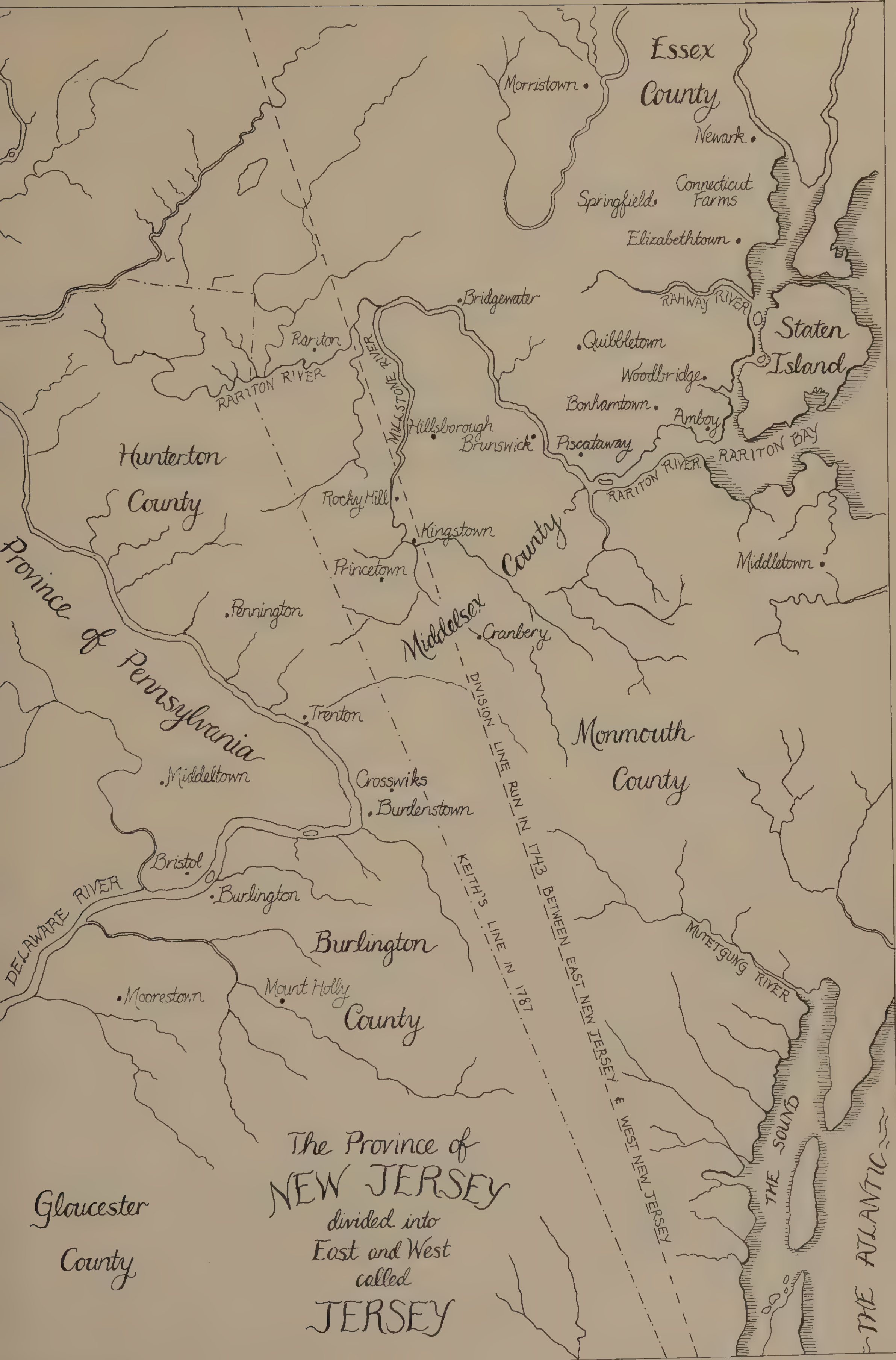
On the 30th the army left the field and moved into winter quarters in the city. One thousand men were assigned to the protection of the redoubts, in which wooden guardhouses had been constructed; they were relieved every two days. The entire army arrived in the city for billeting. The Queen's Rangers occupied Kensington, the light infantry were in the outskirts toward Germantown, and the jägers were quartered on the plantations on The Neck,[154] where the Schuylkill flows into the Delaware. The Jäger Corps furnished two pickets for the Lower and Upper[155] ferries on the left bank of the Schuylkill River.

My quarters, along with thirty men, were with an old Strassburger who could give me a spacious room and a bed. I was heartily glad that I had arrived safely under cover after two very hard campaigns, and could stretch my bones peacefully in a bed again.—How sweet is rest, when one seldom enjoys it!

End of the two campaigns
for the years 1776 and 1777.

THE PROVINCE OF NEW JERSEY DIVIDED INTO EAST AND WEST CALLED JERSEY

Ewald's map, folded in the back of Volume I, appears to be a partial copy of a map entitled *The Province of New Jersey, Divided into East and West, commonly called The Jerseys,* engraved and published by William Faden of Charing Cross and bearing the date of December 1, 1777. Keith's Line refers to a boundary line intended to mark the border between East New Jersey and West New Jersey, the two provinces into which New Jersey was divided before it became a united Royal Colony in 1702. Since the boundary had been disputed for some time, George Keith (c. 1638–1716), surveyor-general of the province, began the survey of a line in 1687 (not 1787 as stated on the map) to settle the issue; but the line was never completed, because protests by West Jersey over favoritism to East Jersey forced a halt.


Essex
County
Morristown
Newark
Connecticut Farms
Springfield
Elizabethtown
Bridgewater
Rahway River
Staten Island
Quibbletown
Woodbridge
Bonhamtown
Amboy
Rariton
Rariton River
Millstone River
Hillsborough
Brunswick
Piscataway
Rariton River
Rariton Bay
Hunterton County
Rocky Hill
Kingstown
Princetown
Middletown
Province of Pennsylvania
Pennington
Middelsex County
Cranbery
Trenton
Division Line Run in 1743 between East New Jersey & West New Jersey
Monmouth County
Middeltown
Crosswiks
Burdenstown
Keith's Line in 1787
Bristol
Burlington
Delaware River
Mutetgung River
Burlington County
Moorestown
Mount Holly
The Sound
The Atlantic
Gloucester County
The Province of
NEW JERSEY
divided into
East and West
called
JERSEY

Volume II

Third and Fourth Campaigns, 1778 and 1779

CHAPTER 1

From the 1st of January, 1778, until the army arrived at New York

PART ONE

From the movement into the winter quarters in Philadelphia up to the departure of General Howe from the army.

After we had enjoyed the sweet tranquility in and around Philadelphia for a little over three weeks, Washington began to make the highways around Philadelphia so unsafe with parties from his fortified camp at Valley Forge that the country people no longer dared to bring provisions to market, whereby the already too-high prices rose even higher. For example, one pound of beef cost a half of a piaster, a chicken was the same price; a quarter of a calf, one guinea; a fatted wether, three guineas; a Welsh cock or hen, one guinea; a bottle of milk, six pence, equal to four groschen. Vinegar, beer, wine, tea, coffee, and sugar were hard to buy.

Therefore, partisan warfare activities were resumed on the 26th of January to protect the country people going to market. Colonel Abercromby was sent out toward Germantown with both battalions of English light infantry and two companies of light dragoons in order to seek out and destroy an enemy party of fifteen hundred men which had taken a position behind Germantown. At the same time, Major Simcoe and the Ranger Corps, with a corporal and twelve jägers, marched to Frankford to get transported the little forage left that the army had not consumed during the campaign, because we got wind that the enemy wanted to use it.

During the night Colonel Abercromby took his route by way of Vanderen's Mill, crossed Wissahickon Creek, proceeded up the Schuylkill to Levering's Tavern, and there turned to the right through the woods toward Beggarstown in order to approach the enemy in the rear. In case the enemy wanted to harass Major Simcoe's foraging, the colonel could cut him off completely from the left bank of the Schuylkill, where he had to take his retreat. But since we were entirely surrounded by spies, the enemy had received information and retired, and the colonel overtook only the rear guard, of which he cut down a part and captured eight men, along with the adjutant of General Sinclair.[1] In the meantime, the purpose of the foraging was attained, for on this occasion a herd of cattle which grazed behind Frankford was taken away from the enemy, whereby the army obtained a day's fresh meat at Washington's expense.

One must not conclude that the army suffered want because of the dear prices of provisions which I just quoted. The English were rulers of the sea, hence the provisions fleets arrived undisturbed. Every man received daily a pound of the best wheat flour for bread and three-quarters of a pound of salted beef or pork; in addition, rice, peas, and vinegar were issued at various times during the week. Only the weakling suffered. Moreover, the army was so exceptionally well paid that the purse of a captain could stand these high prices. For example, a company commander of the Jäger Corps earned more than one guinea daily, without counting booty money, and everyone was well paid in proportion.

The provisions, of course, were deducted from the pay of each officer, soldier, or servant at six English shillings monthly, if the army was issued the provisions which had crossed the ocean. But when the soldier subsisted at the expense of the enemy, nothing was deducted from his pay. The jäger received twenty English shillings monthly with his small clothes, and the soldier twelve shillings as well as his small clothes. On the whole, it is safe to say that never in this world was an army as well paid as this one during the civil war in America. One could call them rich. I know that subordinate officers who were married and good providers, and who had excellent records, amply supported their families left behind and still lived well. Indeed, most of the company commanders, staff officers, and generals who directed the affairs have made themselves considerable capital.

The Quaker Church.

The 30th. Since the Quaker sect is the predominant one throughout Pennsylvania, I went today to a Quaker church which was in the vicinity of my quarters, partly out of curiosity and partly just to hear something good once again. The congregation was quite numerous. Everyone bent their heads down and a holy silence prevailed over all. I made my steps as silently as my boots, spurs, and big saber permitted, and stood as still as an oak for over half an hour. Just as I was about to leave, an aged woman suddenly arose and asked the congregation to grant her its attention, because the Holy Spirit had inspired her with the following admonition.

> My warning is directed to my sex. I hear during these frightful times, which we have deserved through our sins—when our whole region is swarming with all sorts of foreign peoples—very bad things

> about our women and their daughters. Women and girls are said to be exchanging visits with these warriors. I know that some have made so light of their shame that they stroll about with these people in broad daylight.
>
> I beseech you, mothers and fathers, to stop these depravities. Remember that these people have a wandering foot, that you cannot prosecute them under our laws when your daughters go too far with them. But bear in mind—to your own disgrace—that you must accept what they leave behind. Think! No good will come of it!

The matron then sat down. A devout silence prevailed for a while. The congregation left the place of worship. I went back to my quarters; my curiosity was satisfied, but I was little edified.

February the 9th. Since the English supplies completely ruined the trade of the Americans, they were chiefly short of salt and clothing. For this reason, everyone who traveled across the line had to be searched carefully by the sentries, which compelled the inhabitants to resort to trickery. For example, two women who had the appearance of pregnancy passed through the outposts toward Germantown yesterday. The noncommissioned officer of the light infantry, who had charge of the picket, showed an interest in examining the pregnancy of these women. He found that it consisted of a quantity of salt on the one woman and twenty-five calfskins on the other. Here again is something learned. One cannot be too careful at the outposts, for who knows whether or not these women might have supplied the leather for shoes for an entire regiment of the enemy?

The 10th. Today I had a very pleasant day. I had the luck to obtain a pardon from General Howe for the seventy-year-old minister Weyberg,[2] who was released from his chains and fetters and set free. He was the first preacher of the German Reformed community in town. He was a very fiery rebel and had defamed the King, and everyone well disposed to him, by inciting feelings of revolt through his sermons. His entire family was thus reduced to poverty. The aspect of this suffering, caused by an excessive and misplaced love of his country, moved me so much that I did not relax from my petitions to the Commanding General until I saw my request fulfilled. When I released him, the old man promised me to be quiet and not to preach any more.

The 16th. Between Philadelphia and Lancaster lies an area which is very mountainous and overgrown with thick woods and brushwood, the approaches to which are very difficult. It is called Tulpehocken.[3] The inhabitants have formed themselves into a little republic and have declared for the King. They have formed a corps of horsemen and are armed with rifles and axes with long handles. They are extraordinarily good shots and riders. Today they brought in their first offering. It consisted of fifty prisoners, most of whom were shot up and cut to pieces. Among the prisoners was a Committee man, a zealous and important rebel.

The 17th. Last night four hundred Americans made an attack on the fortified house covering the Middle Ferry, which stands on the right bank of the Schuylkill below the city. It was occupied by a captain and sixty Hessians and Anspachers, who drove back the enemy with bloody heads. The Americans had ten killed and seven badly wounded left on the spot. Among the latter was a French officer. On our side, only one was killed and three wounded.

Though there were bloody heads at times, and everything necessary and unnecessary for bodily existence was so expensive, nevertheless every soldier lived lighthearted, merry, and in abundance in this large city where, to be sure, no resident was certain of his property among the fifteen thousand men from all classes of human society.[4]

The greater part of the fugitive residents returned gradually to their homes. The city came to life; trade and commerce began to flourish again; and resident and soldier began to get on well together. We had balls, concerts, assemblies, and gambling clubs. Among the clubs was one where the bank consisted of one thousand guineas, where more than once have I seen fifty thousand dollars change hands, and where some made their fortune but many their ruin. Some even shot themselves out of desperation, and many had to leave the army because of debts. A guinea was the smallest wager. One could find everyone from the Commanding General to the youngest ensign assembled at the principal bank.

The 18th. Since many loyal-minded inhabitants and a great many deserters came in, two corps were organized from these people, of which the officers and men were native Americans. One was the Pennsylvania Volunteers of Foot and the other the Independent Dragoons of Pennsylvania under Captain Hovendon,[5] a Tulpehocken man by birth. From these two corps, the day before yesterday, Captain Hovendon with thirty horse and Captain Thomas[6] with forty foot went into Bucks County and surprised an enemy detachment at Jenkin's fulling mill, where a great amount of cloth had been stored for the American troops. They cut them down to a man and set the mill on fire. After this stroke they took the road to Newtown, where an enemy party had taken post. Fortunately, they surprised the sentries and struck them down, but when they drew near the quarters of the American Major Murray[7] the sentries at the house opened fire, alarming the guard, which fired at once. But Captain Thomas stormed the house, killed a part of the pickets, and captured the major, five officers, three noncommissioned officers, and twenty-four privates.

On the 21st the newly organized Volunteers again brought in as prisoners five officers and forty privates, part of whom were wounded. These people receive no pay, ride their own horses, and live from pillage. They are of great use in this region where they are at home. They know the country and every loyal or disaffected inhabitant by sight.

The 23d. Today the English Major Crewe[8] was sent out with eighty horsemen to surprise the partisan Captain Lee,[9] who stood with forty horse on this side of Valley Forge and constantly alarmed our outposts. The English dragoons had been guided so well that the Americans did not become aware of them until their vedettes[10] opened fire. A part of the Americans on horse approached but were overthrown. Another part, with Captain Lee, threw themselves into a stone building and defended it so courageously that the English had to retire unsuccessful. Indeed, Captain Lee was so daring that he shouted to the major, whose men did not obey him and began plundering instead of overrunning the quarters from all sides: "Comrade, shame on you, that you don't have your men under better discipline. Come a little closer, we will soon manage it together!"[11]

The 25th. Captain Hovendon and his horsemen brought in one hundred and fifty Virginia oxen and one lieutenant with seven men. Up to now, we jägers felt like we were dead and forgotten in our quarters. We therefore showed our feelings at the headquarters. The Commanding General, who had received knowledge of it, sent us his assurance that we should be content, because he was allowing us to rest up merely to make better use of us. He expressed his complete satisfaction concerning our sensibilities, and wished that the same esprit de corps existed in the entire army.

The 27th. For some time past an abundance of provisions has been brought in by the country people, who braved all dangers under the circumstances to collect our guineas. For several days, however, few came in because an enemy patrol had cut down a farmer who wanted to bring provisions to the city on a wagon. Several others were bound to the tails of horses and lost their lives in this sad way.

Month of March. The 2d. Several days ago the sun melted away our very deep snow, the meadows and hedges turned green, and the native lark sang. It was extraordinarily warm, and yesterday we had a severe thunderstorm.

The 21st. Yesterday morning we received information that several enemy parties were swarming up and down the roads from Lancaster and Haverford, and were plundering and burning the dwellings of the loyal-minded inhabitants on the right bank of the Schuylkill River. The Jäger Corps immediately marched off and crossed the Schuylkill. Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb ordered the mounted jägers under Lieutenant Mertz,[12] supported by the Anspach Company, to take the road from Lancaster. Captain Wreden had to take the Marshall Road, and I with a company the road up along the Delaware River. Major Prueschenck had to cover the defiles along the road on the right bank of the Schuylkill, so that we could not be cut off from Philadelphia.

The country along the highway to Lancaster is rather open, but the rest of it is greatly cut through with steep defiles and woodland, in which the plantations lie scattered. Toward five o'clock in the afternoon, we ran into enemy parties at the same time. We could hear the shooting of each party, since the air was still and warm. The enemy drew back and fell into the hands of Captain Wreden and myself; only a few of the enemy were wounded. But the detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb had more luck. Near the Black Horse Tavern he encountered an enemy party of a hundred horsemen and some hundred infantry which had stationed themselves behind a plantation on a hill overgrown with brushwood. Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb ordered the mounted jägers to amuse them until the foot jägers, who had crept up on their right flank by aid of a brook with high banks, came up. As soon as the jägers began firing, taking the enemy by surprise, the mounted jägers fell upon them and overthrew the enemy horsemen, who attempted to withdraw on the broad open road. They cut down many and captured one lieutenant and eleven men, along with fifteen horses. The jägers lost only three horses and five men, and several were wounded. By this example, one perceives that the aggressive party invariably carries off the advantage.

We gathered information from this party that the enemy carried on his recruiting in a forcible manner such as could be practiced only under a despotic government. They had hung up several fathers in front of their houses for letting their sons escape.—The friends of the revolution excuse this tyranny by saying that liberty for all must be forced on a few by despotism.—The Americans have never experienced this kind of recruiting under the gentle yoke of the English government.

Month of April. The 2d. At eleven o'clock in the evening Captain Cramon, with a hundred foot jägers and an officer and twenty mounted jägers, and I with the same number of jägers, were ordered to patrol the Marshall and Fox Chase roads. Captain Cramon took the latter road and I the former. We crossed the Schuylkill at half-past twelve. On my way I had to pass five steep defiles, at each of which I left behind an officer or a corporal with ten jägers to cover my retreat, with orders to resist to the last man until my return. At daybreak I arrived at Darby Township. This area forms a deep defile, where the roads from Darby and Yeadon Meeting House fall in, and where an enemy detachment of three hundred men was stationed. I took my post in a thicket on this side of the defiles, and concealed the mounted jägers at the exit of the thicket where the country was flat. I ordered the area ahead and on the side rummaged through for an hour and found nothing of the enemy.

Just as I was marching off, and had ordered the officer of the mounted jägers to fall back to the first defile, an enemy party appeared. I let half of my men skirmish and continued on my march. The Americans watched me through a number of skirmishers which engaged my own men and accompanied me up to the first defile. But since the enemy saw that reinforcements were here, and he could not discover the number, he followed no further. I had one wounded. I placed Lieutenant de Messy with eight jägers in ambuscade here, and made my withdrawal under the ring of the half-moon to lure the enemy near. I halted in a ravine to support my ambuscade. Several shots rang out, and one or two riflemen were badly wounded and one captured. Through the latter I was informed that Washington had moved his fortified camp again at Valley Forge and was 25,000 men strong.[13] A detachment of three hundred men stood at the entrance to the hills near the Gulph Mill, and another of the same strength at the second pass of Yeadon Meeting House. The detachment which had followed me was from the latter. It was two hundred men strong under command of a Colonel Newman. See the plan.[14]

I have constantly made my patrols or reconnaissances by echelon. One thus covers his rear, and if you have to withdraw before a superior enemy, you always become stronger while the enemy becomes confused. This is the safest way of all, especially in cut-up areas; one cannot be defeated.

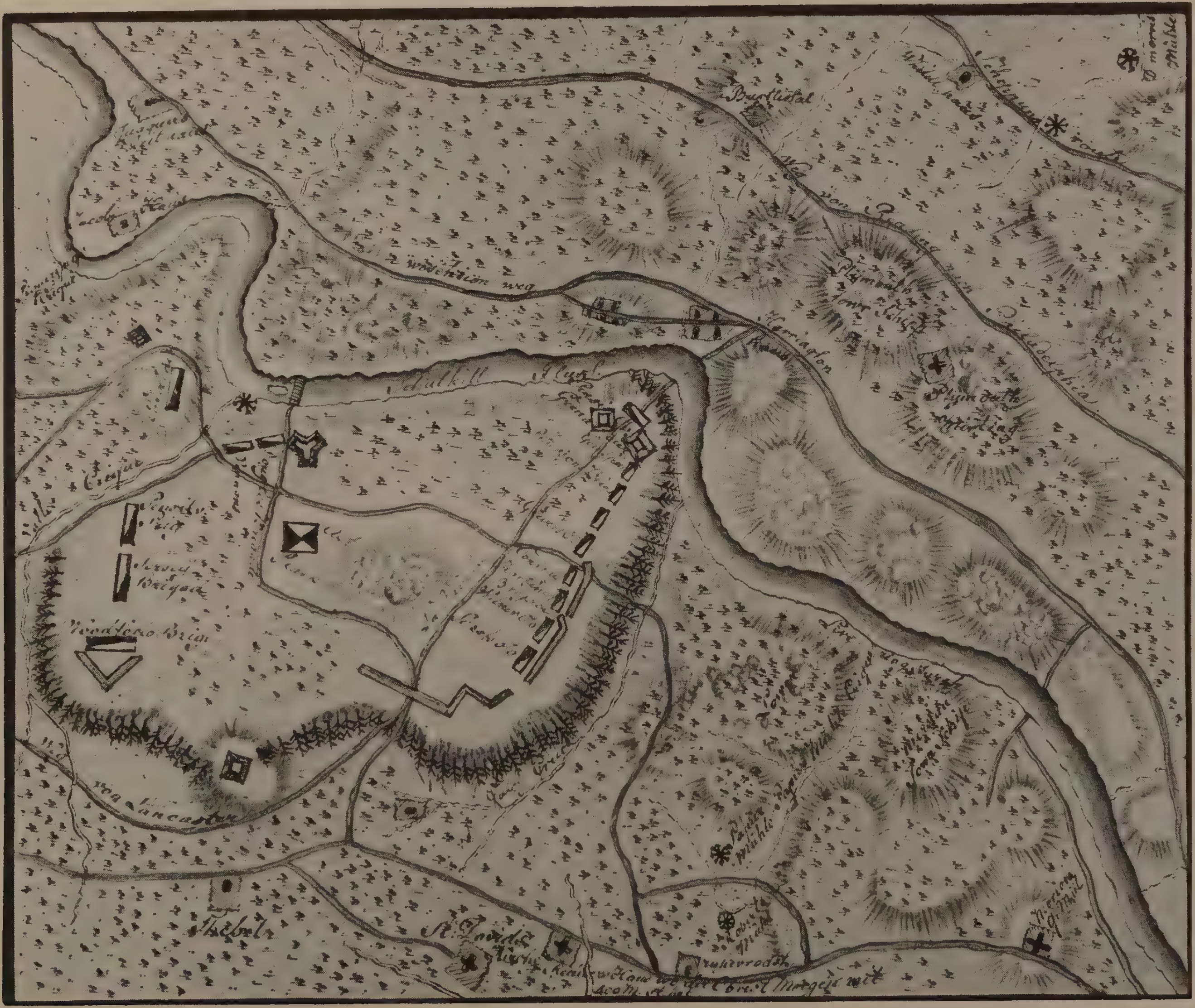
The 15th. Yesterday a frigate arrived from England carrying express dispatches for the Commander in Chief which recalled him to England and appointed Sir Henry Clinton to commanding general, General Haldimand[15] to governor of Canada, and Lord Percy to general of the troops at Rhode Island.[16] The ship also brought the pleasant news for the entire army that Lord Cornwallis had sailed from England at the same time.

The ship brought a proposal from the London Court for a compromise which they wanted the Congress to approve according to the Act of 1763. I therefore talked with various inhabitants, who were half and half. These people assured me that they would never agree to peace without independence. They said I should think about what they now told me at the end of the war. Moreover, they maintained that the alliance with France was as good as completed, to which the capture of Burgoyne's army had contributed a great deal.[17]

At eleven o'clock at night the entire Jäger Corps received orders to march immediately. At twelve o'clock we crossed the Schuylkill and continued our march past the Merion Meeting House. We arrived at daybreak at the end of a wood, an hour beyond the meeting house, where a

DISPOSITION OF GENERAL WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE, WHICH HE OCCUPIED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1778, AND HAS MAINTAINED UNTIL THE 14TH OF JUNE

This plan is one of only three extant contemporary maps of the encampment, and probably represents a composite of information from reports of spies, deserters, prisoners, and reconnaissance. The troop dispositions, with the spellings corrected, read as follows, beginning at left center of the plan: Carolina (McIntosh's North Carolina Brigade), on the hill across Valley Creek; Douglas (McDougall) Brigade (actually Sullivan's Connecticut Brigade) and Varnum's (Rhode Island Brigade), below the bridge across the Schuylkill River, with artillery park below. To the right of Valley Creek, Pennsylvania Brigade (Conway's), Jersey Brigade (Maxwell's New Jersey Brigade), and Woodford's (Virginia) Brigade. In center, at the bend of the river, descending: Pennsylvania grenadiers (Muhlenberg's Pennsylvania-Virginia Brigade), General Greene; Patterson's (Maine, Massachusetts, and Vermont) Brigade; unnamed brigade; Glover's (Massachusetts) Brigade; Conway's Brigade (misplaced); Huntington's (Connecticut) Brigade (misplaced); Wayne's (1st and 2d Pennsylvania) Brigade; Scott's (Virginia) Brigade. Across the road, Lafayette's headquarters. Missing are Weedon's Virginia Brigade, Learned's Massachusetts Brigade, Poor's New Jersey and New York Brigade, and Washington's headquarters. The roads above the Schuylkill River are the Skippack road, road from Reading to Philadelphia, and Wissahickon road. The note at the bottom of the map reads: "Radnor's house, where Colonel Morgan and 400 men are stationed."


Schulkill Fluß
Weg von Reading nach Philadelphia
Plymouth
weg Lancaster
St. Davids Kirche
D morris Mühle

halt was made. One of our spies gave us the news that from here, through the thick woods to the right, we would come to a road which the enemy patrolled constantly.

Scarcely a half an hour had elapsed when an enemy party appeared. I tried to amuse them with skirmishers and concealed my force, whereby the enemy skirmishers, which were mixed dragoons and infantry, began to get bold. Suddenly, Major Prueschenck broke out and attacked the enemy in the rear and on his right flank, whereupon I ordered the hunting swords drawn and made an attack with full force on their front, which Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb supported at once with the cavalry. But since Captain Wreden was unable to get through a marsh, a retreat remained open to the enemy on one side. We killed some forty men and took some seventy prisoners, most of whom were wounded. A major and four lieutenants were among this number. We left the severely wounded behind and dragged some fifty others along with us. According to statements of the prisoners, the party was said to have been from the Morgan Corps. Late in the evening of the 17th we arrived at our quarters.

The 20th. At two o'clock in the afternoon, I was sent out to patrol with a hundred foot jägers and fifteen horsemen. At three o'clock I crossed the Schuylkill at the usual place, where for some time now a floating bridge for communication has been constructed. I followed the road to Lancaster up to the fourth milestone, and marched along the Schuylkill through the hills for over two hours. I turned to the left at Levering's Ford to reach the Lancaster road again above Merion church. Night had fallen when I arrived here, and I remained in the woods on the left side of the road until the morning of the 21st.

It was broad daylight when an enemy patrol of six men and two horse appeared. I ordered several jägers to sneak up on them on the right and the left, for I wanted to capture them alive. But one of the jägers fired his rifle, whereupon the enemy ran away and only one man, whose horse was killed, was captured. This man tried to assure me that Morgan and his whole corps followed hard on his heels. But since I had made it my principle to be strengthened in opinion by sight and experience, I remained at the place and position until nine o'clock and no one appeared.

Example of a zealous patriot, through which one perceives that no brother spares the other in a civil war, when they are of different beliefs.

In the neighborhood of Philadelphia, on the right bank of the Delaware on Gloucester Point, lived a well-to-do man and true friend of the King, whom the English army had carefully protected during its foraging. General Washington dispatched the brother of this courageous man, who was a captain, with a party to burn all the forage in this area. This man first set fire to the forage of his brother, and informed him at the same time that if he did not discontinue his friendship with the English, he would ask General Washington to come again to this area with a party, when he would burn his house and home and deliver him up to justice. The man then left home, wife, and children and came to us. I got this story from his own mouth.

On the 23d I received the news from a friend in the country that Morgan, with five hundred men and three amusettes, had been in my vicinity on the 21st. But since several shots were fired and his patrols had run back, he had placed an ambuscade along the road to lure me into his net. Hence the one had lain in wait for the other, and the prisoner had not spoken falsely. He who had swallowed the bait of either of us would have been captured.

The 29th. I had hardly fallen asleep after my very tiresome promenade of yesterday when the sound of a violin awakened me, and I heard my alarm sentries grumble and swear. I jumped to the window and asked what the music, which certainly was no Haydn solo, meant. Whereupon the violinist replied: "Sir, please don't be angry. I'm a Negro and my mistress lies in labor, which joy I have to inform each neighbor by order of my master, to take part in the celebration."

Hereupon, my old landlady shouted at the top of her voice, "Coming!" And so the Negro marched off with tinkling chords, scraping the same tune in front of the neighbors.

Month of May. The 1st. Yesterday I inspected the library of the Quakers,[18] which consisted of four thousand volumes, among which were to be found the works of the best English authors of old and modern times, together with various French writers. The secretary of the library was a Frenchman of seventy years named Benezet.[19] He showed me a small natural history and coin cabinet, but since the collection had been started only forty years ago, the whole was not of much importance. A number of mathematical and astronomical instruments were to be found in another room.

As I have taken pains for a long time to learn the losses of my countrymen which we have sustained from the time of our march from Hesse until the end of the past year, I have finally obtained the information after much effort. Since the march out of Hesse, which occurred on the 29th of February with the First Division, and on the 9th of May, 1776, with the Second, including the 1,600 augmentation and recruits which arrived here last year, the Hessian Corps has suffered in dead and deserters:

54	staff and senior officers
1	army chaplain

1	auditor
2	regimental quartermasters
1	regimental surgeon
144	noncommissioned officers
9	medical assistants
40	musicians
1,958	privates and servants

Total 2,210 men out of 14,000 who have passed on to their fathers or gone into the countryside in a period of twenty-two months.

2d. We learned yesterday morning that the foxy Morgan, with fifteen hundred men and two amusettes, had waited until evening in ambuscade in the woods between the roads to Darby, Fox Chase, and Lancaster in order to watch for our patrols. But since they were never sent out on a certain day or hour, and were never of a fixed strength, it was impossible for him to carry out his plan exactly.

4th. The day before yesterday the Americans, like ourselves, celebrated Saint George's Day, except for the difference that they painted a picture on a board showing the King of England kneeling on one knee with the latest compromise proposal in his hand. Next to him was the figure of General Washington, standing upright with his sword in his hand, uttering the following words to the King: "My dear King, if you wish to beg for something, bend your knee, then let me speak."

It is astonishing that General Washington tolerates such disgraceful affairs in his army, because we assumed him to be of a very excellent character, and such things serve only to dishonor him personally.

On the 7th I visited the library and curiosities of the local college,[20] the president of which is Dr. Smith, who is celebrated for his moral orations and his history of North America. He showed his friendship for us by performing various electrical experiments, whereby an apparatus generated the strongest effect, especially lightning and thunder, and discharged small sparks conducting the necessary energy through water for some forty paces. I then examined the library, which consisted of the best English literary works, in which hall were exhibited very fine quadrants of different kinds, as well as telescopes and air pumps. Afterward Dr. Smith showed us the remarkable machine which operates the famous orrery, invented by a second ingenious Mechanicus named Rittenhouse,[21] a native American. It consists of a perfect sphere which is mechanically propelled by a single handle, where one could observe through a diopter the orbit of all bodies and planets of the latest world system, as well as the ecliptic, in the most precise course.

On the 7th Major Prueschenck, with his and my companies, had to patrol toward Merion Meeting House. We ran into an enemy party and afterward gave chase, but they did not make a stand.

PART TWO

From the time General Clinton assumed the command of the army until Philadelphia was abandoned.

On the 10th of May Sir Henry Clinton arrived at Philadelphia, relieving Sir William Howe as commander in chief. He brought the latest news, that England had declared war on France and Spain because both courts support the Americans, and especially because the former had entered into a treaty with the rebels. It was also reported that a strong French fleet had sailed from Brest with sixteen to eighteen thousand men on board, bound partly for the West Indies and partly for the rebellious states of North America with auxiliary troops.[22]

At the same time, a part of the European fleet arrived here, which had three hundred recruits on board for the Hessian contingent belonging to this army. The most remarkable person among these people was a man of fifty years named Leonhard.[23] He had served in the Hessian army as captain in the Seven Years' War from 1760, deserted because of debts, served several potentates as a common hussar, enlisted again in Hesse, and was sent to America as a private. The remainder consisted of nothing but foreigners of all classes and the scum of the human race.

Toward evening I received an order from General von Knyphausen to report at once to headquarters, where I found Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb, Captain Wreden, and the grenadier captains Stamford and Wurmb. The worthy old general then took a letter from the table which was from His Serene Highness, the Landgrave, in which he declared in the most flattering terms his highest grace and announced that he had favored us with the order *pour la vertu militaire*[24] because of our outstanding conduct. I do not deny that I was deeply moved, since it came quite unexpectedly, and I trotted back to my quarters full of pleasure. But nevertheless it reminded me of the days gone by, when faithful service and valor were rewarded with a golden chain, on which an estate usually hung. Nowadays the award consists of a pair of cuffs, but without the shirt.

On the 11th Lieutenant Bodungen[25] had to lay in an ambuscade with fifty jägers along the road from Lancaster. An enemy patrol of about fifty horse appeared, of which two horsemen were killed and two men captured.

The 19th. Since we received information that the Marquis de Lafayette had crossed the Schuylkill with five thousand men and had encamped on the heights of White Marsh to harass our quarters and perhaps to carry out a stroke against our outworks covering the city,[26] General Grant marched out at nine o'clock this evening with the English light infantry, the grenadiers, the 27th and 40th regiments, four light 6-pounders, and two hundred horse. He took his route between the two roads from Germantown and Yorktown by way of Abington Hill, in order to get in the rear of the aforesaid enemy corps.[27]

At ten o'clock I was ordered to the Falls of Schuylkill[28] with 150 foot jägers and twenty horse, in order to push my patrols as close as possible to the enemy, and to make a demonstration from this side. At daybreak the Commander in Chief himself marched out with two English brigades, the Leib and Donop regiments, and the entire Jäger Corps, taking his route directly through Germantown over Chestnut Hill in order to draw the enemy's attention to his front. To our chagrin, an enemy spy had discovered General Grant's march. The Marquis de Lafayette acted swiftly and hurriedly withdrew, crossing the Schuylkill at Levering's Ford, during which some hundred men had to drink too much water. In order to save the whole he sacrificed the rear guard, which consisted of three hundred to four hundred men, part of whom were killed, wounded, and captured.[29] Among the latter were a French major and several Indians who were armed with bows and arrows, the first that we had seen. It is said to be the Stockbridge tribe that has joined the Americans. They were handsome and well-built people, who had a rather deep yellow skin.[30] On this occasion, I had the misfortune to turn over with my horse and severely injure two of my ribs. For a time I could neither sit, lie, nor stand, and suffered such extreme pains that I thought I would suffocate.

On the 22d the army received orders to send the heavy equipment, with the tents and everything superfluous, on board the designated transport ships. Likewise, all the heavy guns and the entire artillery park, with everything belonging to it, were embarked and sent to New York. All of the loyal inhabitants, who had taken our protection, put their heads together and lamented that they now had to give up all their property. They told us to our faces that the army had come only to make them miserable. They had previously concealed their true opinions from their enemies, but now their convictions had been betrayed by their association with us. Their entire reward that they now had from accepting English protection consisted in that they were unfortunate and the English lucky.—The heart of every honest man bled on hearing these people complain, who had an absolute right to do so.

We began to work on three redoubts at Cooper's Ferry on the left bank of the Delaware, where two English regiments were ferried across for protection. They were to cover the army during the crossing of the Delaware.

The backwoods inhabitants from Tulpehocken, and their brave people who have rendered such good service to the King, are being left behind. They grumble and swear that the army will leave Philadelphia and would rather let them be hanged by the Congress than serve England. God alone knows what will happen to them![31]

An express vessel from England is said to have arrived bringing news of the approach of a French fleet and a number of auxiliary troops. This is said to be the reason why the army must withdraw from Philadelphia to New York, because this army will be cut off from York if the French land in the Jerseys.[32]

Yesterday General Howe departed, and Captain Wreden and I received from headquarters the following letter, which the general had left behind and which was forwarded to us this evening.

Philadelphia, 19 May 1778

Gentlemen:

Please allow me the pleasure to bear witness, before my departure, to the extreme satisfaction I have always had in your distinguished conduct in the two campaigns during which I have had the honor to command you. The conduct of the two premier companies of Hessian chasseurs, incited by the zeal and brave example of their chiefs—you gentlemen—has been noticed by the entire army, and made such an unforgettable impression on me that I will always have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem

Gentlemen
Your very humble and
obedient servant
W. Howe

Messrs. von Wreden and
von Ewald, captains in
the corps of Hessian
chasseurs[33]

Month of June. The 4th. For several days all pleasures and trade in the city have come to an end. All the loyalist families are engaged in packing up and fleeing before the wrath of Congress. The streets are full of wagons loaded with personal effects, which are being taken to the ships which have been provided for these unfortunate people. It is said there are about fifteen hundred families which are leaving the city and turning their backs on their property. So well pleased do the opposite-minded people now appear that everyone already shows their delight very boldly, yet they regret it because our hard money leaves with us. The paper money of Congress is now appearing again at this place, which loses fifty percent in exchange for hard money.

On the 12th Lord Cathcart,[34] adjutant general of General Clinton, was sent to the Congress to report the particulars of the Commissioners. The proposal of the compromise is said to consist of the following points:

1. The Americans shall be treated equal to the English and not be taxed.
2. They shall send their deputies to the Parliament.
3. They shall have free trade except to the East Indies.

On the 15th Lord Cathcart returned, and it is to be expected that we will hear of nothing but recognition of independence.[35]

The two Anspach regiments which arrived in the spring from New York by water have been embarked today back to York. They are handsome and well-drilled people, who are indeed fit for use at once, but cannot march.[36] A part of the army has crossed the Delaware and encamped on the other side.

The 16th. Another part of the army has crossed the Delaware at Upper Ferry.[37] Only the Jäger Corps, the light infantry, the English and Hessian grenadiers, the Ranger Corps, and a few provincials are left in and before the city, all of which have received orders today to be ready to march at a moment's notice.

PART THREE

After the army left Philadelphia, with the retreat through the Jerseys, and up to the arrival on York Island.

At daybreak on the morning of June 17 the rest of the troops left Philadelphia, crossing the Delaware in two divisions at Upper Ferry and between the city and Kensington. As soon as it had assembled on the left bank of the Delaware, the entire army set out toward Haddonfield, where the queue arrived during the night and encamped on the heights in two battle lines. The Hessian grenadier brigade and the Jäger Corps, under General Kospoth,[38] took position behind Cooper Creek to cover the right flank of the army. The light infantry and the English grenadiers covered the rear. The jäger pickets skirmished constantly with the enemy, but only one jäger was wounded.

The 18th. The army set out one hour before daylight. The jägers formed the advanced guard, followed by the Hessian grenadiers, the provisions wagons containing supplies for the entire retreat, and then the army. The light infantry, rangers, and provincials brought up the rear. As soon as day broke the militia received us with sharp rifle fire, and a part of the light troops of Washington's army hung on our rear guard.[39] The skirmishing continued without letup. Many men fell and lost their lives miserably because of the intense heat, and due to the sandy ground which we crossed through a pathless brushwood where no water was to be found on the entire march.

At midday the army reached the left bank of Moores Creek.[40] The enemy had ruined the bridges across the creek, but they were soon repaired, whereupon the army crossed them and camped in a long quadrangle in an uninhabited area.[41]

The 19th. The army marched off one hour before daylight, as it had the day before, going by way of Fostertown.[42] Toward midday the army arrived on the left bank of Belly-Bridge Creek,[43] where the enemy had destroyed the bridges. There were still two beams left here, and since I had the advanced guard, I immediately tried to cross over with eighty jägers to take post on the other side of the water, by which the workmen on the bridge were protected. I found a very suitable post on a hill, which I occupied. I then took thirty jägers with me to patrol the area ahead. When I had ventured one hour further on, it seemed to me from my map that the terrain in the distance indicated I must not be far from Eayrestown,[44] where the army was headed according to my idea of the march. I sent back a jäger who was to guide a lieutenant and thirty men to the place I had left, and I continued on my march.

After a half an hour's time, I caught sight of several roofs of houses in a hollow. I ordered ten men forward to skirmish, who fired in a little while and beckoned to me with their hands. I followed at once and found the creek.[45] There was a bridge over it next to a mill, on which people were working to destroy it. The mill was occupied by riflemen, who boldly fired when they discovered us. But since I let fly in earnest at the windows of the mill, they abandoned the mill and bridge and ran away into the nearest wood. I immediately occupied the bank on this side of the bridge with twenty men. I then ordered a corporal and ten jägers to cross the beams of the bridge, occupy the mill, and barricade the entrance, which I reported instantly to my chief. During this time the army had crossed Belly-Bridge Creek and encamped in a long quadrangle. I received reinforcements of 150 jägers and orders to maintain the post. Toward evening the carpenters arrived with the construction wagon and the bridge was repaired. I received from the Commander in Chief his thanks and the compliment that I had saved the army a longer march by my diligence.

The 20th. At daybreak the army set out, passed the defile of Eayrestown, and toward midday encamped in an irregular quadrangle on the heights of Mount Holly. On this march the head of the queue and both flanks were constantly annoyed by the enemy.[46]

The 21st. The corps under General von Knyphausen, consisting of the Stirn and Loos brigades, the grenadiers, the Ranger Corps, and the provincials, which was marching to the left of the army by way of Moorestown, rejoined the army here. We received the news that Washington intended to cross, or had already crossed, the Delaware near Trenton in order to get in front of us.[47]

On the 22d the army marched to Black Horse. On this march the Jäger Corps and three English regiments covered the left toward Burlington.

The 23d. The army set out before daylight toward Crosswicks, where a pass exists at a river called Crosswicks Creek which has high banks. There is a stone bridge across the creek at the village protected on each side by heights, which, so the report read, should be well occupied by the enemy. The Jäger Corps and three English regiments, under General Leslie, had to march to the left to Bordentown and the drawbridge, which is a long wooden bridge standing there on piles. It is built across Crosswicks Creek a short distance from where the creek falls into the Delaware. This corps was supposed to threaten the enemy with a crossing, in order to create a feint for those who covered the bridge at Crosswicks.[48]

In the afternoon the corps arrived before the bridge. The enemy had uncovered a section on the other side, thrown up a defense line, and occupied it with cannon and infantry, but kept themselves so well hidden that they were not fully visible. The English infantry deployed on the heights on this side of the creek. The Jäger Corps drew near the bank and camped along it. The men tried to refresh themselves in the water because the weather was extremely warm. Several people appeared on the other side of the bridge, who waved to us with their hats. The lieutenant colonel and most of our officers took a walk on the bridge up to the broken-off section in order to talk with these people. They asked us whether we did not want to cross the bridge here—we could easily do it—for it lacked only four or five planks. We made inquiries from these people about the enemy army, whereupon they told us that a strong American corps covered the Crosswicks pass, and that a hard fight had occurred there, but they did not know if the English had become the masters of the pass. We asked them to put down a few planks lying on the other side and come to us. They answered that they would be unfortunate if they did that, because our army was unable to protect them—we only ran back and forth through the country and devastated it.

Now we smelled a rat.—"They are rascals, let us go back," someone said to the others. We had hardly gone back several paces, when the most violent cannon and small-arms fire fell out of the lines, whereat the rogues raised a boisterous clamor. The jägers grabbed their rifles and answered the fire with solid rifle shots which continued until darkness, though not more than ten jägers were killed or wounded.[49]

At midnight the news arrived that the enemy was repulsed with considerable loss and the army had passed Crosswicks. We set out at once toward Crosswicks, and early in the morning of the 24th rejoined the army, which had encamped in column beyond Crosswicks.

On this march the very beautiful plantation and mill of Mr. Lewis[50] were burned at Bordentown. This misfortune which befell the family greatly distressed me. I was quartered with these good people while on outpost duty during the month of December, 1776, and had enjoyed much uncommon friendship and courtesy, although they were not even loyalists. I felt doubly bad because I had spoken with a servant from the house shortly before it was set on fire, and had promised to provide them protection.[51]

As soon as the Leslie Corps had rejoined the army, it set out to Allentown, where it encamped toward evening on the other side of the village. The Jäger Corps was placed opposite the Maidenhead pass in order to cover the left flank of the army, and then formed the rear guard.

The 25th. At daybreak the army set out toward Cranbury, to make the enemy believe we meant to aim at his march to Princetown and attack him. A corps under General Lee had moved into this area on the left of General Clinton. The Jäger Corps had to skirmish all day long with the enemy, during which Captain Cramon of the Anspach jägers had the rear guard.

The 26th. At daybreak the army marched off on the right hand toward Monmouth Court House. It was an extremely warm day and I felt it doubly. I had to make up the rear guard of the entire division.[52] Since the pickets had to do this constantly, I let the outposts serve as skirmishers. Before daylight the enemy riflemen began to fire at the sentries. I had scarcely received orders to follow the army when they drew up on all sides. I was so hard pressed on the flanks at different times that the Corps and the light infantry had to support me. The enemy kept hanging on me up to the new camp.[53] I lost over 60 men out of 180 foot jägers and 30 horsemen, among which may well be some 20 men who dropped dead from the great heat and fatigue.

The 27th. Since the army had lost over two hundred men on yesterday's march through the intolerable heat, it stopped today to rest. About midday the Marquis de Lafayette and Count Pulaski[54] appeared; the latter commanded the advanced guard yesterday and had kept me pretty warm at the front of the jäger posts in order to reconnoiter them, during which a little skirmish arose, but ended without shedding of blood on our side.

The 28th. Early in the morning, at one o'clock, the army departed in two divisions. Lieutenant General von Knyphausen's division formed the vanguard and consisted of the Jäger Corps, the two Hessian brigades, two English brigades, and the provincials, followed by all the wagons of the army.[55] Lord Cornwallis led the Second Division, which consisted of the remaining troops, all the grenadiers, the light infantry, and the Ranger Corps under Major Simcoe.[56] The Commander in Chief, General Clinton, remained here in person.

At daybreak an enemy column under General Lee appeared at the head and left flank of the Knyphausen division.[57] At the same time another column drew near the queue of the Second Division as it was on the point of passing the defile of Monmouth. The Jäger Corps was immediately thrown on the left flank of General von Knyphausen's division to cover the army's march, where it had to skirmish with the enemy the whole day long.

General Clinton immediately placed the light infantry, grenadiers, English Guards, and a part of the light dragoons in front of the defile to check the much too bold enemy van, in order to cover the march of the remaining elements of the army. He attacked the head of the enemy army with such timely success that it was repulsed with heavy losses. The light infantry lost very many men, because they pursued the enemy too closely through a marshy brushwood[58] which was occupied by riflemen on the other side. The losses on both sides were reckoned at 1,100 men.[59] Colonel Monckton[60] and Major Gardiner,[61] two very capable and courageous officers who commanded the two English grenadier battalions, lost their lives here; a loss which was regretted by the entire army.

Today the Americans showed much boldness and resolution on all sides during their attacks. Had Generals Washington and Lee not attacked so early, but waited longer, until our army had pushed deeper into the very difficult defiles in this area, it is quite possible we would have been routed, since one division could not support the other, being separated by the great number of wagons.[62] For the terrain was so difficult to cross, because of the sunken roads, impassable underbrush, marshes, and many brooks which cut through the country here, that the greater part of the Jäger Corps more than once found itself in the dilemma of being cut off from the army, which happened to me several times today. I thought that I was connected with the division, and ran into whole swarms of Americans not over twenty to thirty paces away. But since we took up the favorite cry of the great Frederick—"Allons! Allons!"—and our jägers knew nothing else, we constantly got out of this business with honor. Indeed, large groups of Americans penetrated several times between the intervals of the jäger platoons up to the wagons, killing men and horses. Then, when they were driven back by the infantry[63] escorting the wagons, they ran against the jägers, and we were forced to fire on all sides.[64]

The army was so delayed by this constant fighting that it did not arrive at Middletown until midnight of the 29th,[65] where it remained in column until daybreak on the 30th, because the men and horses could not continue on any longer. The army set out again toward the mountains called the Navesink and encamped in the form of a crescent, both points of which extended to the Shrewsbury River.[66] The Jäger Corps, rangers, and light infantry were posted at the entrance to the mountains.

Toward eleven o'clock in the evening the entire army broke camp and moved over a German mile further toward the sea, so that the right wing bordered on the bay[67] and the left on the Shrewsbury River. The light troops remained at their posts at the entrance to the mountains. The army received orders today to send all the horses down to the water. The baggage train also began to be embarked at once, for which a number of transport ships had arrived and lay at anchor at Sandy Hook.

Month of July. The 1st. Today a strong enemy corps appeared here from Middletown. A sharp skirmish occurred between the jägers and the enemy riflemen, in which three jägers were killed and five wounded. Toward evening the enemy withdrew.

The 2d. Early in the morning a patrol of one officer and twelve jägers was sent out toward Middletown to collect information about the enemy. Although the patrol was cautious, it was attacked unexpectedly by the enemy, and one jäger was killed and two were captured. But in spite of this we received the news that Washington and his army were stationed behind the Raritan, and that he had pushed three corps under Generals Lafayette, Pulaski, and Morgan against us in order to make our crossing at Sandy Hook more difficult.

The 4th. For several days now we enjoyed a little rest instead of the enemy. On the other hand, we were so severely pestered by insects of all kinds in these uninhabited mountains that I did not know whether I would not rather skirmish with the enemy than spend one day longer here. We were so terribly bitten at night by the mosquitoes and other kinds of vermin that we could not open our eyes for the swelling in our faces. Many men were made almost unrecognizable, and our bodies looked like those of people who have been suddenly attacked by measles or smallpox.

A packet boat arrived from England, having encountered the French fleet of twenty-four warships, which had fired at the boat. It really was high time that we had left Philadelphia.

The 5th. At daybreak the army marched to its embarkation places. The corps under General Knyphausen was embarked about noon, several miles above Sandy Hook. The corps under Lord Cornwallis, which included the Jäger Corps, marched through the impassable mountains and woods. About ten o'clock in the forenoon we crossed the channel which separates Sandy Hook from the mainland, where a pontoon bridge was built which was covered by two row galleys.[68] The entire corps under Lord Cornwallis camped along the seashore on this sandy and deserted island. The deep white sand, out of which grew short fir bushes, served us as the softest bed. We slept here as peacefully as young children, because we were separated from the enemy on all sides by navigable water.

The lighthouse on this island, so famous in America,[69] can guide the skippers who sail from Europe to America at a very great distance. It is built of the most beautiful squared stones, some thirty feet wide in the square, and is about two hundred feet high. Since the Americans constantly threaten to destroy it, the lighthouse has been fortified with a stone breastwork in which loopholes were constructed. In the tower itself portholes for cannon have been cut on all four sides, four of which are placed on the first floor for defense. The army furnished one captain, one officer, and fifty men for the guard, who were relieved each month but had to be on the alert, because the American privateers attempt a surprise attack nearly every month.

On the morning of the 6th, the troops which could not be embarked the day before were finally embarked. They set sail at once and entered the harbor of New York on the afternoon of the 7th, where they disembarked immediately. The greater part of the army was assigned to encampment on York Island. The Jäger Corps received its post at the Morris House on the rocky heights.

Remarks on the retreat through the Province of Jersey.

The retreat of Xenophon and his Ten Thousand Greeks, that of the Swedes under Charles XII after the battle of Poltava, and that of the French under Belle-Isle[70] from Prague to Eger are very famous in the history of warfare because of the difficult and troublesome marches undertaken. But this very remarkable retreat of the European in this part of the world will perhaps be passed over in silence. Nevertheless, one can certainly put it at the side of the last-named retreat for the following reasons:

First: We had to fight in the greatest heat.[71]

Second: We had to cross impassable country in which we often did not find a drop of water over many miles to allay our thirst.

Third: We had to manage with dry biscuit most of the time for three weeks.[72]

Fourth: The roads and bridges were ruined. We had to clear away the rubble and rebuild most of the bridges.

Fifth: The whole province was in arms, following us with Washington's army, constantly surrounding us on our marches and besieging our camps.

Sixth:	The entire army did not have a single tent;[73] and on encamping, nothing was done to protect us from the heat of the sun and the insects.
Seventh:	Each step cost human blood.
Eighth:	One can truly state that this march cost two thousand men.[74]

Recounting all these discomforts, one will realize that bygone heroes could not have had more hardships on their marches than we endured.

CHAPTER 2

From the arrival of the army in and around New York up to the end of the year 1779.

PART ONE

From the arrival at New York until the end of this campaign.

The 8th. The entire army stood still, guarded the islands of Long Island, Staten, and York Island on all sides, and awaited the French fleet. General Horatio Gates has drawn near Trenton with twelve thousand men,[1] and it is said Washington will join him to attack us in force from all directions, aided by the French fleet and the auxiliary troops.

On the 11th the news arrived that the French fleet was off the coast, and that ours had withdrawn into the mouth of the harbor at Sandy Hook.

The 13th. The French fleet of fifteen ships of the line and five frigates arrived last night before the mouth of the harbor and rode at anchor in the form of an exact half-moon.[2] Yesterday two English regiments were sent to Sandy Hook to protect the lighthouse.

The 17th. At daybreak the Jäger Corps, the rangers, and the Emmerich Corps crossed Kings Bridge and advanced as far as the vicinity of Cortlandt's plantation, in order to discover the approach of the enemy in good time. The Jäger Corps was posted from Cortlandt's heights up to the Hudson River. The rangers, under Major Simcoe, occupied Valentine's Hill to the right of Cortlandt's Hill, and Lieutenant Colonel Emmerich[3] occupied DeLancey's heights.

On the 22d five hundred prisoners arrived, which were exchanged by the army.[4] A disagreeable party now made its appearance at our post. They are the so-called wood louse, a kind of an ear worm which is completely white and round. They crawl into the ears, biting inward so fast that it causes the most intense pain, and in the end the person loses his hearing. We have already had several sad examples of it in the Corps.

The 23d. Early today I had to patrol with sixty foot jägers and twelve horse past Philipse's house,[5] two good German miles from our outpost. I had no guide, did not know the country, and just had to follow my nose. I took my route over impassable hills cut through with rocks and woods in order to march as concealed as possible and to arrive near the precise spot. Halfway there I found a ravine with a stone bridge over it, where to my relief I discovered a church with a graveyard which was surrounded by a wall. I left there half of my detachment to cover my rear.

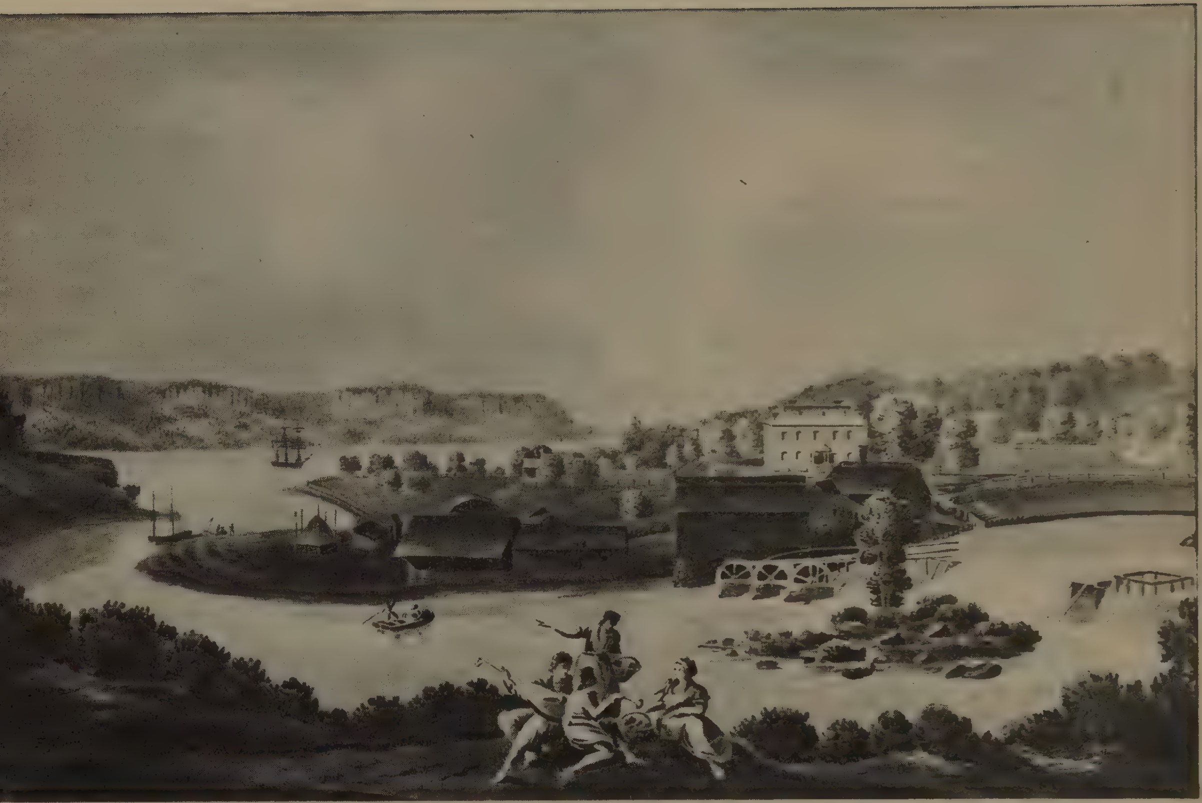
I then sent for the steward from the plantation of Mr. Philipse,[6] which I kept on my right. He gave me the news that a patrol of fifty horse and three hundred infantry had been there yesterday. They were said to be from an advanced corps situated a good two miles from here in the vicinity of Tarrytown. He had also learned from the country people that Washington had joined Gates on this side of the Hudson River to attack the English army at Kings Bridge as soon as the French troops were landed on Long Island. The man appeared to be a loyalist. I did not permit any jäger to leave the ranks, so that the man remained my friend. Afterward, I made an arrangement with him to let the wash hang out of the attic of the house when enemy parties were in the vicinity of his house, which could be seen halfway from our post. Then I took my way back over the main Albany highway.[7]

Month of August. The 1st. Yesterday Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb agreed with Major Simcoe and Lieutenant Colonel Emmerich to proceed against the enemy today from three directions. These three parties were to march very slowly and to halt in ambuscade at different times for hours at a stretch, in which way every enemy party which went out must fall into the hands of one or the other.

At daybreak each party departed. The Jäger Corps had scarcely arrived in the vicinity of Philipse's church[8] when it ran into several hundred Americans, who were probably waiting for one of our weak patrols which went out daily. They were so well concealed behind rocks overgrown with bushes that our advanced guard, which they took for one of our patrols, had already passed them. The right flank patrol of the Corps discovered them, and since they caught sight of the whole Corps, they fired and drew back into the hills.

During this occurrence such a thick fog came up that we could not follow the enemy. Now, since Simcoe and Emmerich had to be notified of the incident, Captain Rau[9] was sent beyond Valentine's house toward Mile Square with a part of the mounted jägers to deliver the message. Major Simcoe was now distrustful, but after he had sent a small party toward White Plains, which discovered the enemy ambuscade, he withdrew amid a light skirmish. Only one mounted officer was killed by the well-directed fire which the enemy poured upon the jägers from his ambuscade.

The 3d. Our adversaries still make continual plans to burn the city of



PHILIPSE MANOR HALL IN 1784

This sepia drawing of the Philipse Manor Hall made in the year after the American Revolution ended clearly shows the terrain of which Ewald speaks. The Palisades of New Jersey across the Hudson River and Philipse's wharf are shown on the left. In the foreground on the right are the mills below the dam of the Saw Mill River. On the extreme right the terrain slopes upward toward Philipse's Bridge and the Albany Post Road, not shown. Across the Albany Post Road was Philipse's Hill, on which stood the original St. John's Episcopal Church. The dormer windows of the Manor Hall, out of which the steward hung the wash to warn Ewald when American patrols were in the vicinity, are clearly visible. Courtesy of Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Tarrytown, New York.

New York, where the main depot for the sea and land forces is situated. Over a thousand houses have already been reduced to ashes, little by little. Yesterday they succeeded again in setting fire to four squares of some seventy beautiful buildings, in the course of which various baggage warehouses and depots of the regiments were exposed to great danger. Had not the sailors in their own quick and nimble manner commenced to demolish the houses on all sides of the conflagration, the entire city would have been consumed by the flames, since the fire broke out toward morning in five places all at once. Several people perished in the fire, notably a few Frenchmen—probably prisoners—who had appeared as spectators. Perhaps they had expressed their compassion over the catastrophe in their native tongue, a misfortune which got them thrown into the fire like dolls by the sailors, without anyone being able to help them.[10]

On the 5th lightning struck a schooner which lay at anchor in the East River at New York. It was loaded with 214 kegs of powder which were earmarked for the fleet and was just about to depart. Several houses in the city which stood by the wharf were damaged by the explosion. Luckily, only two sailors and a naval cadet were on board.[11]

The 7th. For several days the mosquitoes have arrived in vast swarms with the south wind, which torment us extremely. Moreover, all the bushes are full of large gray beetles, which because of their great numbers make such a loud hissing noise that one cannot hear during the night. We have to seek our rest at night in the smoke of our large fire.

Toward evening on the 9th I had to make a patrol with sixty jägers, twenty men from the infantry, and ten horse over the mountain between the Albany and Boston highways. I did not meet the enemy, but I had scarcely rendered my report to my chief when our spy arrived. He congratulated me on having escaped by luck, because an ambuscade of twenty Indians and three hundred Americans was concealed on my right. Since they had not attacked, they must have thought my patrol was stronger than they were.

On the 20th Lieutenant Colonel Emmerich and his corps went out toward East Chester and ran into a superior party. As soon as the firing was heard at our post, I was sent with fifty jägers and ten horse, along with twenty men of the infantry (from which we have had a detachment with the Corps for some time), toward Valentine's house in order to cover the left flank of the Emmerich Corps. An enemy party, which lay on the left flank of Emmerich's Corps and did much damage, caught sight of mine when I came out of the woods too soon and withdrew in great haste. The Emmerich Corps had lost over twenty men.

On the 26th Captain Waldenfels,[12] who had arrived with the Anspach jägers in place of Captain Cramon, conducted a patrol with one hundred jägers and ten horse toward Philipse's house, since we had information that an enemy corps intended to take post there. He had scarcely arrived on this side of the hills when his skirmishers ran into an enemy party, which withdrew. He followed it to learn its strength, during which he encountered a corps of fifteen hundred to two thousand men which kept hidden behind the rocks and bushes and opened a severe fire on his advanced guard.

This heavy firing was heard by the Corps, and Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb immediately hurried to assist with the entire Corps, whereupon the enemy withdrew with a considerable loss of men and horses. The loss of the jägers was very slight, since they were covered and had fought greatly dispersed in all directions because of the large front. The French colonel Chevalier Armand is said to have commanded this party, and was shot through the right hand during the fight.

On the 29th three hundred Hessian recruits arrived, consisting of all classes of human beings, of which a part had rebelled against their officers on the ships. Twelve of them were roughly handled, who were said to be court-martialed. Among these people were many nobles who had been officers; among others, a Frenchman named Detroit who had been a gendarme and had served with the French Legion in the Polish war. He was recruited as a corporal and had very good recommendations from Poland.

The newly raised English Legion[13] under Lord Cathcart, which consisted of five hundred fusiliers and two hundred light dragoons, joined Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe today.

The 31st. Early today Captain Donop patrolled toward Philipse's house with one hundred foot jägers and fifteen horse. He was scarcely a half an hour away from our outpost when he fell into an ambuscade lying in a ravine to his right, since he had marched by his nose without taking every precaution. Two corporals and four jägers were killed by the first fire, six wounded, and four captured. A quick flight had saved the remainder. The Corps hurried to help as soon as it heard the firing, but the enemy, who knew his business, had withdrawn immediately after his well-executed stroke. This party had been commanded by the Chevalier Armand, who again appeared to be our antagonist in the fortunes of war.

After this stroke, the enemy party turned toward East Chester through Philipse's Manor into the area where Simcoe, Cathcart, and Emmerich were posted. These officers got wind of it and broke camp at once. Simcoe moved to the left through the wood past the enemy party to cut off its retreat. Cathcart and Emmerich went to meet the party with a part of their corps to draw the enemy's attention upon themselves. They had concealed the other part, especially the cavalry, behind the hills to attack the enemy unexpectedly.

At the same time, Simcoe requested our chief to support him with a detachment of jägers, since the enemy was said to be two thousand strong and had the Indian tribe, toward which our men showed some fear because it had been described to them as more dangerous than it really was. I was dispatched immediately with my own company and Lorey's to serve as support, and took my post in Cortlandt's woods.

In the afternoon, about four o'clock, the enemy approached and began to skirmish with our skirmishers, who withdrew, and the enemy pursued them vigorously. The cavalry of Emmerich and the Legion burst forth, charged, and drove back the enemy, who was now attacked in the rear by Simcoe between Post's[14] and Valentine's plantations, where he had to cross a defile.[15]

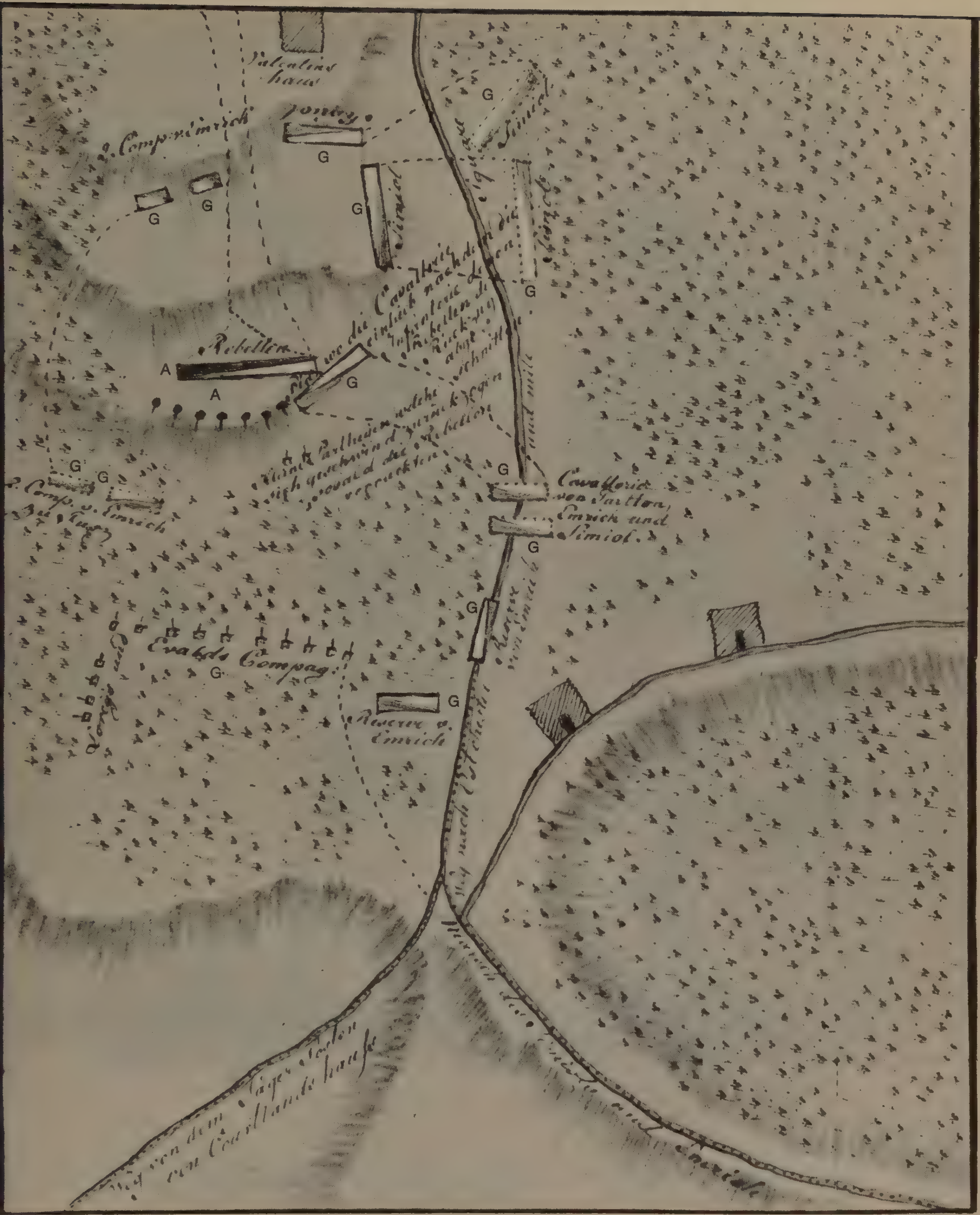
The Indians as well as the Americans defended themselves like brave men against all sides where they were attacked, so that a hot fight resulted in five or six parties where the heavily wooded terrain offered cover. By seven o'clock in the evening, however, most of the enemy were killed, partly shot dead and partly cut down by the cavalry. No Indians, especially, received quarter, including their chief called Nimham[16] and his son, save for a few. Only two captains, one lieutenant, and some fifty men were taken prisoners. The Chevalier Armand and a small party alone had escaped under the cover of the bushes. The loss on the English side altogether amounted to some forty dead without the wounded. The American General Scott[17] hurried to Armand's assistance with two thousand men, but he arrived on the second scene just as late as the Jäger Corps had arrived on the first one in the morning.[18]

After this affair I examined the dead Indians. I was struck with astonishment over their sinewy and muscular bodies. Their strong, well-built, and healthy bodies were strikingly distinguished among the Europeans, with whom they lay mingled on the ground, and one could see by their faces that they had perished with resolution. I compared these Indians with my ancestors under Arminius,[19] against whom they looked like pygmies to me. Their costume was a shirt of coarse linen down to the knees, long trousers also of linen down to the feet, on which they wore shoes of deerskin, and the head was covered with a hat made of bast.[20] Their weapons were a rifle or musket, a quiver with some twenty arrows, and a short battle-axe which they know how to throw very skillfully. Through the nose and in the ears they wore rings, and on their heads only the hair of the crown remained standing in a circle the size of a dollar-piece, the remainder being shaved off bare. They pull out with pincers all the hairs of the beard, as well as those on all other parts of the body.

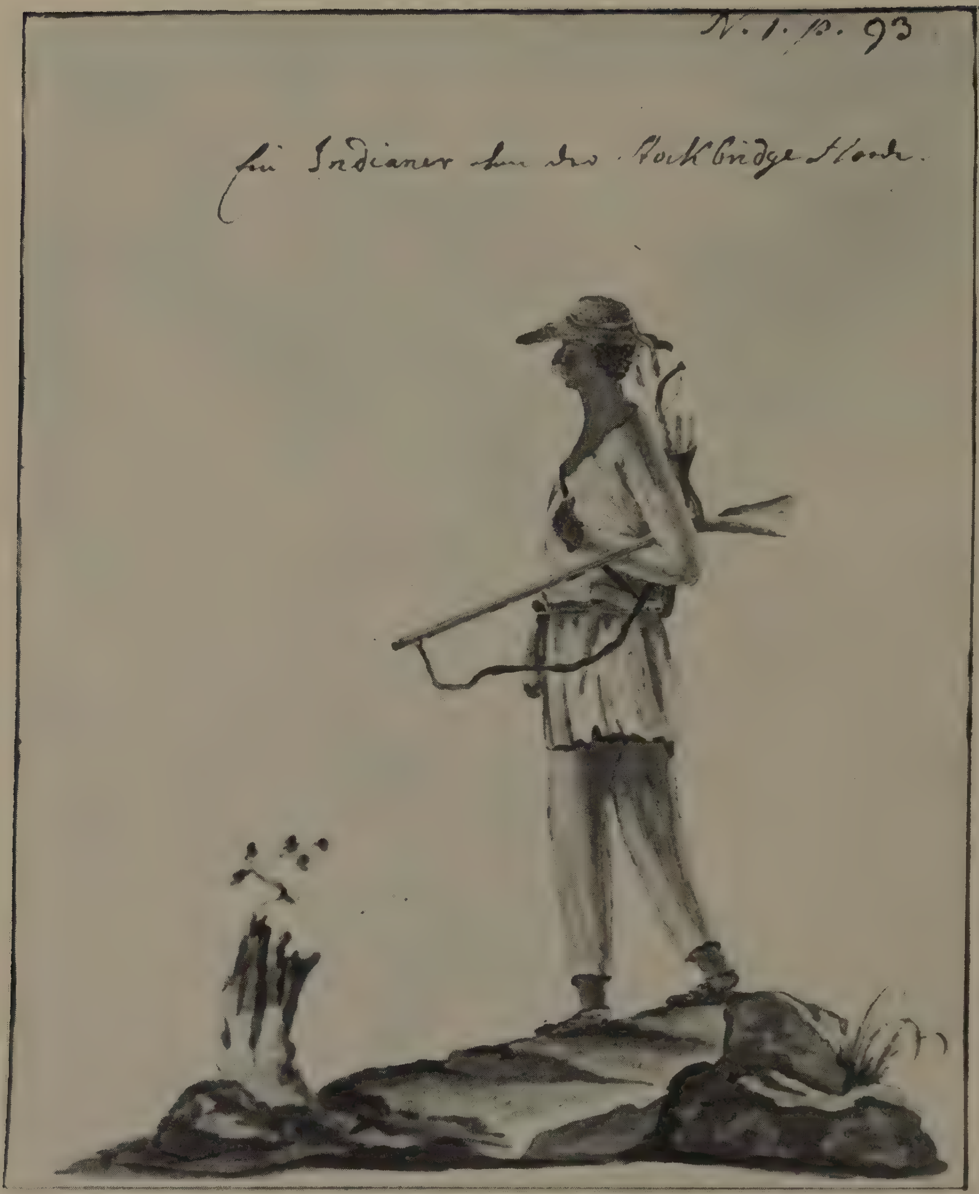
September the 16th. Yesterday we received the news that General

AMBUSCADE [AUGUST 31, 1778]

This skirmish was later known as the action at Indian Field or Indian Bridge. At the upper left of the plan, below Valentine's house, the Americans and Indians are shown surrounded by the companies of Simcoe, Emmerich, and Ewald. To the left of the vertical road the legend reads, "Place where the cavalry fell upon the rebel infantry after its retreat was cut off," and below this, "Small parties which advanced quickly as soon as the rebels retreated." The cavalry of Tarleton, Emmerich, and Simcoe are shown on the "Road to East Chester and Mile Square" before the attack, with reserves of Emmerich and Lorey's and Ewald's company to the left. The road forks below, with legends indicating the "Road from the Jäger post by Cortlandt's house" to the left and the "March of Simcoe and Emmerich" before the attack to the right.


Valentins haus
Jonley
2. Comp. v. Emrich
G
A
Rebellen
Cavallerie von Tarlton, Emrich und Simcol.
2. Comp. v. Emrich
Ewalds Compag.
Reserve v. Emrich

G = German
A = American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Ein Indianer von der Stockbridge Horde.

AN INDIAN OF THE STOCKBRIDGE TRIBE

Scott, who stood behind East Chester with a corps of three to four thousand men, had pushed Colonel Gist[21] with five hundred men up to Babcock's Hill.[22]

Our three partisans immediately made the following dispositions for a surprise attack. Lieutenant Colonels Emmerich and Simcoe set out with their corps at twelve o'clock midnight, taking their route to the right past Mile Square to attack the enemy on the left flank and in the rear. At one o'clock at night Major Prueschenck, with two hundred jägers, started to go around toward Philipse's Bridge, to force this post of the enemy and to cut off the retreat of the Gist detachment at the Albany road. At three o'clock in the morning Captain Wreden, with one hundred jägers, marched over the hills on Richland road to attack the enemy on his front at daybreak. Each detachment arrived at its point at the appointed time. But Lieutenant Colonel Emmerich, who had actually decided to cut off the retreat of the enemy with his own corps, had made the arc too small, through which the Americans kept open a small ravine for their retreat. Instead of the whole party, only six officers and some seventy men were captured. Their camp and baggage were burned.

The 19th. In order to be certain of the movements of the enemy, Lieutenant Colonels Emmerich and Simcoe marched tonight with their corps on the East Chester road toward White Plains. Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb and the Jäger Corps marched on the main Albany road, where I and my jäger company with fifteen horse took the footpath across the mountains which led between the Albany road and the road past East Chester toward White Plains. All the parties arrived toward evening at the abandoned camp of the enemy. There we gathered information from the country people and several prisoners, who probably were marauders, that Washington had moved toward Peekskill and Gates with the Northern army toward Boston.[23]

On the 21st these parties returned, but they had to move forward at once into the woods of Philipse's plantation and push our outposts up to the heights toward Dobbs Ferry. The 71st Scottish Regiment was placed on Valentine's Hill, and Simcoe and Emmerich took their posts on Sneading Hill.[24]

On the 24th the army moved up to Philipse's Hill.

During the night of the 25th, Captain Wreden was dispatched with one hundred foot jägers and twenty horse past Tarrytown; he brought back as prisoners three rebels of great reputation.

Toward evening of the same day I was detached with 120 foot jägers to occupy the post on Sneading Hill, because Simcoe had left it. He and his corps were detailed under General Grey, who had crossed the Hudson River with a strong corps in order to surprise or attack an American corps at Tappan. But since the flatboats for crossing the river were too small, Simcoe's corps returned about noon on the 26th and relieved me.[25] Chevalier Armand, who stayed in the neighborhood of Sneading Hill, alarmed my post several times during the night. But since these enemy patrols ran into my sneak parties, the Monsieur desisted from further attempts.

On the 30th at daybreak I made a patrol with sixty jägers and twelve horse toward Dobbs Ferry, in order to obtain information whether an enemy detachment had approached past Tarrytown, as was rumored. I went still farther than I was ordered, since I risked nothing and had covered my rear in echelon, but could not collect the slightest news from the country people and returned safely.

A little over halfway back, I met Captain Donop with a party just as strong, which Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb had sent out after me. I assured the good Donop that I had discovered no trace of the enemy, but begged him to be careful to cover his rear and flanks, and to let only a few men go past the defile up to the heights of Post's plantation. Here again, the good man followed his nose and let Lieutenant Bickell and thirty men cross the defile. When several shots rang out there, he lost his presence of mind and sent Lieutenant Mertz with his twelve horsemen past the defile to rush support to the foot jägers. But Donop himself took flight with the rest of his men when he caught sight of several troops of enemy horsemen on his right who threatened to cut him off, although they could not have done him any harm if he had withdrawn only 150 paces, where there was an inaccessible cliff.

Lieutenant Bickell realized that he and his foot jägers were completely surrounded by the enemy; nevertheless he withdrew through three ambuscades along the steep cliffs to Saw Mill Creek. He lost only one corporal and eight jägers of his advanced guard and seven skirmishers. But Lieutenant Mertz, who was supposed to save Bickell, found himself cut off on all sides as soon as he had passed the defile, partly by horsemen and partly by infantry. He therefore chose the shortest way to cut through the enemy horsemen, but was overcome by the superior force. He was severely wounded by two saber cuts, and the remaining twelve mounted jägers, including the quartermaster, were all hacked to pieces except for the latter and another man. Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb and the Corps hastened to their aid, but found nothing save the corpses of these brave men. This misfortune was attributable to nothing other than the carelessness and weakness of Captain Donop, who in all fairness should have been punished because he had not been made the wiser by the previous incident.[26]

On the 1st of October General Scott sent back the brave Lieutenant Mertz on parole, accompanied by a trumpeter, with a letter of commendation to General Clinton concerning the extraordinary good conduct of this brave man. The American dragoon captain who delivered him to our post, and who had been in the hand-to-hand fight with this man, was still completely filled with enthusiasm for his heroic deeds. He related that Mertz had killed a dragoon with his own hands, and had seriously wounded one of their bravest officers along with a dragoon. Altogether, he admitted that they had counted twenty-nine killed and wounded by these fourteen courageous men. I have never seen a battlefield on a small scale more horrible than the little spot on which this slaughter had taken place. In a space the length of about 150 paces and the width of a country road, we found twenty-one completely mutilated bodies, counting friend and foe, and seven horses. A loss that was regretted by both sides.

The 2d. About ten o'clock in the evening, the Jäger Corps set out to make a surprise attack which General Grant had planned. It was to be carried out in the vicinity of Watts's house on this side of Tarrytown. The three corps, under Simcoe, Cathcart, and Emmerich, took the Mile Square road where General Grant was stationed, in order to get in the rear of the enemy. The Jäger Corps took its route along the left bank of Saw Mill Creek. We had just crossed Storm's[27] Bridge to the left when we were attacked by an enemy post which lay at a defile near a plantation. The four jägers of the advanced guard, who were chosen to seize the first sentries by trick or force, were armed only with hunting swords, which they concealed. The four men answered the double enemy sentries that they were deserters, but just as they were about to overpower them by a rush, the enemy sentries smelled a rat, opened fire, and ran back. Thereupon the enemy corps, which was said to consist of a thousand men, grabbed their weapons and took flight, leaving behind their baggage and a part of their arms. The Corps, which immediately followed the four jägers, hurriedly tried to deploy to attack the enemy, and the mounted jägers broke through on the right to take the enemy in the flanks and rear. But the bird had flown the nest. Day broke at this time, the Corps pursued the enemy, and that element under General Grant which was supposed to surround the enemy joined the Jäger Corps beyond Watts's house, having captured only a few stragglers.

On the 10th the army marched back to its old camp, during which the Jäger Corps formed the rear guard. This movement had a foraging in the Province of Jersey as its objective, in order to draw away the undivided attention of General Washington from that direction.

At that time Lord Cornwallis had crossed the Hudson River from New York with a corps of six thousand men, landed on Paulus Hook,[28] and advanced into the vicinity of Hackensack and Elizabethtown. During this time, the whole area had been foraged thoroughly and all the slaughter cattle carried off. An enemy corps had, in fact, made every effort to hinder the foraging, but it had been repulsed three times with a heavy loss.[29]

The 14th. Printed royal proclamations appeared today at all the outposts, and parties were sent out immediately to post them on the houses in the vicinity and to deliver them to the magistrates of the villages. Furthermore, a naval officer with a flagship was sent to Philadelphia to present the same proclamation to the Congress, but had the misfortune to run aground in the Delaware. The officer and two sailors were rescued, whereupon he hastened to deliver his commission to the Congress, which informed him at his reception that unless he left the city at once they would hang him. The proclamation consisted of an exhortation to lay down their arms, and the people were therewith promised to be free of taxes.

On the 17th I was sent with a trumpeter to General Scott by the Commanding General. I was provided with a letter which pertained to the exchange of prisoners. Then, between you and me, I was to try to approach the enemy outpost through a byway in order to reconnoiter Monsieurs Armand and Lee, and to square our accounts by a trick against one of these gentlemen. However, I was stopped quite unexpectedly by a patrol of riflemen and brought in custody to a house in Tarrytown, where the officer of the riflemen requested me to hand over my letter. But I declared that I was bound to deliver my dispatches only to a soldier wearing the uniform of a staff officer. By gaining time, I hoped to find out where General Scott and Armand were stationed through questions to one or the other of my guards. But these gentlemen constantly displayed very mean looks and did not answer one question.

After a lapse of several hours Colonel Armand arrived with six officers and an escort of twelve dragoons. I was received by him with the utmost politeness. He regretted that I should have been obliged to wait such a long time among these uncivilized mountaineers. I gave him my letter and we joked quite friendly about the last trick which he had played on the jäger picket, and I invited him to risk the affair once more. Toward evening I left the gentlemen, and Monsieur Armand accompanied me far enough so that I could return safely.

On the 19th I was sent out toward Tarrytown with one hundred men. I was to try to return on the Saw Mill road, which took place. I learned from two deserters and the country people that General Washington and his army had taken up cantonment quarters at Peekskill, Fishkill, and Danbury. His cordon, under General Scott, had been extended from the Hudson River behind Sing Sing over to Bedford.

On the 24th Major Ferguson[30] returned from his expedition, which had sailed from New York on two galleys and four small vessels four weeks ago with a detachment. He had landed in Egg Harbor and destroyed and burned a number of ships. Afterward, he had burned several plantations on the Jersey coast and destroyed an enemy magazine and a salt works there.[31]

He had already embarked his troops when an American officer and six dragoons appeared on the shore, indicating to him by a sign that they wished to speak with him. He approached them in a boat, whereupon the officer asserted that he was a deserter, and if Ferguson gave him assurance of being placed in the English army he would lead him to surprise his chief, Count Pulaski, who was quartered not far from there on four plantations with six hundred men and four cannon.

Major Ferguson took these seven men and their horses on board and put to sea, but returned as soon as it was night. He landed with his men in the inlet to the right of Egg Harbor pointed out to him by the officer. The officer led him along a footpath to a bridge and they caught the whole corps from behind in deepest silence in its four quarters at daybreak. Each party was able to enter the houses without discovery by the enemy. Over sixty men were cut down, among whom were a French lieutenant colonel,[32] two Polish captains, and four American officers. They took two hundred and fifty prisoners and captured four cannon and much baggage, including a cashbox of paper money. Luckily for Count Pulaski, it had occurred to him the previous day to look for another post, as this one did not seem safe enough, and consequently he was not present.[33]

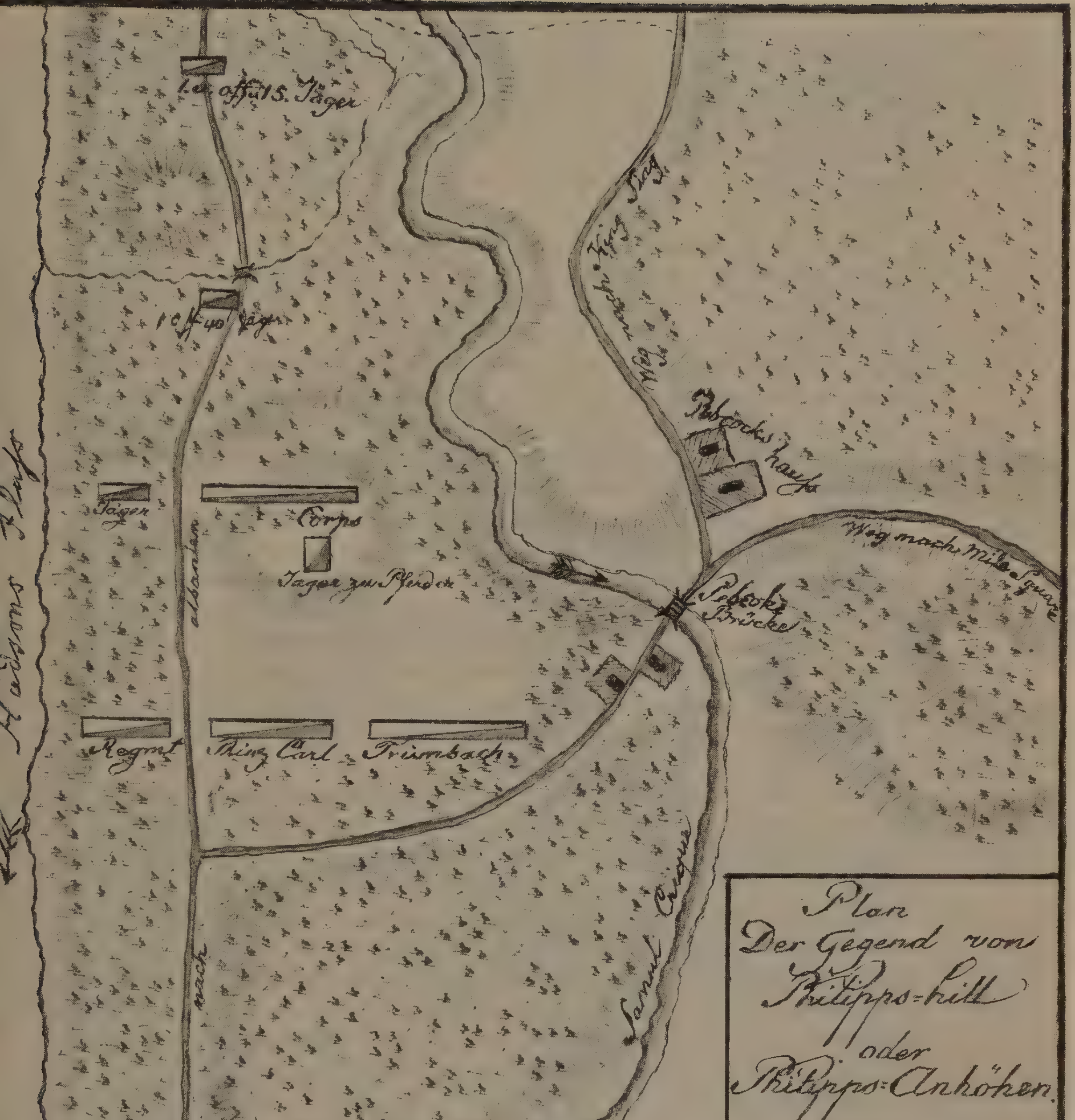
This miserable human being, who had betrayed his friends and served Major Ferguson as a jackal, was a Mr. von Juliat,[34] who had run away from the Landgraf Regiment at Rhode Island. He took employment with the enemy and was placed with the newly raised Pulaski Corps. After his trick at Egg Harbor, he admitted his perjury to the English major, who obtained a pardon for him from General Knyphausen by petition of General Clinton. But since he found that everyone in New York despised him, he took employment on an English privateer.

On the 28th Captain Wreden and Captain Waldenfels, each with one hundred foot jägers and twelve horse, were sent out to patrol toward Philipse's Bridge and Babcock's Hill.[35] At the former place Captain Wreden met with the Armand Corps, and at the latter Captain Waldenfels met the corps under Colonel Gist, where skirmishes took place between the four parties.

Month of November. The 2d. This morning the Jäger Corps under Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb, the rangers under Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe, the English Legion, and the Emmerich Corps went out toward White Plains to draw a cordon from the Bronx River over to the Hudson River. They were to protect several thousand workers with some hundred wagons who had orders to demolish the houses of all the disaffected persons

PLAN OF THE AREA OF PHILIPSE'S HILL OR PHILIPSE'S HEIGHTS

At the lower left corner of the plan is "Philips hauss," or Philipse Manor Hall, now in Yonkers. Crossing the Saw Mill River ("Samul Crique") below the house is Philipse's Bridge. The vertical road marked "Strasse nach albanien" is the Albany Post Road. Alongside this road are the Hessian regiments Prince Charles and von Trümbach, and above them the Jäger Corps. At the upper left are two jäger pickets: "1 officer 40 jägers" and "1 noncommissioned officer and 15 jägers." The road to the right crosses the Saw Mill River at Babcock's Bridge, where it forks on the right to the "Road to Mile Square" and on the left past Reverend Luke Babcock's house to the "Road to Sing Sing." Tarrytown is further to the north, beyond the map.


Plan
Der Gegend von
Philipps=hill
oder
Philipps=Anhöhen.
1 Off. u. 15. Jäger
1 Off. u. 40 Jäger
Jäger
Corps
Jäger zu Pferde
Regmt
Prinz Carl
Trümbach
Straße nach albanien
Hudsons Fluß
Weg nach King Brig
Pebrocks hauß
Weg nach Mile Square
Pebroks Brücke
Samuel Creque
Philips hauß

in the entire district of Philipse's Manor, Cortlandt's Manor, and East Chester. The lumber from the houses was to be transported to York Island, where barracks were to be built for the troops, which were to serve as the garrison of this island during the winter. Our antagonists constantly tried to attack our chain, but they were always driven off. The business was concluded on the 5th, when each corps marched back to its post.

The 13th. Beginning today the army moved into its quarters on York Island, Staten, and Long Island. Those regiments which are assigned to districts where no houses or barracks stand are to receive the necessary lumber to construct their own winter quarters.

On the 18th the Jäger Corps marched to its winter quarters in Flushing on Long Island, where it arrived after a march of three days. The Emmerich Corps retained its post at Kings Bridge on York Island, and the rangers with the Legion received their quarters in and around Oyster Bay, which covered the right flank of the jägers. At the Head of the Fly, to the left of the jägers, lay the provincial corps of Robinson and DeLancey.[36] The English light infantry and the English grenadiers, under Colonel Yorke[37] and Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby, were stationed at Jamaica to furnish support for the Jäger Corps in case of a landing from New England, because our quarters lay along the Sound. But since the front of the quarters was protected on this side by several row galleys and armed vessels, we lay in these quarters as safe as in Abraham's bosom.

Except for a little duty of patrolling the shore, we enjoyed complete repose along the Sound, of which both men and horses stood in the greatest need. The most displeasing part of these accommodations was that only the officers and mounted jägers received actual quarters with the inhabitants. The foot jägers had to construct their own quarters, for which they received the necessary wood and tools. But since the weather this year was very severe, and deep snow and hard frost set in, the poor men soon learned the necessity of working in order to get under cover. In a space of eight days a new military community had grown up on each *place d'armes* where the men were assigned their huts in the vicinity of the captains' quarters, in which they enjoyed their rest quite contented, because they did not want for money and provisions.

December, the 9th. After the Commander in Chief had received intelligence that the captive Burgoyne army would be transported from Boston to Virginia because of the scarcity of provisions and was to cross the Hudson River below Peekskill, the following expedition was undertaken to seize these prisoners and to rescue them from their captivity.

Under the Commander in Chief a corps of four thousand men embarked on transport ships at New York, which sailed up the Hudson River under escort of three frigates to Verplanck's Point and landed there. At the same time, Quartermaster General Erskine and two thousand men advanced over the pass of Kings Bridge to Tarrytown, in order to draw the attention of the enemy troops stationed in this area, and dislodged the militia from Tarrytown after a stubborn fight. However, the expedition arrived at Verplanck's Point two days too late, whereupon they returned.[38]

PART TWO

From the beginning of the year 1779 up to the opening of the fourth campaign.

Month of January. On the 13th the news came to hand that General Campbell[39] and his corps from York, and General Prevost[40] with the 62d Regiment and several hundred Florida militia from St. Augustine, had landed at Savannah and taken possession of this province, being joined by four hundred Creek Indians. They had flattered themselves that they would find many loyalists in this province, but they had found the city, as well as the whole area, deserted by all the male inhabitants who were able to bear arms.[41] General Washington had immediately sent several brigades under General Lincoln to assist this province.

One hopes that it is not the unfortunate plan of the English minister[42] to invade this distant part of the world from all directions, extending in length up to 30° north latitude.[43] For should this happen all would be lost, because he who will suddenly conquer and hold too much land in war wins nothing, and loses all in the end.

On the 24th, to the joy of the entire army, the provisions fleet arrived from Cork in Ireland, because for eight days grits had been issued to the men instead of bread, and to the horses in place of oats. Meanwhile, no one complained, since everything was to be had for money. This failure of the bread ration for eight days was the first in the three campaigns. Nevertheless, it was a very good thing that it happened during the winter quarters and not in the field, where desertion could have easily set in. Moreover, General Washington had ordered his cordon to push forward toward York Island as soon as he had been informed of the scarcity of bread in the army, in order to prevent the country people from bringing in provisions to Kings Bridge.[44]

Month of February. On the 26th we received the news that General Grant had taken possession of the French island of St. Lucia. The fleet under Comte d'Estaing had landed a corps of troops shortly afterward to dislodge the English, but had been repelled with a heavy loss. Because of its location, this island is the key to the West Indies.

The 27th. The English light infantry marched today to Southold in the eastern part of Long Island, and DeLancey went to Huntington.

WINTER QUARTERS OF THE ARMY
NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS

The English Guards, the 23d Regiment, Volunteers of Ireland under Lord Rawdon,[45] and the three Hessian grenadier battalions under General Kospoth.

YORK ISLAND, UNDER LIEUTENANT GENERAL VON KNYPHAUSEN.

The 7th Regiment in huts between Maston's Wharf[46] and York on the East River. The 63d Regiment in huts at Bloomingdale on the Hudson River. The Regiment Lossberg in huts at Maston's Wharf and McGowan's Pass.[47] The Regiment Mirbach in Harlem and the ruined houses on the East River. The Regiment Knyphausen on the plantations from Jones's house[48] and Bloomingdale to the Hudson River. The Robinson provincial battalion in huts between Harlem and the Morris House. The 54th Regiment and Regiment Trümbach in the barracks of Fort Knyphausen. The 44th Regiment in huts on Laurel Hill and the 17th on Hudson River Hill.[49] These are two hills which cover the redoubts of Kings Bridge with cannon. The Regiments Leib and Prinz Carl in huts on the heights of Kings Bridge. The Emmerich Corps in several barricaded houses in front of Kings Bridge.

LONG ISLAND, UNDER COMMAND OF LORD CORNWALLIS.

English grenadiers at Jamaica, the 33d Regiment at Bedford, the 4th[50] at Newtown, Prinz Carl at Hallet's Cove[51] and Bushwick, and Erb Prinz[52] at Brooklyn. The Hessian and Anspach jägers at Flushing, the Queen's Rangers at Oyster Point, British Legion at Jericho, the 17th English Regiment of Dragoons at Hempstead, the 3d Battalion of DeLancey at Huntington and Lloyd's Neck, and the English light infantry at Southold and the southern end of the island.

STATEN ISLAND, UNDER GENERAL LESLIE.

The 26th and 37th English regiments, the Grenadier Battalion Köhler, and the four battalions of Skinner's provincials.[53] The 64th Regiment at Paulus Hook.

The 27th. During the night Colonel Stirling[54] went out from York with the English Guards, the 33d, and the 42d Scottish Regiment in flatboats and landed on Elizabeth Point in the Province of Jersey, in order to surprise an American corps of two thousand men under General Maxwell which lay in and around Elizabethtown. However, the enemy had received intelligence several hours before the landing, moved between the Point and the town, and received the English detachment with an unexpected fire. They fell upon the English in the left flank and killed and wounded over a hundred men with a single volley. The English, who recovered after the first shock, attacked the enemy with the bayonet and drove him back behind the town. Colonel Stirling then burned a magazine and the barracks of the town and withdrew, arriving back at his quarters in the evening.[55]

Month of March. On the 10th I received a list of the English privateers which were outfitted at New York and have run out to sea since September 8th. These armed vessels numbered 121, with from eight up to twenty-two guns. Estimating between forty and fifty men for each vessel, the number of effective personnel totaled about six thousand men.

Month of May. On the 3d the famous American corsair Captain Conyngham[56] was captured by the English frigate *Galatea.* This corsair had landed and plundered more than twenty times along the coasts of England and Ireland, and had taken over twenty packet boats in addition to a great number of merchant ships. He fought very bravely against the Englishman, and did not strike his colors until the majority of his men had been killed or wounded and his vessel was disabled to the point of sinking.

On the 5th Colonel Hyde[57] and Major Ferguson with a detachment of 650 men put to sea in flatboats from York. The former landed at Shoal Harbor four miles to the east, and the latter six miles to the west, of Middletown in the Jerseys. They marched toward Shrewsbury, where an American regiment was quartered. The regiment was immediately attacked and driven back, whereby their entire equipage fell into the hands of the English, and a magazine was destroyed in the village. Both detachments returned to their quarters in the evening with a small loss.[58]

The 21st of May. Since the Jäger Corps and all the rest of the troops had enjoyed over five months' rest to recuperate, I visited the post of the Queen's Rangers and light infantry in the eastern and southern parts of the island. I found that all the officers of this corps were speaking very badly about General Clinton, and felt greatly offended that only the regular troops were used on occasions where they lined their pockets with money, in which case the light troops were quite forgotten. On that account they were disposed to send a grievance to the Commander in Chief, and they hoped that the Jäger Corps would make common cause with them. In all respects, there was something disgusting in the way it was managed, for during the campaigns each chief or commander of a light corps or a party had to provide for his own spies and guides himself, and it was never asked whether they cost money.[59]

Now, during the winter quarters with all the leisure, they devised such expeditions against the enemy as they certainly knew could not fail, whereby little was risked that would enrich the officers and men. They gave these plans to the friends of the pastry-crust eaters in headquarters to command, in order to let their light shine in the *Gazette* in London. However, the headquarters forgot that the light troops did not have anything to give up in the last campaign, since it was only defensive, and that they were marched into their quarters with ruined horses, worn-out clothing, and empty purses. They should have been permitted to carry out *coups* in order to improve themselves.

To be sure, the grievance went to the right place. However, they explained at headquarters that since the troops of the line had seldom faced the enemy during the entire last campaign, they should have the opportunity of getting accustomed to seeing the enemy again, whereas the light troops ought to be allowed to rest.—He who knows the world can easily comprehend how things hang together, for even in a headquarters court intrigue finds entry.

PART THREE

From the opening of the fourth campaign up to the expedition to the southern part of North America.

On the 25th of May the troops assembled close to their quarters, and all the light troops in the eastern part of Long Island assembled at Flushing. We received orders to get rid of all the baggage. No one was more joyful than the light troops, who were not accustomed to long rest and whose purses had become empty by their own good housekeeping.

On the 29th the Jäger Corps, the English light infantry, and the English grenadiers marched to Lawrence Neck,[60] where we found flatboats in which the East River, or Little Sound, was crossed. At ten o'clock in the morning we landed on Willets Point[61] in the province. The English grenadiers marched immediately to Butler's Ferry and the Jäger Corps to Philipse's house, where it had had its post in the previous campaign. The Hessian grenadiers pitched their camp on the heights at a distance of a good half hour behind the Jäger Corps. Five English regiments and the Regiment Bose[62] pitched camp to the right of the grenadiers on Post's Hill. The English light infantry and the British Legion were stationed on Valentine's Hill, and the rangers, Robinson, and Emmerich stood *en potence*[63] on the heights of Mile Square. The headquarters were at Philipse's house.

The 30th. In the morning the corps under General Mathew returned from Virginia, passed up the Hudson River, and rode at anchor at Philipse's wharf above Philipse's house. I was *du jour*[64] today and visited the outpost toward evening. I had hardly ridden over it when I heard assembly blown in the Jäger Corps. I hurried back as quickly as possible and found that Major Prueschenck, Captain Lorey, and I, each with one hundred men, were ordered to march immediately to Philipse's wharf. There we found all the grenadiers of the army, the light infantry, the Legion, Ferguson's Corps, four English regiments, and Robinson's provincials. The flatboats were boarded at once, and these troops were all embarked on the transport ships of the Mathew Corps. Eight hundred men were thrown on each ship, whereby everybody was stacked in such an unpleasant position that no one could either sit or lie down. All the horses had been sent back. We had nothing with us but what we carried on our backs, not even a bite of bread.

At daybreak on the 31st this fleet, under Commodore Sir George Collier,[65] set sail under escort of two 64-gun ships, three frigates, and four row galleys. Aided by the flood tide and a mild east wind, the fleet passed up the Hudson River and anchored about midday at Tellar's Point,[66] where all the troops disembarked under General Pattison[67] except for three English regiments and one hundred jägers under Captain Lorey, which were put ashore at Stony Point across from Tellar's Point.

The march of the main corps, under the Commander in Chief and Major Generals Vaughan and Kospoth, took place along the bank toward Verplanck's Point. The Americans had constructed a fort there for the protection of this passage of the river, where a battery was cut in the rocks at Stony Point. Since the work on the right bank was open, it was abandoned at once by the enemy and occupied by General Pattison toward evening, but Fort Lafayette on Verplanck's Point was a good defensive position and garrisoned with a Carolina battalion and six 12-pounders.[68]

General Vaughan advanced at once against the fort with two hundred jägers, Ferguson's Corps, and the English grenadiers to assault all the approaches, and at the same time the row galleys drew close to the fort so that they could fire upon it. Firing began immediately between the galleys and the guns of the work. The enemy work was summoned at once, but the commandant refused to surrender and declared he would resist. The army encamped so that the enemy corps under General McDougall[69] could not attempt a rescue.

The row galleys fired upon the fort until nightfall, for it was unapproachable from the land side in front of heavy guns because of the inaccessible terrain. The jägers and Ferguson had to approach as close as possible on the land side in order to harass the garrison of the fort with rifle fire, but this could not help much since the whole fort was built of rocks and building stones.

Month of June. The 1st. At daybreak the row galleys began firing again. During the night General Pattison had erected a battery of two mortars and four heavy guns on Stony Point, from which side the fort was now cannonaded with very good effect. Toward midday the fort surrendered after a loss of thirty killed and as many badly wounded, whereupon the garrison became prisoners of war. The English grenadiers immediately took possession of the fort, and I hurried there to inspect it, where I found the following.

The fort was built of rocks and building stones: an exposed square without flanks or bastions. Each interior side was approximately thirty good paces long. The ditches were a man's height, a good twelve feet wide, partly in hewn stones and partly walled up with palisades. The breastwork was provided with stockades. In front of the outer scarp of the ditches were chevaux-de-frise, and at a distance of ten paces the whole was surrounded with an abatis of pointed trees. In the middle of the work there was a bomb-proof blockhouse. In the work itself were only two cannon toward the land side; but at the foot of the fort, or on the slope of the hill toward the river side, there was a battery built of stones whose communication was maintained with the ditches. Toward the land and water sides lay several flèches, which, however, were not occupied. In a word, the work was too small, and since everything was of stone each shell caused the greatest injury to the garrison.[70] We found a uniform with silken inner lining near the prisoners, and a dead man wrapped up in blankets hidden under the platform. But we could not learn who this man, to all appearances a French officer, was.

In the afternoon, about two or three o'clock, the entire army marched through the mountains to Verplanck's Point, which is made into an island by a creek with very marshy banks. The army encamped in the form of a half-circle, being covered by the creek with the Hudson River in the rear. The jäger detachment of two hundred men and the Legion crossed the dam where the Herecland's[71] falls into the Hudson River. A wooden bridge was found there which the Americans had partly destroyed, but it was repaired at once. To the left of the dam, along the mouth of the Herecland's, was a rocky and mountainous wood through which a deep sunken road ran to Peekskill, in which Major Prueschenck posted himself with one hundred jägers on the left, and I with just as many men on the right. Directly in front of the wood Major Cochrane[72] stationed himself with the Legion to serve as support for the jägers. The night prevented us from becoming acquainted with the terrain ahead of and around us. We could only put out posts and remain under arms in this very difficult terrain, where one could not get around at night without breaking his bones, and this was all that we could do for our security.

On the 2d at daybreak each of us took a party to reconnoiter the roads, where we caught sight of several troops of enemy dragoons on the heights on this side of the Peekskill Creek.[73] But they withdrew across the bridge when we fired several rifle shots at them, for they realized that they could not harm us in the rocky area.

When we returned we found the Commander in Chief at our post. Since he had decided to abandon it, he ordered us to withdraw immediately behind Herecland's Creek and to post several pickets on this side, which was done at once.

The 3d. Early in the morning the entire army marched to Peekskill, where it halted on the heights on this side of the creek. General Vaughan departed here to the right toward Dutch Crompond[74] with the light infantry, Ferguson, the Volunteers of Ireland, and the Regiment Prinz Carl, where the cattle for several miles around were herded together for the army.

Since the enemy had partly destroyed the Peekskill Bridge, and a body of riflemen stopped on the heights on the other side of the creek insulted us and killed and wounded several men by good shooting, General Clinton ordered me to cross the beams of the bridge with some forty jägers to drive away these people. I was to try if I could go as far as Continental Village to burn it and to catch a few country people, because all the people in the entire surrounding area had been obliged to leave by order of General Washington except for several old men.

The mountains which lay beyond were so steep that as soon as we had crossed the bridge the enemy was out of sight. I then divided the forty men into four parts and climbed the mountain. The party on the left found a footpath by which the enemy was approached unawares in the rear and an adjutant of General McDougall was killed, whereupon the enemy party withdrew. I then took the way to Continental Village, set fire to the barracks, and, as I did not find a living soul in the place, I withdrew. An enemy party followed me on the way back, with whom I skirmished, during which one jäger was wounded. Toward evening the army withdrew to its former position.

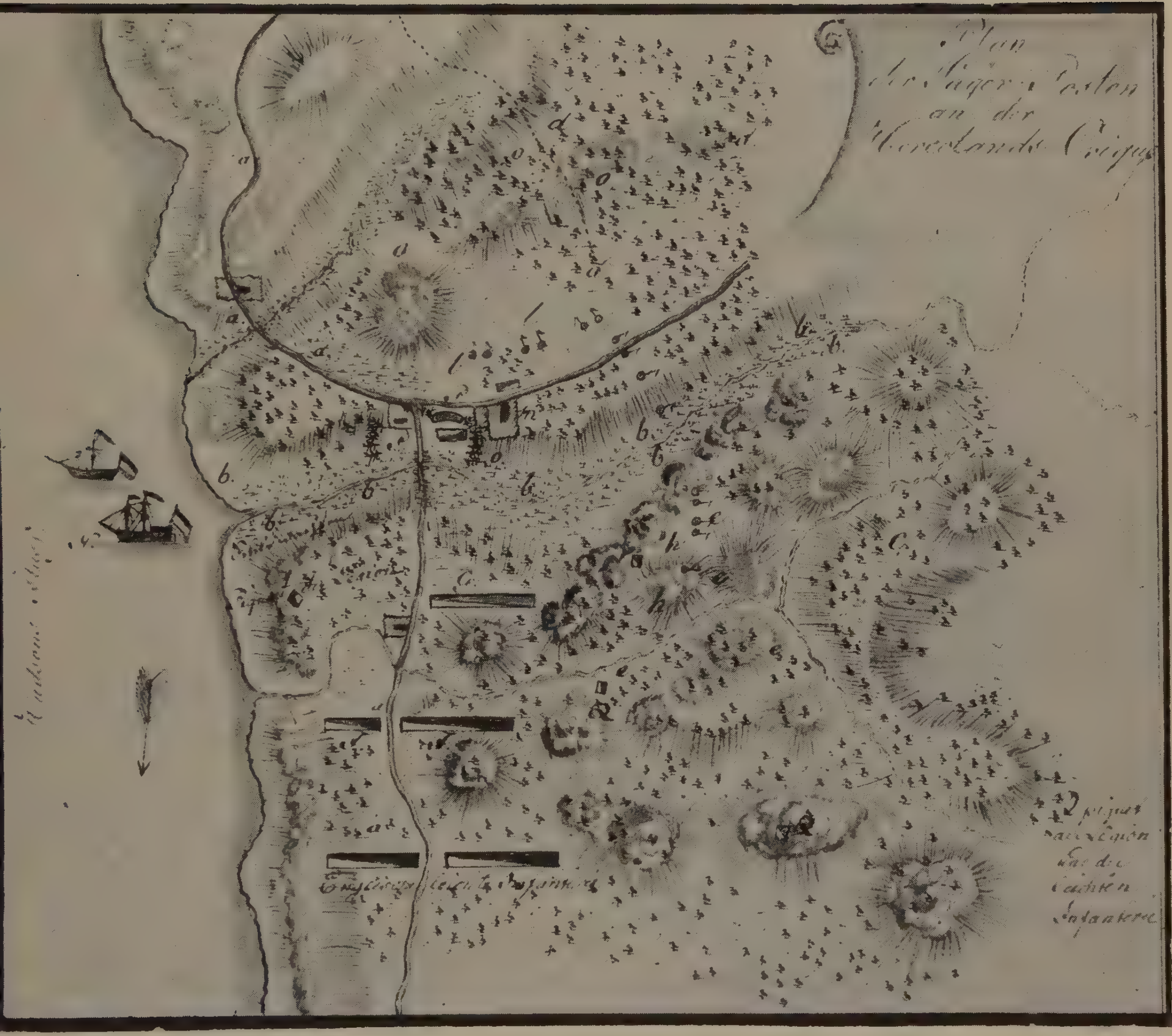
On the 4th we put our pickets in a good defensive position. To the right and left of the bridge lay two small houses, which I ordered barricaded on the side toward the enemy. I constructed a flèche of wood between the two houses, which made our post quite secure, since it lay under the rifle fire of the detachment.[75]

On the morning of the 5th an enemy boat with two cannon came down the Hudson River and lay in the mouth of Herecland's Creek, on the left flank of our post. It fired four rounds, which killed two men of the Legion behind us, and sailed back again. At the same time an enemy party of several hundred men attacked our picket, whereby an Anspach jäger was wounded. The detachment hurried at once to the rescue; the enemy was driven back and left behind seven dead.

On the 6th an ambuscade of one corporal and ten jägers was laid

PLAN OF THE JÄGER POST ON HERECLAND'S CREEK

Ewald's text accompanying the plan reads as follows: "a. New road and dam which the rebels have made from Verplanck's Point to Peekskill since the war. b. Lind's [Lent's] Cove and Herecland's Creek, which winds through very marshy ground between the rocks and mountains, making this Point like an island, and falls on the land side beyond both branches, which makes the great road to Albany [Albany Post Road] accessible. c. Part of Verplanck's Point. d. Part of Peekskill. e. Area which is impassable because of the frequent rocks and thick woods. f. Posts of the Legion. g. Post of the 200 foot jägers. h. Noncommissioned officer picket of 16 jägers. i. Officer picket of 28 jägers, which had a flèche of wood in front of them.[j omitted.] k. House and barn which had been placed in a strong position for the defense of this post. At night 30 Hessian grenadiers came here as reinforcement, who had orders to defend themselves in the entrenchment and the jägers in the houses during an enemy attack. l. Sentries of the officer picket. m. House which had also been prepared in a state of defense, and where one noncommissioned officer and 13 jägers, in addition to 9 grenadiers, were posted at night. n. Armed sloop [*Cornwallis*] and galley for the protection of our left flank. o. Rocks and woods where the ambuscades were placed, and footpath on which the rebels approached our posts."


Plan
der Jäger Posten
an der
Vreelands Crique
Hudsons river
2 piquet Compagnien von der leichten Infanterie
Englische leichte Infanterie
a
b
c
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o

between the rocks in front of the post of the pickets. In the forenoon an enemy party of New England light infantry appeared, which fell into the trap. But because of the overhasty ardor of the jägers, only three were killed and two captured sound, which was very agreeable to the Commander in Chief nevertheless, since we could collect some information about the enemy from these people. We learned through them that General McDougall, with six thousand men, had a fortified camp in the mountains between Peekskill and Fishkill on the left bank of the Hudson River, and that this party was composed of New Englanders, three hundred men of the light infantry and one hundred dragoons, who had their outpost an hour and a half away from us in the mountains of Peekskill. However, their chief had no fixed post, but changed it every eight to twelve hours.

Toward evening a captain of the Indians arrived at our post, who had served under Butler and Brant.[76] He was captured by the Americans on the Susquehanna, imprisoned in fetters at Poughkeepsie, had broken loose, and had ransomed himself. The man was covered with rags, and, since he must have taken the most concealed country for his route, he had endured the greatest distress and had sores all over his body. But in spite of everything, one could observe by his conduct that he must be a courageous and resolute man. He was strong and well built, and his height was about five feet, eight to ten inches. We requested him to remain with us several hours before we sent him to headquarters, and during this time sought to refresh his heart and soul with wine and bread, whereupon he enlightened us with the following account.

His father was a native Englishman who had gone to America and had lived continuously on the frontier of the Iroquois as a gunsmith; hence this nation had chosen him for a leader.

> "How strong is the corps under Colonel Butler?"—"When I was captured it consisted of fifty English regulars, a number of loyalists, and four to five hundred Indians."
>
> "How did you obtain your food in the wild country?"—"In the beginning we lived on the wild game that is found in plenty there, which the savages shot and shared with others. But as soon as we reached the borders of Pennsylvania and Maryland, we found flour and meat—provisions in abundance—but we could not get salt and strong drink any more."
>
> "How did you treat the disaffected subjects and the prisoners?"—"Man, woman, and child were either cut down or carried off with us; the dwellings plundered, devastated, and burned. In the first action which we had with the rebels on the Susquehanna,[77] two whole brigades were massacred, of which the greater part were scalped half-dead, and in such misery lost their lives."

"Have you also scalped, since no Indians are allowed to keep such trophies?"—"Oh, yes!"—(whereat a wild laugh expressed in his features indicated his delight at the recollection)—"In the same affair I had worked so hard with my tomahawk and scalping knife that my arms were bloody above the elbows. I was born and brought up among these people, and am trained in their customs. This piece of trousers I am wearing here, which they gave me in prison, is the first that I have worn in my life. He who lives with the Indians and wants to enjoy their friendship must conform to them in all respects, but then one can depend upon these good people. They are indeed good, sincere people."

"But can't Colonel Butler prevent this cruelty?"—"No, not in the least. If he dares to do this, and meddles with our customs and laws, he would be deserted instantly by these people. Indeed, they would soon become his enemy and certainly murder him."

"Don't the Indians ever give quarter?"—"No, seldom, especially when they are far from their homeland. An officer never receives quarter. Should they spare his life during the fighting, he will be kept only for a greater torture, in order to make their celebration glorious with it after the battle."

"A Major Adams[78] fell into our hands, whose life had been spared to save him for the celebration. On this occasion, he was bound naked to a tree and flogged with rods for several hours. Pieces of flesh were cut off him at different places, and he remained in this condition for three days, exposed to the terrible bites of the insects. The celebration lasted three days, during which the Indians danced continually around this poor fellow among their prisoners of war. Since he was a brave and distinguished soldier, they shouted to him that he should now act like a man at the end of his life."

His heart seemed to rejoice with this tale. It grew dark during our conversation. We parted from him, giving to him according to our circumstances. We would have gladly given him a shirt, for which he asked, if we ourselves had had more than what we carried on our backs. Then we let him go to the headquarters.

From this story of a people, one perceives that all our acts depend upon our upbringing and customs.

On the 7th, in the afternoon, an enemy party appeared in the vicinity of our post, which, however, withdrew when I moved against it with the picket. I then went to the noncommissioned officer's picket on the right side, who had his post in a house which I put in a defensive position. But I found that much of the woodwork had been ruined or burned. Thereupon I punished the noncommissioned officer with the flat of my broadsword. Just as I struck him, two rifle shots were fired at me from the left side. When I looked around, I saw two riflemen fleeing, who must have sneaked up and hidden behind the rocks in the area. I went at once to the nearest sentry, who had not seen these two men until they had fired and were running away.

The 10th. Since our patrols had not discovered any of the enemy, a big washing was undertaken today because we had nothing else with us but the shirts that we wore on our backs. Each officer and jäger was ordered to take off his shirt and stockings and wash them in Herecland's Creek, during which clothing and boots had to be kept on the body until the wash was dry. In three hours' time we had fresh linen, since the weather was extremely warm, which it certainly was âfterward, too, for the water was salt water and our washing was not provided with soap. But everything is learned from necessity; it is the best teacher.

The 11th. An armed sloop and a galley lay before the mouth of the Herecland's to secure our left flank against the insults of the enemy gunboat.

The 14th. Today for the first time we neglected to lay an ambuscade, and to our chagrin a party of enemy dragoons appeared on the highway.

The 20th. Because our sentries could not see very far around at night due to the intersected terrain, I ordered an abatis made whose ends reached up to the creek and surrounded the houses where the pickets were stationed, behind which I withdrew the sentries at night. Moreover, since the nights were very dark I ordered large woodpiles laid out at a distance of three hundred paces in front of the pickets, and lighted fires at night so that the pickets could not be approached unseen.

Today three enemy deserters came in, who gave us the news that three hundred volunteers were sent out last night to surprise our pickets, but they had retired because our sentries had been wide-awake.

The 21st. We are very busy digging entrenchments on Verplanck's Point as well as on Stony Point, in order to put these posts in such a state of defense that they can defy a superior force. These two posts make us masters of the Hudson River, which passage[79] has constantly served the enemy for maintaining the communication between the northern and southern provinces. But since General Clinton is now the master of it, the Americans must make use of a higher passage at West Point, whereby their troops and transports are forced to make a detour of five to six days' march. Even then they are still not safe against our excursions, if a strong corps is stationed at these two posts. Moreover, we can easily assault their principal fortress at West Point from here. If we can get control of it, the northern provinces will be severed from the southern, and the communication between New York and Canada will be opened. As soon as these two posts are put in a satisfactory condition, the army will withdraw. None of us can understand why Washington has not supported these posts better and thus let us stay here so peacefully. He has not stirred in his encampment in the Jerseys.[80]

The 25th. Last night a sharp small-arms fire broke out in front of our post, and no one could discover the reason for it. At daybreak I roamed through the area and found several dead and wounded Americans of two parties. One of the wounded men told me that two parties had gone out to surprise us, of which one lost its way, whereby both parties had run into each other.

Toward evening the jäger detachment and a battalion of light infantry under Colonel Abercromby proceeded to Dutch Crompond to surprise an enemy party, and a battalion of light infantry and the Legion were posted on the heights of Peekskill to cover the rear of the former. At daybreak Abercromby arrived before the village. I was detached with fifty jägers and fifty men of the light infantry to surround the place and to seize a defile formed by a dam, whereby the enemy's retreat was cut off. The enemy detachment consisted of four hundred infantry and fifty horse. I had scarcely arrived at my place when small-arms fire began on the other side. At that moment a large body of infantry and cavalry approached me. I fired at them on sight, and immediately ordered the fifty men of the light infantry to charge. After a few were cut down, almost one hundred men threw away their arms and surrendered as prisoners.

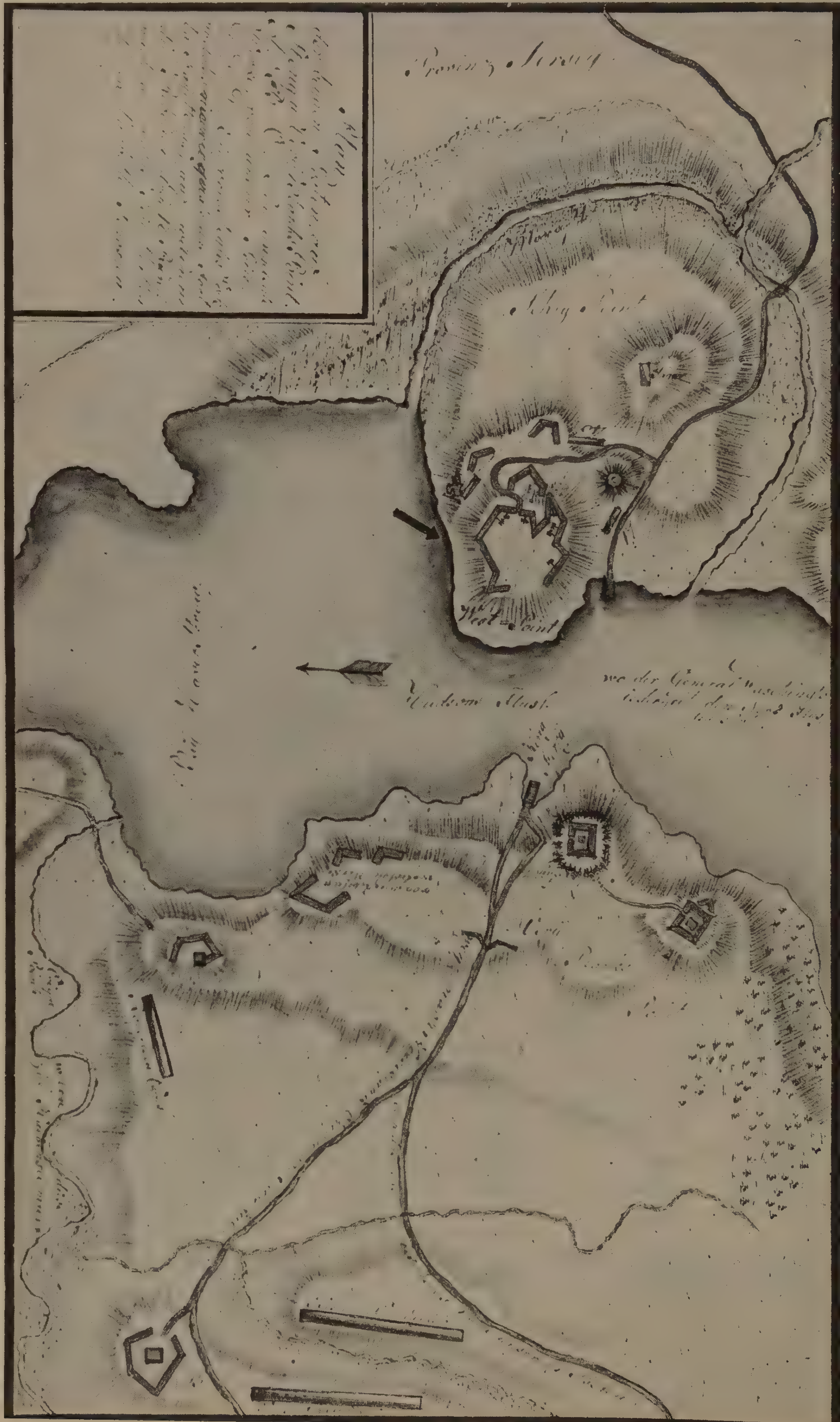
About eight o'clock on the morning of the 26th we were masters of the whole area, counted three hundred prisoners and thirty-three horses, and marched back. The most unpleasantness during the stroke was the catching on fire of the village, the cause of which we could not discover.

During these exceptionally warm summer days, the thunderstorms in this country are very dangerous. Yesterday three sailors were struck dead by lightning on a ship which lay off Verplanck's Point, and today a stroke injured three Hessian grenadiers of the Lengerke Battalion. The thunderstorms usually come daily and last for about four to five hours.

The 27th. Yesterday the Guards, the Volunteers of Ireland, and the Regiment Prinz Carl were embarked and sailed to New York. Toward evening the following troops likewise received orders to embark early in the morning: the Hessian grenadiers at six o'clock; the English grenadiers, except for two companies of the 71st Regiment, at seven o'clock; the light infantry, the Legion, and the jäger detachment at eight o'clock. On Stony Point, the 63d Regiment at nine o'clock, the 64th Regiment and the jäger detachment at ten o'clock. Colonel Webster, with the 33d Regiment and Ferguson, remained to garrison the work on Verplanck's Point. Colonel Johnson,[81] with the 17th Regiment, the two grenadier companies of the 71st, and Robinson[82] remained for the same purpose on Stony Point. The frigate *Fanny* and two armed schooners remained for the

PLAN OF THE TWO POSTS ON STONY AND VERPLANCK'S POINTS

This plan may have been made about the time Clinton took Stony and Verplanck's Points on May 31 and June 1, 1779, since it shows Stony Point occupied by the 17th, 40th, and 45th British regiments, with jägers on an outlying hill. When Wayne took the fort on the night of July 15 the garrison consisted of the 17th Regiment, the grenadier company of the 71st Regiment, a body of Loyal Americans, and an artillery detachment. Stony Point was open on the side toward the river, which is here marked "West-Point," perhaps because of its position on the west side of the river. The road above the fort leads to King's Ferry, which crossed to Verplanck's Point. The inscription in the river between the ferry landings reads, "Where General Washington always crossed the North River." Fort Lafayette lies just above the ferry landing on Verplanck's Point. The inscription along the lower road reads, "Road to Hereckland's Creek or Peekskill," and along the upper road, "The very same, particularly to our posts." Below the road on the left bank of the river are the "Works completed by the rebels." At the bottom of the plan is the "Creek which makes this Point a peninsula." The troop dispositions show Robertson's (Robinson's) Corps below, and the Hessian and English grenadiers at the extreme right. The legend in the box reads as follows: "Plan of the two posts on Stony and Verplanck's Point. A. B. C. Newly constructed works on our side. D. D. D. An outlying work which lay lower than Fort Lafayette, in which the rebels had three 18-pounders on the rampart side which fired *en barbette.*" The letters given in this description are missing from the plan, except for the letter B, which is found at the extreme lower right.


Provinz Jersey
West Point
Hudsons Fluss

protection of both points, lying near Haverstraw to maintain the communication by water. The warship *Rainbow* maintained its station at Tellar's Point.

The 28th of June. At daybreak we set fire to the fortifications at the jäger posts and burned the bridge over Herecland's Creek. At five o'clock the jäger detachment set out for the embarkation place, and at eleven o'clock in the morning all the troops were on board their designated transport ships. Toward two o'clock the fleet set sail. Afterward, we were obliged to anchor at Haverstraw Bay because of calms, and arrived on the afternoon of the 30th at Philipse's wharf, where all the troops disembarked at once and moved into camp at their former posts. The jäger detachment rejoined the Corps.

Month of July. The 15th. Our entire duty in the Jäger Corps now consists of strong and small patrolling toward Tarrytown, but no man of Washington's army lingered in this area.

The 16th. Last night a violent cannonade was heard in the direction of Verplanck's Point and Stony Point. Around midday a boat arrived at Philipse's wharf with the news that Colonel Johnson had been surprised on Stony Point by the Americans, and that from this work the enemy had bombarded the one on Verplanck's Point. Hereupon, the Commander in Chief embarked at once at Philipse's wharf with the 42d, 63d, and 64th regiments and sailed up the Hudson to save Verplanck's Point.

On the 19th the news arrived that after the Americans had made themselves master of the work on Stony Point, during which the greater part of the garrison is said to have been killed with the bayonet, they erected several batteries of the captured guns opposite Verplanck's Point with which they bombarded the work on that promontory. This was the firing we could hear quite well at our post.[83]

The 21st. After they had transported all the captured guns and destroyed the work, the Americans abandoned Stony Point. The Commander in Chief has landed Colonel Stirling with the 42d, 63d, and 64th regiments on Stony Point and taken possession of the work. General Washington and his army have approached within an hour of Stony Point in order to support any undertaking.

The 22d. The Jäger Corps had to advance toward White Plains in order to occupy this pass until a foraging was completed in the vicinity of East Chester.

On the 28th we received the news that General Prevost has undertaken an expedition from Savannah to South Carolina. General Lincoln, who covers this province with a corps of six to seven hundred men, has been driven into Charlestown after several engagements.

During the night of the 30th, the following parties went out to seek and defeat the enemy detachments under the two colonels Sheldon and

White[84] which had appeared in the vicinity of our post. Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb and the mounted jägers went to Dewese's Hill,[85] and ordered me to take my post with one hundred jägers between Tarrytown and Sing Sing in order to cover his rear. Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe and his corps took the route along the Saw Mill Creek and occupied Storm's Bridge. Lieutenant Colonel Emmerich went with his corps and the Legion almost to White Plains. According to this plan, it was impossible that an enemy party—if one was in this area—should not be found and defeated, for it must fall into our hands, since these three detachments could mutually assist each other.

At daybreak Emmerich's horsemen ran into those under Colonel Sheldon; they were overthrown, and lost ten to twelve men killed and captured. Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb, who heard the pistol firing, rushed to help; he overthrew the enemy, took some twenty men prisoner, and pursued him as far as Sing Sing.

On the 31st of July the army marched back to York Island and took up the same position as in the previous year. This is now the third campaign where we have continually lost in the end what we won with the first rush in the beginning.

Month of August. The 5th. Early today we received information that a strong party of the enemy was approaching East and West Chester to attack the loyalist corps under Major Bearmore[86] in front of Morrisania.[87] The cavalry of Simcoe, the Legion, Emmerich, and the hussar corps under Captain Diemar[88] were rushed at once to assist this corps, since they were situated closer to West Chester than the Jäger Corps. Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb, who commanded all these light troops, set out and followed with the Jäger Corps as soon as he had news of the incident.

The van of the English was in a narrow road between New Rochelle and Mamaroneck, on the other side of the tobacco mill, when it ran into a troop of enemy cavalry, which withdrew. In the flurry, the officer of the advanced guard followed without looking in front of or around him. At the moment when he thought he had reached the enemy troop, he received small-arms fire from the enemy infantry behind a hedge, into which the cavalry had lured him. At the same instant, he was overthrown and attacked with such fury that only he alone escaped, although wounded. His men, consisting of thirty horsemen, were all shot dead or cut down, partly by the infantry. Lieutenant Colonels Simcoe and Emmerich rushed to assist their advanced guard, but could undertake nothing against the enemy, because he had placed his horsemen behind the defile and occupied it on both sides with infantry.[89]

In a moment the Jäger Corps arrived, which immediately attacked the enemy infantry and dislodged it after a stubborn resistance. All the cavalry crossed the defile at once and followed the enemy up to the vicinity of the Byram River. But he had withdrawn so far with the infantry during the fight that he could no longer be caught. Now, since the Corps had exposed its left flank toward White Plains on its march and during the fighting, Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb ordered Major Prueschenck and four companies of foot jägers to return quickly to Mamaroneck and to occupy Pell's Bridge[90] between New Rochelle and West Chester. I had to remain with two companies at the defile where the fight had taken place and wait for the withdrawal of the cavalry following the enemy. Toward six o'clock in the evening the cavalry returned, and the Corps marched back to its post. In all, the Jäger Corps had covered a distance of thirty good hours, from six o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock in the evening, during which it had run nearly three hours and fought one hour.

The 12th. Today an officer from the corps of Colonel Armand came in as a deserter. This man could justly claim the most perfect title to the name of adventurer. He was a native Russian named Diwizow [?]. He had served twenty-four years as an officer with the Don Cossacks, had taken part in the Seven Years' War against Prussia, the following war against the Turks, and was present against the Confederation [Poland] and the rebel Pugachev.[91] After that war he had had a station with a postal service twenty-two miles behind Astrakhan, where he had amassed a fortune of one thousand rubles.

Afterward, he had resigned his commission and gone to Petersburg in order to seek employment in a better and more agreeable area, but he was not successful there. During this time he had heard talk about the American War, whereupon he had set out on a journey to Germany. In time he had arrived in Brunswick, when the Brunswick troops were preparing to go to America. There he had applied for an officer's appointment, but this was denied him. Since his money was running short, he realized the necessity of taking service as a noncommissioned officer with the Jäger Corps. He had been taken prisoner by the Americans at Saratoga, and had enlisted with the Armand Corps. He was a man of about fifty years and could converse very well.

The 15th. The 16th Regiment of Dragoons and the rangers have crossed over to Long Island today. The former was to occupy the quarters in Jamaica because of the scarcity of forage and the latter to take post at Oyster Bay in order to prevent the repeated landings of the New England privateers.

The 17th. At midday we received information that Colonel White and a strong detachment were on the march against our post. The Jäger Corps went quickly against him, crossed the defile of Philipse's Bridge, turned to the right past Babcock's Hill, and arrived back at its post during the night without having seen the enemy. On the way we learned that the enemy had approached by way of Mile Square, and had withdrawn again along Saw Mill Creek toward White Plains.

The 19th. Last night Lieutenant Colonel Buskirk[92] had to make a foray against an enemy party in the vicinity of New Bridge. He left Major and Adjutant General Sutherland[93] with Skinner's 2d Battalion and sixty invalids to guard the works at Paulus Hook in the Jerseys. Captain Schaller[94] with forty men of the Regiment Erb Prinz had been ordered there to strengthen this post. The Americans had received news of it and marched at once with a party of five hundred men from the brigade of Lord Stirling,[95] under Major Lee, to lay an ambuscade near Paulus Hook. At the same time they put a picket close to this post, which was to withdraw to the opposite side of the ambuscade as soon as it was attacked by an English party from the works. Toward midnight the aforesaid detachment under Buskirk ran out and drove back the picket, which moved toward New Bridge with the English following it.

While this was taking place, Major Lee and his detachment approached the post of Paulus Hook and crossed the marshy creek which makes it an island. A drawbridge was situated over the creek, where a picket of one noncommissioned officer and ten men of the Erb Prinz Regiment was posted. In deepest silence, Lee surprised the sleeping invalids quartered in a blockhouse. He attacked the Hessian noncommissioned officer in the rear, who resisted to be sure, but was captured nevertheless.

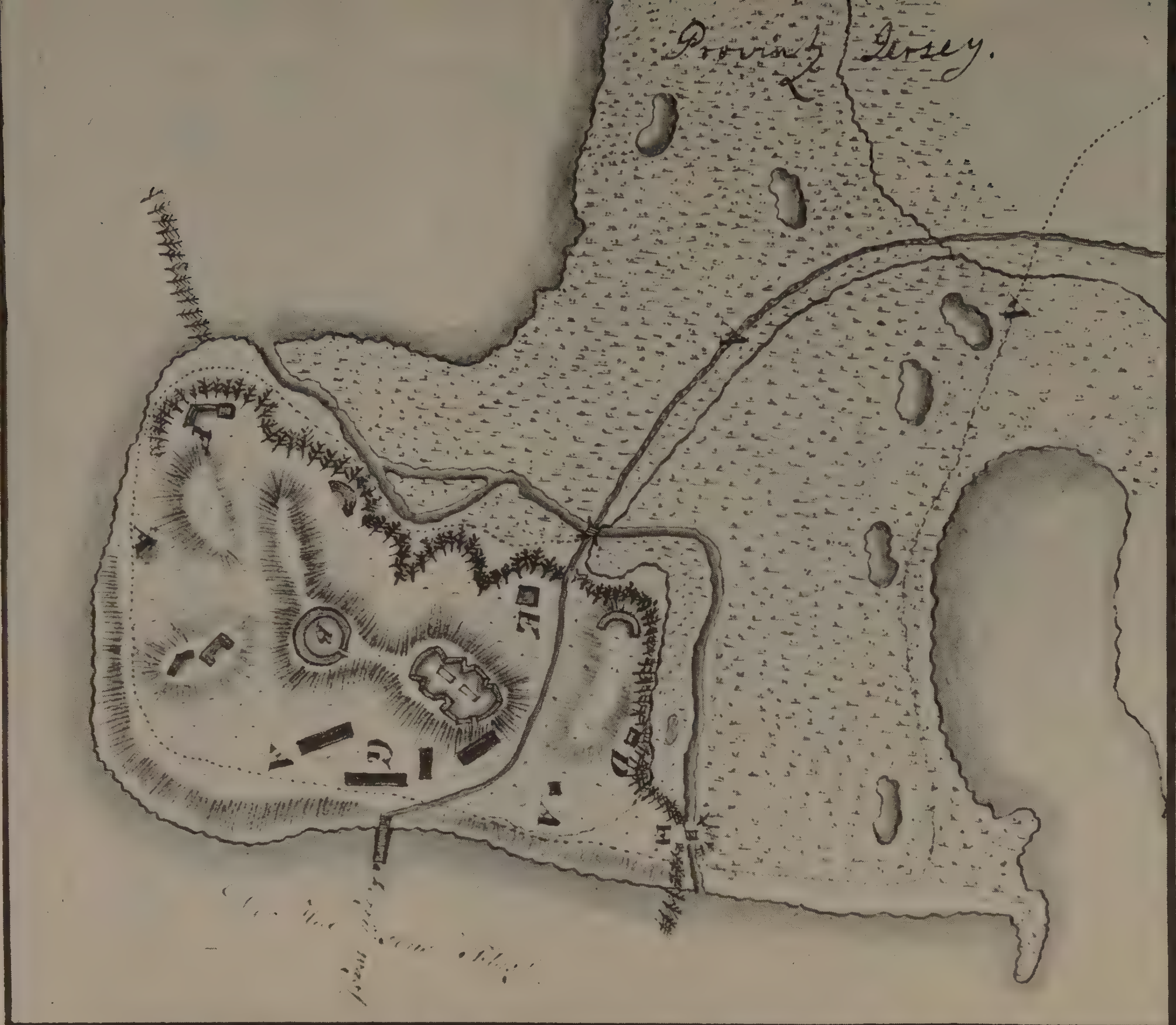
Captain Schaller, who had remained under arms with thirty men (although he had assured the commandant that he could sleep peacefully, because a strong party had gone out against the enemy), threw himself quickly into a flèche which lay behind him. He was scarcely in it when the Americans shouted to him that he was completely surrounded: he must surrender or he would receive no quarter. The captain replied that if they wanted to have him they should attack him, for then they both would have more honor from the affair. He then fired and defended his post until daybreak, whereupon the Americans withdrew and Captain Schaller had the honor of having saved this important post.[96]

This surprise attack, as well as that on Stony Point, actually succeeded because these posts were surrounded on the side toward the enemy by a morass on whose depth the English depended and which they had considered impassable.

The 23d. According to all accounts, Washington and his army are stationed at his fortified post at West Point. He will have to remain on the defensive, as well as we, since he has been obliged to detach General Sullivan with six thousand men against Wyoming to stop the incursions of Colonel Butler and the two Indian princes, Joseph and Brant,[97] whose parties are said to be increased by six to seven thousand men.[98]

PLAN OF PAULUS HOOK AND ITS WORKS

Paulus, or Powles, Hook is the modern Jersey City. The fort is said to have been located near the present Washington and Grand streets. This plan may have been made around the time of Lee's exploit, for it shows his route of attack and withdrawal. Ewald's inscription reads as follows: "*Explanation.* A. March of the rebels to attack Paulus Hook. B. The redoubt which Major Sutherland, Captain von Schaller, and Ensign [Georg] Cress defended with twenty-five Hessians. C. Fort with six fieldpieces, of which the rebels took possession. D. The blockhouse on the right side with one corporal and fifteen Hessians. E. The center blockhouse with one subaltern, one sergeant, and eighteen privates of the garrison battalion. F. The blockhouse on the left side with one subaltern and eighteen privates of the garrison battalion. G. Barracks of the garrison battalion. H. A demolished bridge." The remark at the bottom of the plan in Ewald's handwriting reads: "Paulus Hook lies opposite New York, the river here is a good German mile wide."



Plan
von Paulus Hoeck und d[illegible]
Werke

Explication

A.) [illegible] Pau-
lus hoeck zu attaquiren

B.) Die Redoute [illegible]
[illegible] Capt.
v. [illegible]
mit 25 Mann [illegible]

C.) Fort mit 6 [illegible] Canons [illegible]
in [illegible] Position [illegible]

D.) Das Blockhaus [illegible]
mit 1 Corp. und 15 [illegible]

E.) Das Centre Blockhaus mit
1 Subaltern [illegible] u. 18 Gemeine
von dem [illegible] Bataillon

F.) Das Block Haus [illegible]
[illegible] mit 1 [illegible]
18 Gemeine von dem [illegible]
Battaillon

G.) Baracken [illegible]
[illegible]

H.) [illegible]

Gegen Pauls hoek über liegt New york, der fluss ist hier ein gute teutsche Meile brei

Month of September. The 6th. For several days the toads, lizards, and snakes appeared so numerous on our rocky post that one had to use all his ingenuity to elevate his night's lodging; and when one awoke, some still had companions in slumber.

For us light troops these two campaigns in one area are very disagreeable. We are troubled with party sorties and patrolling just as much as in an offensive campaign, I venture, because this constant patrolling of one kind is bound to take away one's respect with each step. The endless monotony makes the whole business tiresome, since every jäger already knows where he is supposed to go when he starts out.

On the 23d nine hundred Hessian recruits arrived from Europe, of which the Jäger Corps received one hundred and thirty-seven men. They had rebelled against their officers on the ships, but since an English frigate of the convoy threatened to shoot them down, they had become peaceful. Meanwhile, several of the officers were badly mistreated. The twelve ringleaders, among whom are several unfortunate noblemen and students, are locked up and will get a court-martial in New York. Generally, they are handsome people, whose ways of thinking will no doubt be changed by good discipline.

Month of October. The 3d. At last a situation appeared that interested me, which made the continual monotony bearable for a while. Last night Major and Adjutant General Beckwith,[99] with thirty hussars of Diemar's and fifty men of the 64th Regiment, went out from the encampment on York Island to lay an ambuscade in the vicinity of East Chester, where the two roads from White Plains and New Rochelle meet and where the enemy patrols are changed.

At daybreak I was ordered to cross the Bronx River over the Williams Bridge with eighty foot jägers. I was to take a post on the road to White Plains, on this side of East Chester, such that I could support Major Beckwith and protect his rear in case of an unfortunate accident. But since I found no suitable post in the designated area I went one hour further, where I discovered from a hill the whole area beyond the ambuscade and had two roads under my fire. I had all the people brought to me who passed near my ambuscade, but everyone assured me that they had seen no patrols of their people for eight days.

About eleven o'clock in the morning I detected a body of horsemen in the distance which was making its way toward the ambuscade. I immediately crawled behind the walls which surrounded the fields, in order to be in a position opposite them and shoot down whatever should pass by the ambuscade.

Now, since Major Beckwith wanted to have the most exact information that the enemy patrol today would take the route from White Plains to the left past East Chester and return by it to the right, he placed his infantry behind a wall of a burned-down house so that the patrol had to pass this first, and put the hussars behind a hill. At the moment when the enemy would receive the fire from the ambuscade, the hussars were to fall upon and pursue the fugitives.

For this positive information which Beckwith wanted to have, I placed myself as the plan[100] shows. But to our complete displeasure, the enemy patrol this morning took an entirely opposite route, luckily for him, and ran unexpectedly into the hussars first, who to their misfortune had their eyes solely on the ambuscade in front of them and not behind. The patrol overthrew the hussars, hacked their way through, and passed through the infantry fire so successfully that only the horses of Lieutenant Gill[101] and his trumpeter were killed, six to seven wounded, and only the first two were captured. I rushed up to the firing, and since the trumpeter assured me that two hundred infantrymen followed this party, we took our march back with our two prisoners as quickly as possible.

The American party consisted of fifty horsemen and the lieutenant, whom one learned from his resolute action as a soldier was just as fine a man as a good hussar. He related to me on the way back that Diemar's officer and his hussars were sitting on their horses in such deep thought that they did not see him before he had commanded loudly, "At them! At them!", for he could not retreat without running the risk of being defeated.[102]

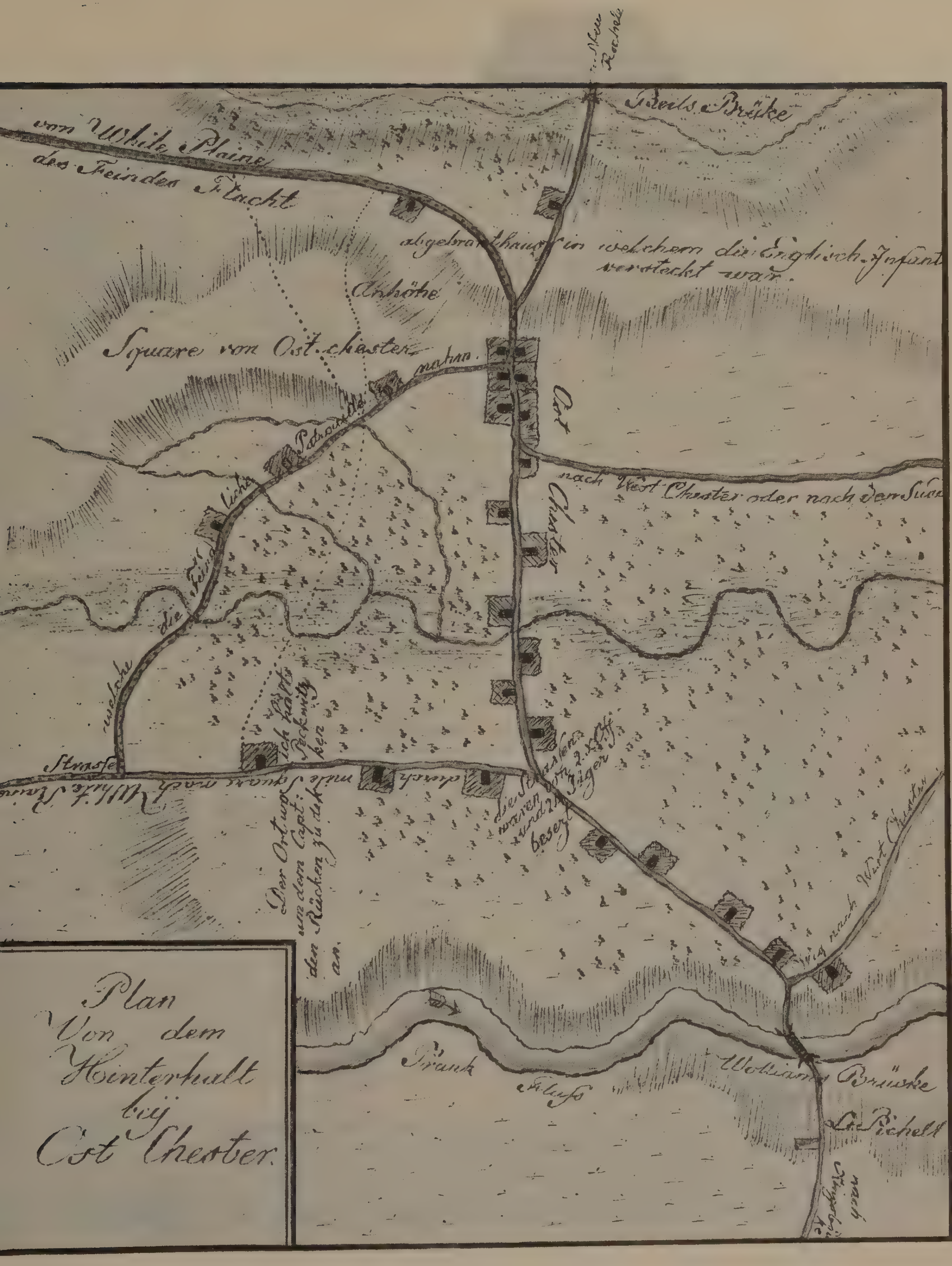
On the 8th a part of the fleet, which had on board the troops for Cape Breton, returned in miserable circumstances. All the ships have lost their masts through a violent storm, and three with Hessians and two with Englishmen are said to be lost.[103]

The 23d. We have again abandoned the posts of Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, after all the works have been demolished as much as possible. A corps of two thousand Americans under General Howe[104] has already taken possession of them. Perhaps we shall not take these important posts from Washington again so cheaply. Once more, we are now no further than we were at the beginning of the campaign.—How easily can the plan of an entire campaign be upset by the negligence of an officer to whom a post is entrusted!

On the 29th I received the unpleasant news that my very good friend Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe had been badly wounded in the Province of Jersey and was in enemy captivity. He had taken a party of twenty-six horsemen and two hundred infantrymen from Staten Island to the Province of Jersey in order to destroy several enemy magazines. He left his infantry at Amboy to protect his rear and went with the horsemen to Brunswick and Bound Brook, where he succeeded in destroying a pro-

PLAN OF THE AMBUSCADE AT EAST CHESTER
[*OCTOBER 3, 1779*]

The plan shows the old village of East Chester, traversed by the Hutchinson River, which was located beyond Third Avenue in present Mount Vernon. The ambuscade is indicated above the village by a "burnt-out house in which the English infantry was hidden," between Pell's Bridge and the fork of the roads to White Plains and New Rochelle. Ewald occupied a hill at the lower left of the plan where the horizontal writing states, "The place where I stopped to protect Captain Beckwith's rear." At the fork of the roads to the right, "The roads were occupied by 2 noncommissioned officers and 24 jägers." At the bottom of the plan, across the Williams Bridge and the Bronx River, a jäger picket was posted under Lieutenant Bickell. The British ambuscade failed because the Americans approached East Chester from an unexpected direction along the dotted "Road which the enemy patrol took" and escaped by the road to White Plains, marked "Flight of the enemy." Ewald's support is indicated by the dotted lines running across the terrain and the East Chester heights to the White Plains road.


New Rochelle
Reils Brücke
von White Plains
des Feindes Flucht
abgebrantes haus in welchem die Englisch Infant versteckt war.
Anhöhe
Square von Ost.chester
nahm.
Patrouille
liche
die Feind
welche
Ost
Chester
nach West Chester oder nach dem Süd
Strasse
nach White Plains
mit Square durch
ich hatte Capt. Peckwitz ken
Der Ort wo ich mit dem Capt. den Rücken zu dekt an.
die Strassen waren von 2 Off. und 21 Jäger besezt
via nach West Chester
Frank Fluss
Wolliams Brücke
Lt. Pichell
nach Kingsbridge

Plan
Von dem
Hinterhalt
bey
Ost Chester.

visions magazine. But as soon as the state militia learned of it, they assembled immediately at the passes. They shot down the majority of his men, and finally wounded and captured him.[105]

From this example one can perceive how dangerous is the service of light troops in this country. One never gets true information from the enemy. Each step that one takes is soon betrayed. And then one is likely to be surrounded by armed country people who are all excellent shots, without considering the regular troops of the enemy.

Month of November. On the 16th the army marched to its winter quarters.

NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS

The four Hessian grenadier battalions, the 42d Scottish Regiment, the 54th Regiment, Skinner's 2d Battalion, and the heavy artillery.

YORK ISLAND, UNDER GENERAL MATHEW

The English Guards and the Erb Prinz and Prinz Carl regiments in the huts and barracks on Laurel Hill and at Fort Knyphausen. The Hessian and Anspach jägers in the huts at Morris House and the ruined houses of Harlem.[106] The mounted jägers on the plantation of McGowan and the Regiment Mirbach in the huts there. The 64th Regiment on the plantations on the East River, Loyal Americans on the plantation from Bloomingdale to Jones's house. The Regiment Bose in the houses and huts on the Hudson River.

LONG ISLAND, UNDER LORD CORNWALLIS

English grenadiers and light infantry in their old huts at Jamaica. The 17th Regiment of Dragoons at Hempstead, the 23d and 80th regiments at Bedford, the 33d in huts at Denys's Ferry, the 37th at Newtown, the 36th in the barracks of the new works at Brooklyn.[107] The Hessian Leib and Donop regiments at Bushwick, DeLancey's 3d Battalion and the Fanning Corps[108] from Lloyd's Neck to Oyster Bay and Huntington.

STATEN ISLAND, UNDER GENERAL SKINNER

The 7th and 63d regiments in the huts near the flagstaff, the Regiment Landgraf in the huts of the 4th Battalion of Hessian grenadiers,[109] the Queen's Rangers at Richmond.

The troops which have returned from Rhode Island were stationed in the following manner:

The 22d, 38th, under General Smith,[110] to Setauket;[111] Dittfurth, Huyn, and Bünau, under General Huyn,[112] to Flushing and Huntington on Long Island. The two Anspach regiments to New York, the American Volunteers and New England loyalists to Lloyd's Neck, the Legion to

Oyster Bay, and Skinner's 2d Battalion from New York to Jerusalem. The roving band, the Refugee Corps under Major Bearmore, to Morrisania. These people lived by plundering without pay.

All the outlying works beyond Kings Bridge pass were demolished and abandoned, so that we were still more restricted this year than in the past. Accordingly, General Washington ordered his cordon drawn from the Hudson River at Tarrytown across East and West Chester up to the Sound, and kept us as if besieged with his parties.

The Jäger Corps received very dilapidated huts for their winter quarters; therefore they had to rebuild their own dwellings again. About this time the winter began to set in; consequently, the men suffered very much until they had dug and built their hovels so well that they were protected against the frost. Officers and everyone had to build huts; hence they received sixteen guineas for the costs of construction. I appeared to have a somewhat better fate, for I moved with my company into the ruined houses of Harlem, in order to support the refugees at Morrisania in case of an attack.

Month of December. The 6th. Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb had received intelligence that the Americans were going to undertake something against the post at Morrisania, and let me know at once so that I could watch it closely. I immediately notified Major Bearmore, who sent back word that he was not worried: "Just let the rascals come."

Before daylight on the 7th, I heard small-arms fire at Morrisania. I immediately took eighty men of my company and crossed the Harlem River in the two boats assigned to me. I had hardly set foot on land when a number of refugees came running, who begged me to hurry since they had been attacked and the majority were killed. I ran in a trot to Morrisania, but the disaster had occurred. Major Bearmore was captured and over a hundred of his men had been cut down miserably. I followed the enemy as far as West Chester, but he had withdrawn. I remained with these people until they had recovered from their fright and had taken better measures. I returned to my post in the evening.[113]

On the 20th we finally received positive news that a ship with eight officers and two hundred men from the 44th Regiment and a ship with seven officers and two hundred and fifty men from the Regiment Alt Lossberg had fallen victim to the sea. But the other two vessels, with four companies of Hessians from the Regiment Knyphausen, were rescued off the Jersey coast in very miserable circumstances and fell into enemy captivity.[114]

Remarks on the incident at Savannah.[115]

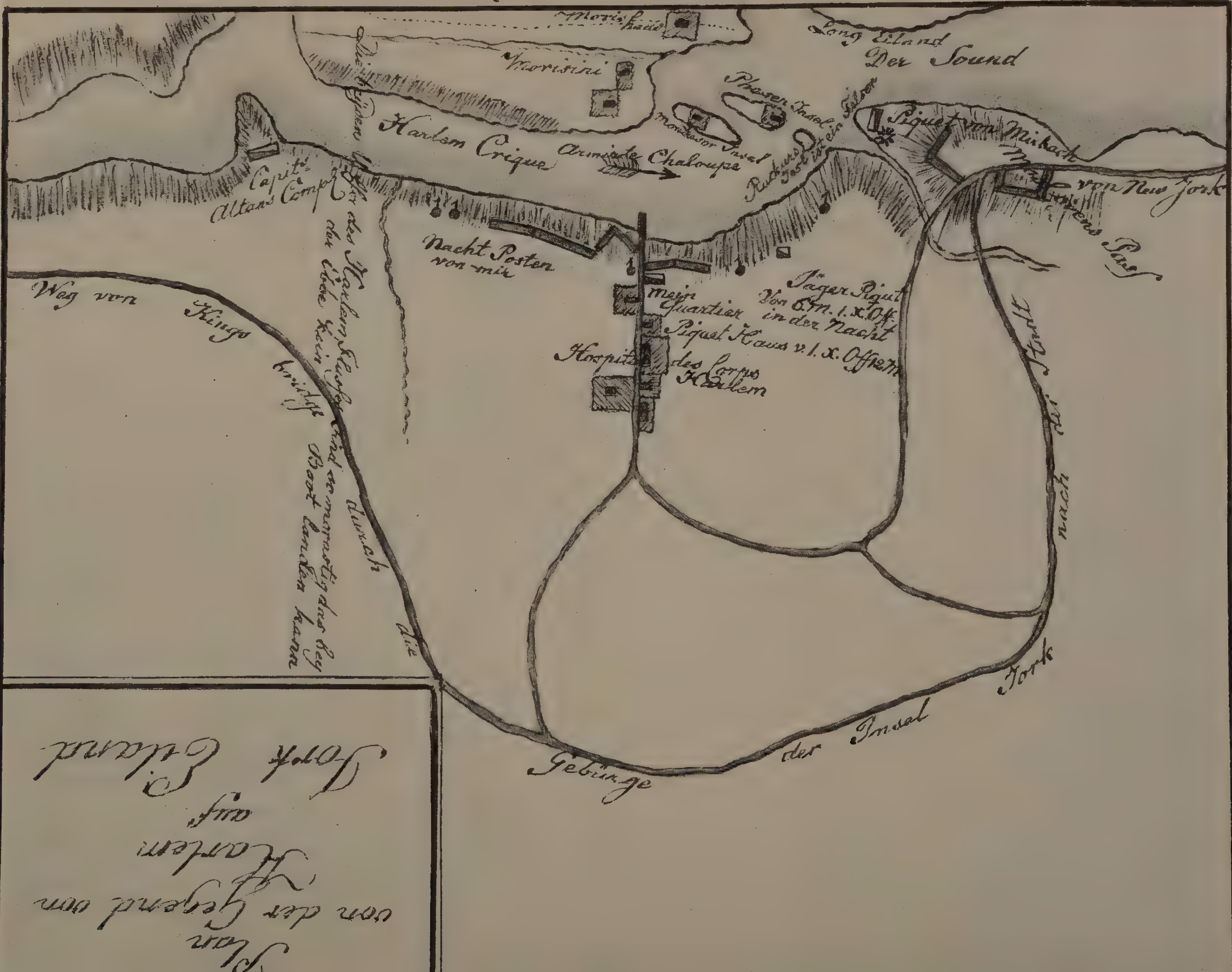
On every occasion during this war, one can observe the thoughtlessness, negligence, and contempt of the English toward their foe.

PLAN OF THE POST AT HARLEM

This plan shows the Hessian Field-Jäger Corps stationed in and around Harlem and along the right bank of the Harlem River. Morrisania lies across the river, with the Morris House, now in the lower Bronx of New York City, shown above. An armed sloop is noted in the river. The islands shown are not in their correct geographical locations. Montresor's Island is now Randalls Island; "Phasen Island" was Barren Island, now Ward's Island; and "Ruckurs Island is a rock" is Rikers Island. At the left of the plan is the post of Captain John Althouse, New York Volunteers. The vertical writing states, "The two banks of the Harlem River are so marshy that no boat can land at low tide." The round markers with pennants along the river bank are sentries. Ewald has labeled the defense barrier at the river "My night post."

The village of Harlem is located at the center of the plan, which shows Ewald's quarters, the picket house, and the hospital of the Jäger Corps. To the right is a night picket of six jägers and a noncommissioned officer. Near the upper right corner is a picket of Regiment von Mirbach guarding the defense barriers of McGowan's Pass. The site of the pass is now in the northeastern part of Central Park. The long road running from the left to the right is the "Road from Kings Bridge through the highlands of York Island to the city of New York."

Plan von des Posten zu Harlem.


Moris haüs
Morisini
Long Eiland
Der Sound
Harlem Crique
Armirte Chaloupe
Montesor Insel
Phasen Insel
Rudwards Jost ist ein Felsen
Piquet von Mibach
von New York
Capit. Altans Comp.
Die Eyssen Ufer des Harlem Kreeks sind so morastig das bey der Ebbe kein Boot landen kann
Nacht Posten von mir
mein Quartier
Jäger Piqut Von 6 M. 1 x Off. in der Nacht
Piquet Haus v. 1 x. Offiz. 12 M.
Hospital des Corps
Harlem
Weg von Kings bridge durch die
Gebürge der Insel York
nach der Stadt
Plan von der Gegend um Harlem auf York Eiland

Before the attack of the French and rebels on the English at Savannah, the commander did nothing more for his defense against the rebels than have the four old redoubts repaired and construct several new ones for support, which they believed to be sufficient against the Americans. And who knows, if the Americans alone had undertaken the assault on the works in the beginning, whether they would not have captured the place, since it was considered strong enough for them.

But now the Comte d'Estaing suddenly arrived with his fleet. Now the water almost came up to their necks. Three hundred Negroes had to work head-over-heels at once under Moncrief,[116] and they had luck alone to thank that they repelled the enemy. And who knows, if the French admiral had given General Prevost only two hours' respite instead of twenty-four when he summoned the city and then risked his assault, during which time they still had to work in the place, whether the general would not have lost his head. But the troops grew accustomed to the dangers of their posts during the eight days' bombardment. They began to scorn it, and surely fought more courageously than they would have done had the Comte carried out his assault on the garrison under an intense cannonade and bombardment during the first days.[117]

End of the Second Part.

Volume III

Fifth Campaign, 1780

CHAPTER 1

From the expedition from New York up to the assault on the Charlestown fortress.

PART ONE

From the embarkation at New York up to the disembarkation on Simmons Island in South Carolina.

1779.

Month of December. Since a planned expedition was never kept secret in the English headquarters, through which fault the best plans often failed, this was also the case with the impending one.

I had long since received news of this expedition. Moreover, a number of regiments and two hundred jägers under Major Wurmb had been notified to hold themselves ready at a moment's notice. But in the past two campaigns we had constantly wandered about in the Province of New York, whereby I had become heartily tired of this area and the entire service we had performed on the defensive. My heart bled with longing to look around in the South. Since the Jäger Corps was staffed with six captains, Captains Hinrichs and Bodungen had been detailed in their turn to the approaching expedition. Yet I had to remain calm.

On the 14th my mind impelled me so forcibly to ride to the headquarters at New York that I hurried there the very moment I was struck with the idea. In the anteroom of the Commanding General I found one of my best friends, Colonel Abercromby. When he saw me he shook hands at once and wished me luck in accompanying the expedition. I assured the good man that it was not my turn, but since we constituted a combined corps, everyone would be detailed in his turn. But he assured me once more that the general had requested me, and that if I could not go with the jäger detachment he would take me along in his suite to make use of my services whenever the opportunity arose. I should go immediately to General Knyphausen, where I would find all the details. I followed his advice with joy.

As soon as I had paid him my compliments, this worthy old gentleman wished me luck and spoke to me as follows: "General Clinton and Lord

Cornwallis request you for the approaching expedition. Since it is now your turn, I have detailed you along with eighty jägers. I will give you the orders for the Corps." I jumped for joy, hurried to the Corps with my news, and readied myself to march.

On the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th the following troops were embarked in the East River at New York under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and the generals Lord Cornwallis, Huyn, Kospoth, and Paterson.

1. 280 Hessian and Anspach jägers.
2. Two battalions of English light infantry, reckoned at 1,000 men, under Colonel Abercromby and Major Dundas.[1]
3. Two battalions of English grenadiers of 1,000 men under the two colonels Yorke and Hope.[2]
4. Four battalions of Hessian grenadiers under the lieutenant colonels Linsing, Lengerke, Schuler, and Graff.[3]
5. The 7th, 23d, 33d, 63d, and 64th English regiments.
6. The Hessian Regiment Huyn.
7. The British Legion under Colonel Tarleton.
8. A company of the 17th Regiment of Light Dragoons.
9. A company of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, refugees.[4]
10. The Althouse sharpshooter company.[5]
11. The Scottish corps under Major Ferguson.
12. One hundred Hessian volunteers drawn from all the regiments under Sir George Hanger,[6] who served as a volunteer with the Jäger Corps.
13. 250 English and Hessian bombardiers and gunners under Majors Traille and Collins,[7] which were equipped with all necessities for a siege.
14. 200 pontoniers and pioneers.

This entire corps numbered between 7,000 and 8,000 men.[8]

The jägers, who were embarked last, left their miserable winter quarters early on the morning of December 19 full of joy. These quarters consisted only of half-finished huts and destroyed houses. Moreover, a very severe winter threatened us, with little wood available. Our comrades who had to remain behind wished us all blessings on our journey and would have gladly exchanged their lot for ours.

About two o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at New York. Major Wurmb and the two captains Hinrichs and Bodungen were embarked with two hundred jägers on the transport *Apollo*. I, with my eighty jägers, boarded the ship called the *Pan*.

On the 21st and 22d the winter set in unusually severe for several days, contrary to its customary behavior here; the navigable rivers threatened to freeze over and the ships hurried to put to sea. But since I had the ill luck that half of the sailors had run away, the ship could not leave the wharf earlier than the evening of the 22d, when it had recovered its regular crew, and thus was compelled to drop anchor this long in the East River.

Early on the morning of the 23d, about five o'clock, I was awakened from sleep by a violent noise from the deck. At that moment the helmsman burst into the cabin. Since I had no misgivings about the clamor, I asked him whether we would soon put to sea. He had a large glass of brandy which he put to his mouth and downed in great haste, and assured me that we would founder right away because the drift ice had cut off our main anchor, and the flood tide was driving the ship with the drift ice toward the reefs of Hell Gate. I rushed up on deck and discovered that all the sailors had lost their heads. I looked into the water and noticed that the ice had surrounded our ship and piled up in such huge masses that nothing at all seemed to help. In these circumstances the day broke and the ebb tide came, driving us toward the rocky coast of Long Island and running us so hard against a reef that nearly all the people on deck were thrown to the floor by the shock.

The largest masses of ice left us, but we now saw big pieces of timber between the water and ice which obviously were from our ship, and the ship's captain found that the ship was half-full of water. We remained in this condition until about noon, when luckily for us we settled on a sandbar at Hell Back[9] several hundred paces from Long Island, which was the best thing that could have happened to us. We remained fast in this position until about one o'clock, when Lieutenant Winter worked his way through the ice toward us with three boats, picked us up, and put us safely on shore an hour later above New York, whereby I, like the other officers, lost my provisions and equipment.

Now, since all the ships had already sailed into the mouth of the harbor, out of fear of the ice, and no other vessel in place of the *Pan* could be provided at the anchorage of the fleet, I had to work my way with my detachment in boats through the drift ice to the fleet, where the detachment was distributed among the entire fleet. I was placed with an officer, Lieutenant Wintzingerode,[10] and our servants and the hornblower on board the brigantine *Spring,* on which was one company and a half of the Regiment Huyn.

On the 25th all the commanders of the troops and the ships' captains received their instructions concerning the signals. The call was "59" and the reply "Lord Hawke," which were assigned so that in case a ship should drift away from the fleet and encounter another ship at night they could recognize each other. In the event they met in the daytime, a certain flag was to be hoisted and answered by another designated one. Moreover, each commander of troops on a ship received a sealed letter which he might open if he had been driven off course and was twice twenty-four hours distant from the fleet, in which he finds the rendezvous of the fleet. Should his ship face the danger of falling into enemy hands, it is his responsibility to destroy these instructions, including the signals and the sealed letter.

On the morning of the 26th at eight o'clock the signal was given to weigh anchor. The fleet set sail under a favorable northwest wind and passed the Hook and the Middle Ground where the men-of-war were anchored, under whose escort the entire fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot[11] sailed to the east in the following formation.

	Perseus frigate, 32 guns, Captain Elphinstone,[12] an excellent and celebrated naval officer who was very familiar with the southern coast of North America.			
Roebuck, 44 guns, Captain Hamond,[13] a very meritorious naval officer, where Lord Cornwallis was aboard.	The transport ships with the English grenadiers.	[*Europe,* 64 guns,] Principal Agent, Captain Tonken.[14]	The transport ships of the light infantry.	*Romulus,* 44 guns, Captain Clinton [Gayton].[15] The Commander in Chief, General Clinton was aboard here.
	Transport ships with the Hessians.	Second Agent, Captain Chads.[16]	Transport ships with the English infantry.	
Robust, 74 guns.[17]				*Defiance,* 64 guns.[18]
	Ordnance ships with the artillery and all that belonged to it.	Third Agent, Captain Winter.[19]	Transport ships with the engineers, pontoniers, and pioneers, including the equipment and horse transports.	
Renown, 50 guns.[20]				*Raisonnable,* 64 guns.[21]
	Provisions ships. Provincial corps ships. *Russell,* 74 guns.[22] *Richmond* frigate, 32 guns, Captain Hudson,[23] a very courageous and experienced seaman.			

The entire fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty-three sail, among which were a number of one-masters which had on board the horses for the dragoons, the mounted of the Legion, and the artillery.

On the morning of the 27th we lost sight of the coast and sailed SSE. Toward noon the wind turned NE and became stronger hour by hour, so that a very severe storm arose which continued until the 30th. The wind turned SE and the fleet had to tack about.

Year 1780.

On January 1 we saw several ships in the fleet which had lost some of their masts in the storm and appeared to be in distressed circumstances. Toward evening the second storm came up, combined with rain, hail, and snow, which continued in the most terrible manner until the forenoon of the 6th. The fleet had become separated in such a way that one could count only twenty sail in the farthest distance. Since the storm came out of the southeast and drove us toward land, the sailors were greatly worried about shipwreck on the Great Bank of Cape Hatteras, which extends over thirty nautical miles into the ocean.

Since a sunbeam fell around noon, an observation was taken and we were at latitude 31° 29′ north, but the wind blew too contrary and very hard. In the meantime, one could make a small coal fire in order to prepare some tea.

On the 7th a northwester came up, during which the sea rose so high that one could call it a half a storm.

On the 8th we were at latitude 30° 17′ north. Up to half the fleet assembled today.

On the 9th we were at latitude 29° 58′ north, off St. Augustine. Toward evening a severe storm arose, mingled with sleet and hail, which lasted until the morning of the 10th, whereupon a complete calm ensued with such warm air that one could remain outside in his shirt. We thanked God that we could move our legs again and take fresh air on the deck. A ship sailing alongside ours gave us the doleful news that all the horses had been thrown overboard, and that many ships were dismasted and shipwrecked.

Around the 17th the wind changed. We soon made headway and were soon tacking, and shortly the signal was given to heave to against the wind. At times the sea was very high and often completely still. Toward evening three ships raised distress signals, whereupon the troops were taken off and distributed among the fleet.

On the 18th we were at latitude 30° 8′ north. Sunrise in this area was at forty-eight minutes past six o'clock, and sunset at twelve minutes past five o'clock. The wind turned favorable today, but toward evening it changed again. At that time another ship, called the *Swan,* raised a distress signal and the troops were taken off and distributed among the fleet.

This business had hardly taken place when a fresh, heavier storm came up, during which our sailors lost all heart and assured me in confidence that not one ship could withstand this terrible weather, because they were nearly all damaged. The storm continued until about noon of the 20th. During this storm a ship with Hessian grenadiers came so close to ours that had not a big wave flung us a great distance away both ships would have collided and sunk, for no ship could help itself, since all sails were lowered with the rudders tied down.—Here I thought to myself: "O! Miserable human being, why are you fearful? For should you pass through dangers, Providence will save you!"

Until the 24th the wind changed constantly. Another calm arose, and during this time up to two-thirds of the fleet reassembled. The sailors declared that one could judge from the figures or small whirlpools which the sea formed here that we were in the Gulf Stream of Florida. Toward evening the fog came up with a foul rain and such strong wind that it resembled a storm.

Up to the 28th the wind remained changeable, but we gained more than we lost. About ten o'clock at night, to our great joy, the wind turned NE and the course SW. We sailed five to six miles in one hour.

On the morning of the 29th we had ten fathoms of water; the air was clear, and we were at latitude 32° 29′ north. At two o'clock in the afternoon a sailor cried out from the mast, "Land!" I do not believe that the Ten Thousand Greeks, when they beheld the Black Sea after their difficult retreat through Asia, could have been more joyful over the sight of the sea than we were over the word "Land!" Every face brightened. Toward three o'clock the fleet heaved to in order to assemble. Today we saw wild ducks and sea gulls in great numbers, which looked as welcome to us in the air as when we saw them fried in a pan at other times.

On the 30th we sailed again. We were at latitude 31° 49′ north, and the course was N by W. Toward two o'clock we sounded eleven fathoms of water, and at six o'clock in the evening the small anchor was cast at nine fathoms.

On the 31st a heavy fog arose, forcing the admiral to put to sea again because a storm might develop.

Month of February. The 1st. Toward morning the air was fair and the course set W by N. As soon as the air cleared up, the tongues of the men loosened again. About half past three we passed the men-of-war, which had anchored before the bar because of the lack of depth. At last, about four o'clock, we caught sight with true joy of the lighthouse of Tybee on the coast of Georgia. Toward six o'clock in the evening a large part of the fleet anchored safely in the mouth of the Savannah River, where to our joy we found over eighteen sail of the fleet which we had given up for lost. On the 3d I visited several of my good friends on board their ships to hear some news.

The 4th. Today the admiral put out to sea with the fleet to blockade the harbor of Charlestown.[24] I heard today that Fort Mobile on the Mississippi in Florida had been taken by the Spanish, in which the grenadiers of the Waldeck Regiment were partly killed and partly captured.—How German bones are scattered around in this war!

On the 8th the fleet received orders that no one should stray from his ship, and that we were to haul in the flatboats and to weigh anchor at the first cannon shot fired by the *Roebuck.*

In the forenoon of the 9th the fleet weighed anchor and set sail. Toward two o'clock in the afternoon the ships hove to off Trench Island[25] to assemble, and about four o'clock dropped anchor near this island.

On the morning of the 10th the fleet, consisting of some sixty sail, got under way and set course NE along the coast. In the vicinity of the estuary of the Port Royal River we found the warships *Romulus* and *Renown* cruising, since a number of American privateers and row galleys were stationed in this river. Toward evening anchor was cast near Hunting Island. We were at latitude 31° 52′ north.

Early on the morning of the 11th the fleet set sail. The wind was so favorable that about noon we reached the mouth of the North Edisto, and toward evening the harbor, which forms a circular basin in which over one hundred ships can ride at anchor. Although the mouth of this harbor is so narrow that only two ships at a time can wind through the sandbars, Captain Elphinstone guided the entire fleet through safely. We dropped anchor near Simmons Island,[26] the coastline of which surrounds a part of the basin.

Toward evening a signal was given to lower the flatboats in the water, and to provide the troops with provisions for four days. At the same time another signal was given for the commanders of troops to go on board the *Roebuck,* where the Commanding General issued the following orders for disembarkation.

FIRST DISEMBARKATION

English grenadiers and light infantry under General Leslie, with whom were the Commanding General and Lord Cornwallis.

SECOND DISEMBARKATION

Hessian grenadiers, the jäger detachment, and the 33d Regiment, which were to perform the service of light infantry. The first was placed under General Kospoth and the last two under Brigadier Webster, a very meritorious man.

THIRD DISEMBARKATION

The 7th and 23d regiments under Brigadier Clarke.[27] The 63d, 64th, and the Hessian Garrison Regiment Huyn under General Huyn.

PART TWO

From the landing on Simmons Island up to the arrival on James Island.

On the same evening, about ten o'clock, the beginning of the disembarkation was carried out in a strong wind. But since the weather grew constantly worse, no more than the first disembarkation and a part of the Hessian grenadiers could be put ashore.

On the 12th at daybreak all the troops disembarked without the guns (except the four amusettes of the light infantry, which the men themselves had to remove) or any of the baggage, not even a horse for the Commander in Chief. He informed all the officers, in the most polite manner, to look after their most necessary equipment as soon as possible. Hence, no officer had any more with him than what his servant could carry in his hands.

Toward ten o'clock the troops set out through a pathless and marshy wood, which continued with the greatest difficulty until five o'clock in the evening. A path often had to be cut through the bushes with axes and bayonets in water up to the waist.

By this time we reached a prepared road and discovered a plantation, from whose owners this island had derived its name. The Leslie and Webster brigades crossed the creek which divides the island into two parts here and cuts off the inhabited from the uninhabited part, crossed a second creek which separates this island from John's Island, and took post. The jäger detachment and the 33d Regiment, under Colonel Webster, occupied a road leading to Stono Ferry which covered the left flank of the English grenadiers and light infantry. The remaining troops encamped on Simmons Island.

At midnight we had to move forward over a mile to Wilson's plantation, where the landing place for the provisions and baggage ships was situated. We had nothing but stinking water in this area.

By this maneuver of the admiral, the enemy had been deceived in such a manner that we did not find a single man of the American army in this area. For no one, either in the countryside or in the army, had believed that any person would think of landing in this area and marching toward Charlestown from this side.[28]

Remarks on Simmons Island.

This island is about several German miles long and almost as wide, of which only one half is cultivated. Its product is rice, and the woods consist of cabbage conifers and live oaks. The trees are covered with a sort of moss which hangs down from the highest point over all branches like horses' tails. This phenomenon absorbed our complete attention because of its rarity, giving a very melancholy appearance to a forest. One finds this gift of nature throughout the Southern provinces. Since the ground of the low part of the country consists of black sandy soil and grass cannot grow due to the great heat, abundant nature has replaced this deficiency with the moss. The inhabitants take it off the trees and feed it to their livestock in place of hay. When it is dried it is as good as deer or cow hair for stuffing saddles, chair cushions, and mattresses.

On the 13th the corps advanced one hour past Wilson's plantation to John's Island, and the light infantry marched to Chisholm's and Fenwick's plantation villages toward the right bank of the Stono River. The Americans were determined to contest our crossing of the river, since they had stationed a strong corps in the vicinity of Stono Ferry. In this area the woods were filled with Virginia Nightingales,[29] which are completely red and make a splendid sight in the woods. The ladies in England pay from six to twelve guineas for a piece of this very beautiful bird.

Early on the morning of the 14th, Colonel Webster marched with the jäger detachment and the 33d Regiment from Wilson's house toward Stono Ferry, which crossing was said to be occupied on the left bank by an enemy corps. Since all the country people, especially the males, had run away, spies and guides were very scarce. With the utmost effort we had gotten hold of a Negro boy of eleven or twelve years who knew the way there. To our ill luck, however, this boy spoke such a poor dialect[30] that he was extremely hard to understand, which predicament was worsened because none of us was provided with a map of this area.

The entire march proceeded through the woods across the island, and about noon we unexpectedly came upon a stone and log causeway that ran zigzag through an impenetrable morass without its end being visible. Since we knew for certain that the enemy had left John's Island, an advanced guard of a corporal and eight jägers was assigned to us, followed by the jäger detachment and the 33d Regiment. When we had marched along this causeway for a half hour, we asked the boy when we would reach the Stono River, which cuts off this island from the mainland. "Soon, soon," the boy replied. After a lapse of a good half hour, we discovered high ground and several houses. We asked our boy whether the elevated land and the houses lay on this side of the river or on the other, but no one could understand his gibberish. During the conversation with the boy, we came closer and suddenly discovered whole groups of horse and infantry formed behind the houses on the elevation, during which time we had approached these people up to rifle-shot range.

All of us suddenly became cautious and discovered that this post was situated on the other side of the crossing of Stono Ferry, and that this detachment was the one which covered the crossing. We halted, observed the enemy, and found that the houses were fortified and occupied with men and guns, and that a line of troops, foot and horse, had deployed behind them at some distance.

Each of us silently wished to get out of this affair with honor, but we were in column on a narrow causeway between impassable morasses that formed the right bank of the Stono River, which separated us from the enemy. In this situation it depended on the enemy to shoot us to pieces.

Hereupon the colonel ordered the column to turn back. We marched back safely; the enemy did not fire a shot, and we certainly didn't want to fire any! We reached the causeway safely, laughed heartily, and were astonished over the strange behavior of the enemy. In such circumstances, I have usually found that good luck does not desert the bold, but generally punishes the fainthearted or those who lose their heads. Colonel Webster took post in the woods at the side of the causeway, and the latter was occupied by a picket, since it was the only approach to us. See the *Plan of Stono Ferry.*[31]

Several of our flankers, who marched at the head of the advanced guard, assured me that they had seen vessels on the river. Since I could easily imagine that the enemy had placed several row galleys there, because he knew we would have to cross the river in this area, I resolved to reconnoiter this post by a ruse in order to render a service to the Commander in Chief.

Without saying a word to anyone, I took Lieutenant Wintzingerode with me and approached the enemy post within rifle shot. Here I took a handkerchief out of my pocket and waved to the people who appeared to be observing us, among whom I could recognize a few officers.

Several of these gentlemen took off their hats and caps and gave us a countersignal, which I accepted in good faith. We then approached the right bank of the river and greeted the gentlemen. I gave as the reason for my visit my wish to know whether a certain Leopold, whose acquaintance I had made in Saxony, was among the Pulaski Corps, for when I drew near them I had noticed by the uniform that it was the Pulaski Corps which occupied this position.

During this conversation I looked around on the river and discovered that a half-burnt row galley was the vessel which had been seen. It occurred to me that this must be the *Rattlesnake,* which had burned in the previous year during the unfortunate expedition against Charlestown under General Prevost. Jokingly, we wished to see each other closer soon, and I bid them adieu. They politely warned us to be careful, because this river was full of alligators, some of which were twelve to sixteen feet long.[32]

Early on the morning of the 15th, the general officers arrived at our post. I took pleasure in telling them about my discovery of yesterday, and my daring little enterprise was amply rewarded by the approbation of the Commander in Chief. Today the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry occupied the pass at Gibbes's house,[33] where there was a crossing over the Stono River, and the army advanced to Wilson's house.

The 16th. Last night I was ordered to keep a watchful eye on the enemy position at Stono Ferry so that the Commanding General would be informed at once if the enemy left it. At midnight we discovered that the enemy had abandoned the post in silence. I had this reported immediately to Colonel Webster, who notified the headquarters, which were at Wilson's house. As soon as the news arrived there, General Clinton ordered the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry to cross at Waite's plantation with the aid of several small boats that had been dragged with great effort overland to Stono River from Bohicket Creek, for we still had no contact with the fleet.

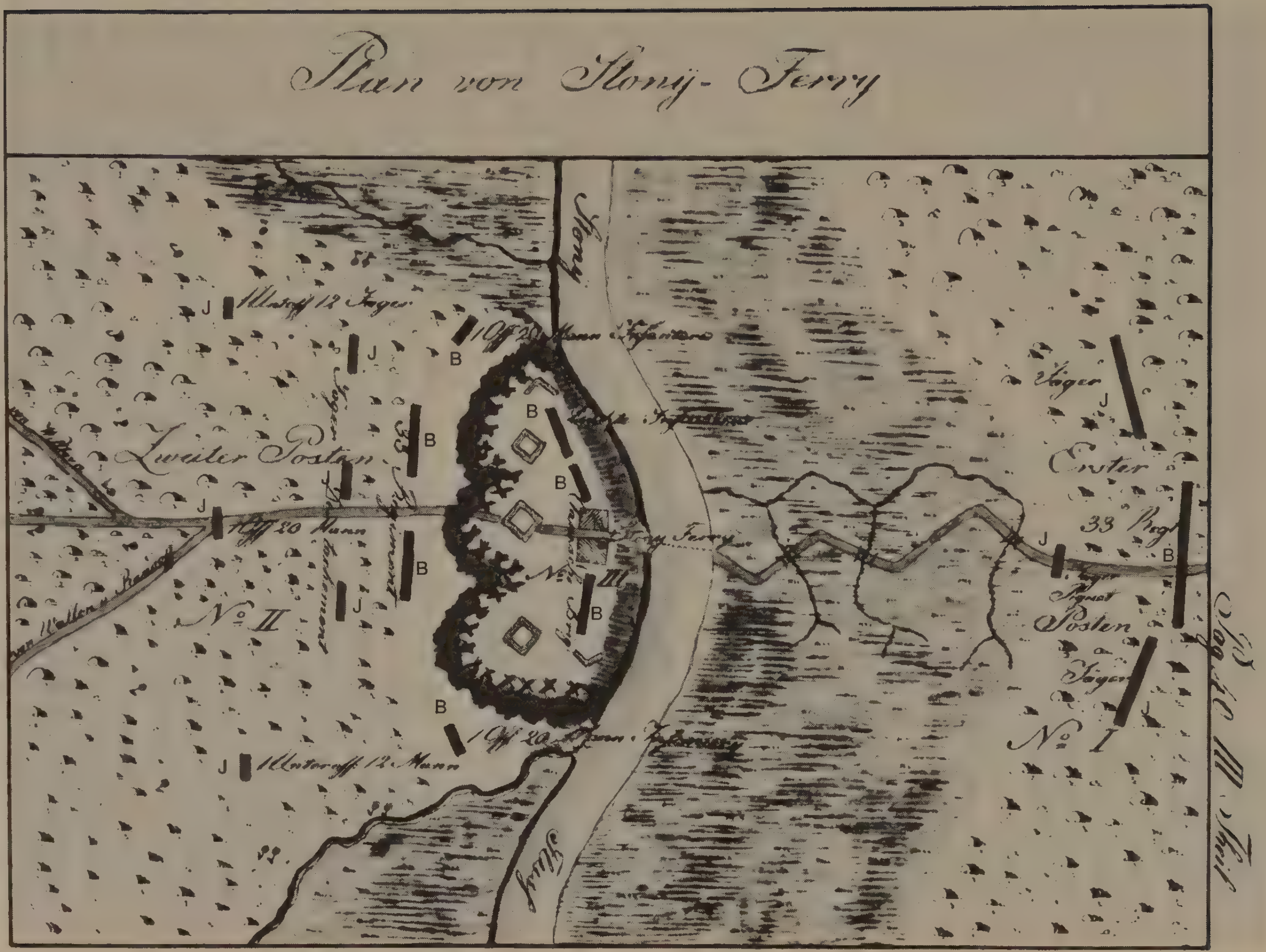
As soon as Colonel Abercromby had crossed the river, these boats were brought to Stono Ferry, where the jäger detachment and the 33d Regiment under Colonel Webster crossed the river, followed by the general officers. About three o'clock in the afternoon, General Leslie and the Clarke Brigade also crossed the river. The jägers, the 33d Regiment, and the light infantry advanced at once toward the crossings of Wallace's and Rantowle's creeks, where the general officers reconnoitered the crossings. The 2d Battalion of Light Infantry under Dundas occupied the post at Gibbes's house which the 1st Battalion had left, and Lord Cornwallis established his headquarters here.

About midnight a patrol of the Pulaski Corps, which was commanded by the Chevalier Vernier[34] after the death of the count, ran into the jäger picket which held the post in the woods on the road from Ponpon where the road from Wallace's Creek intersects it. The enemy withdrew after some dozen shots were exchanged.

On the 19th the jäger detachment had to go out in three parties toward the passes of Cox Swamp to collect information about the enemy and to hunt up Negroes and livestock. Each party had its own guide, but none of us could manage to talk with these people because of their bad dialect, even had we spoken with the tongues of angels. On my way I was obliged to cross three creeks with marshy banks where the inhabitants had removed all the bridges, and I was compelled to wade through water over my navel. I had one hundred jägers and left a few behind at each creek to

PLAN OF STONO FERRY

The plan shows the zigzag causeway across the morass leading to Stono Ferry, several fortifications on the north side of the river surrounded by an abatis, and the British and jäger troop dispositions on both sides of the river.



Plan von Stony-Ferry
Pag. 40 III. Theil
1 Unteroff 12 Jäger
1 Off 20 Mann Infanterie
Zweiter Posten
Jäger Detachement
33 Regiment
1 Off 20 Mann
No. II
No. III
Brig.
Stony Ferry
Stony
Fluss
1 Off 20 Mann Infanterie
1 Unteroff 12 Mann
von Wallen
Jäger
Erster
33 Regt
Posten
Jäger
No. I
J
B

J = Jäger Corps
B = British

secure my withdrawal. A short distance behind the last creek I found a plantation from which all the people had fled except an aged woman, who trembled and begged forbearance for her life.

I had several jägers roam through the wood situated to the right, where a house Negro fell into their hands, who agreed quite sensibly to tell the truth about everything. He then made the following assertions: firstly, that General Lincoln had an encampment with five thousand men behind Cox Swamp, and that General Moultrie,[35] with two thousand men, had occupied the works of Charlestown and Sullivan's Island;[36] secondly, that another corps was stationed at a fortification which had been thrown up at Ashley Ferry on the left bank of the Ashley River. Hereupon I withdrew, arriving at camp in the evening, and the Negro appeared to be a great treasure to General Leslie.

The 20th. Since yesterday we have transported the field artillery down the Stono River and disembarked it at Mathews's Ferry, where the Huyn Brigade is stationed. In the afternoon three row galleys followed, which had made their way along the coast from New York to this place despite all storms.

The 21st. During the following night one of the best galleys of these three blew up through carelessness, which was a great loss for us, since it could not be replaced soon.

The 24th. Several days ago we began to work on three redoubts and a few flèches and surrounded them with an abatis, which are now in a finished condition, since through these posts we control the entire Stono River. Since we could expect that General Lincoln would make an attack upon them, the posts had to be maintained until we had gained a firm footing on the mainland across James Island.

On the 25th the corps under Lord Cornwallis crossed the Stono River at Mathews's Ferry and landed at Hamilton's Ferry on James Island.

The 26th. Since several officers of the 7th and 23d regiments of the Clarke Brigade begged General Leslie to allow them to go out on patrol to share the glory of the service with the light troops, their request was approved and one captain, two officers, and fifty men were sent out early today. They took the route toward Ponpon to collect Negroes and livestock, if any were still left.

The Chevalier Vernier was informed at once by the country people, who were devoted to him, while they hated us from the bottom of their hearts because we carried off their Negroes and livestock. After he had observed these people for a long time, marching like a changing of the guard, Vernier followed alongside them on their return march until they were inside the narrow approaches between the ponds. Since they had not seen or heard anything of the enemy on their way out, they marched back in all tranquillity and without formation. Suddenly Vernier attacked them on all sides and killed and wounded nearly half of these people, who had their impertinent and unskilled officers to thank for their misfortune.

As soon as we heard the firing every jäger grabbed his rifle and hurried to their assistance with all speed. By luck we arrived just in time, when the enemy had cut off the whole detachment and was about to finish them off. The chevalier, who seemed to be certain of his prey, now in turn received rifle fire from all directions and withdrew. The English detachment was rescued, but they had ten killed and nine wounded. Afterward, we surely killed and wounded just as many of the enemy. In addition, we captured one noncommissioned officer, four soldiers, and two lancers, and took three horses.[37]

The 27th. At nine o'clock in the evening the corps under Colonel Webster recrossed the Stono River and took position at William Ashley's plantation on John's Island. The remainder of the 71st Scottish Regiment, which had arrived from Savannah, joined us here. The regiment had melted away during this war from three thousand to four hundred men, due partly to the sword and partly to the climate. A captain and one hundred men remained in the redoubts at Stono River.

On the 29th, while work was being done on a redoubt at the demolished Fort Johnson on James Island, the workmen were disturbed by the firing of two enemy frigates. A Hessian grenadier captain had the standard guard and two fieldpieces of a Hessian grenadier battalion brought up against the frigates. They were so well received by the enemy that two grenadiers and one gunner were killed by the first shot. General Kospoth recalled the guard and the pieces, relieved the captain, and the frigates remained quiet.

Month of March. On the 1st the transport ships, which until now had been anchored in the North Edisto River, entered Stono Inlet. Since we are now masters of James Island, the upper part of the Stono River is no longer essential to us, because the line of communication between the army and the fleet is shorter than previously.

On the 3d the Clarke Brigade left the Webster Corps and marched to the army on James Island. The 1st Battalion of Light Infantry crossed the Wappoo Cut and established post on the mainland, and the ruined bridge over the Wappoo Cut was repaired.

On the 4th my turn came to occupy the redoubts across the Stono River with the usual detachment. Since I had made a very thorough inspection of these miserable works, which resembled heaps of sand, I requested thirty Negroes provided with axes and shovels to repair the works and strengthen the abatis surrounding them. Toward evening Monsieur

Vernier appeared with foot and horse, and again on the 5th, about eleven o'clock in the morning. However, he withdrew after several of his men and horses were shot dead and a few wounded.

But since I thought he would return toward evening, I placed a corporal with six Scots and six jägers in two ambuscades in the outlying pine woods along the main road. My plan was quite correct. Toward seven o'clock in the evening a small party of about fifteen to twenty men appeared. The signal for the ambuscades was the firing of a double post which I had placed right in the open in front of the works. The sight of these two men was so pleasing to Vernier's gentlemen that they surrounded them in such a way that they thought they had cut them off. These well-chosen jägers allowed the enemy to play with them until it became serious. They fired the signal, the ambuscades attacked, and the enemy was nearly all shot or stabbed to death. Since night fell, some of them escaped.

On the morning of the 6th I received orders to abandon the post completely and to destroy the works as much as possible. I had as much earth, or rather sand, pulled down as I could, set the abatis on fire, and crossed the Stono River. Since I could not save the boats used for the crossing, I had them broken up and burned on the causeway.

On the 7th at three o'clock in the morning Colonel Webster marched with the jäger detachment, the 33d Regiment, and the 71st Scottish Regiment to Mathews's Ferry, where they would be ready to cross over to James Island at a moment's notice.

The 9th. Toward morning the Webster Corps marched off, crossed the Stono River at Mathews's Ferry (a good half hour wide here because of its marshy banks), and landed at Hamilton's landing place on James Island. We found the entire army assembled here, except for the 63d Regiment, which had remained behind on Stono Island. We received our post at Newton Cut bridge, where the Huyn Brigade stood. The headquarters were at Hudson's plantation, Lord Cornwallis's quarters were at Notto [?] plantation, and General Kospoth was stationed with the Hessian grenadiers near the ruined Fort Johnson.

Although like all the other officers I had not mounted a horse during all this time, nevertheless my curiosity impelled me to take a walk of twenty-two English miles (seven to a German mile) to Fort Johnson, where I had a view of the harbor, the city of Charlestown, Fort Sullivan,[38] and the enemy fleet.

This fort was remarkably constructed. It consisted of a quadrangle of bricks with four bastions whose breastworks were twenty-four feet thick. It was situated on a sandhill which completely commanded the harbor, and was designed for thirty-four guns and four hundred men. At the base of the fort on both sides a zigzag line about two hundred paces in length and twelve feet in thickness was laid out, from which they could fire at sea level on ships entering the harbor. The breastwork, which was constructed of oyster shells and limestone, appeared as if carved in rock and was just as hard, since a cannonball rebounded from it. In these ruins I found the marks of a great number of shots from heavy guns; here and there, twenty balls seemed to have been fired at one point, which struck only this one place but had not destroyed it.

Behind the fort stood a barracks made of stone, which belonged to the garrison of the fort. After the expedition under General Prevost, in 1779, this fort had been blown up by the Americans. The new work constructed by General Clinton was to the right of these ruins, and was occupied by a detachment of Hessian grenadiers with two 24-pounders and two 12-pounders.

In this area the Spanish bayonet, an aloe plant,[39] was to be found growing as high as a man. They plant this on the berm of the works in this region and also put it around the parapet of the covered walks. At this height it is as sharp as a knife, and when planted five to six feet thick it forms an impenetrable hedge which offers more resistance than a double palisade.

PART THREE

March of the corps under Lord Cornwallis from James Island up to the Occupation of Fenwick's Point and the post at Rose's House.

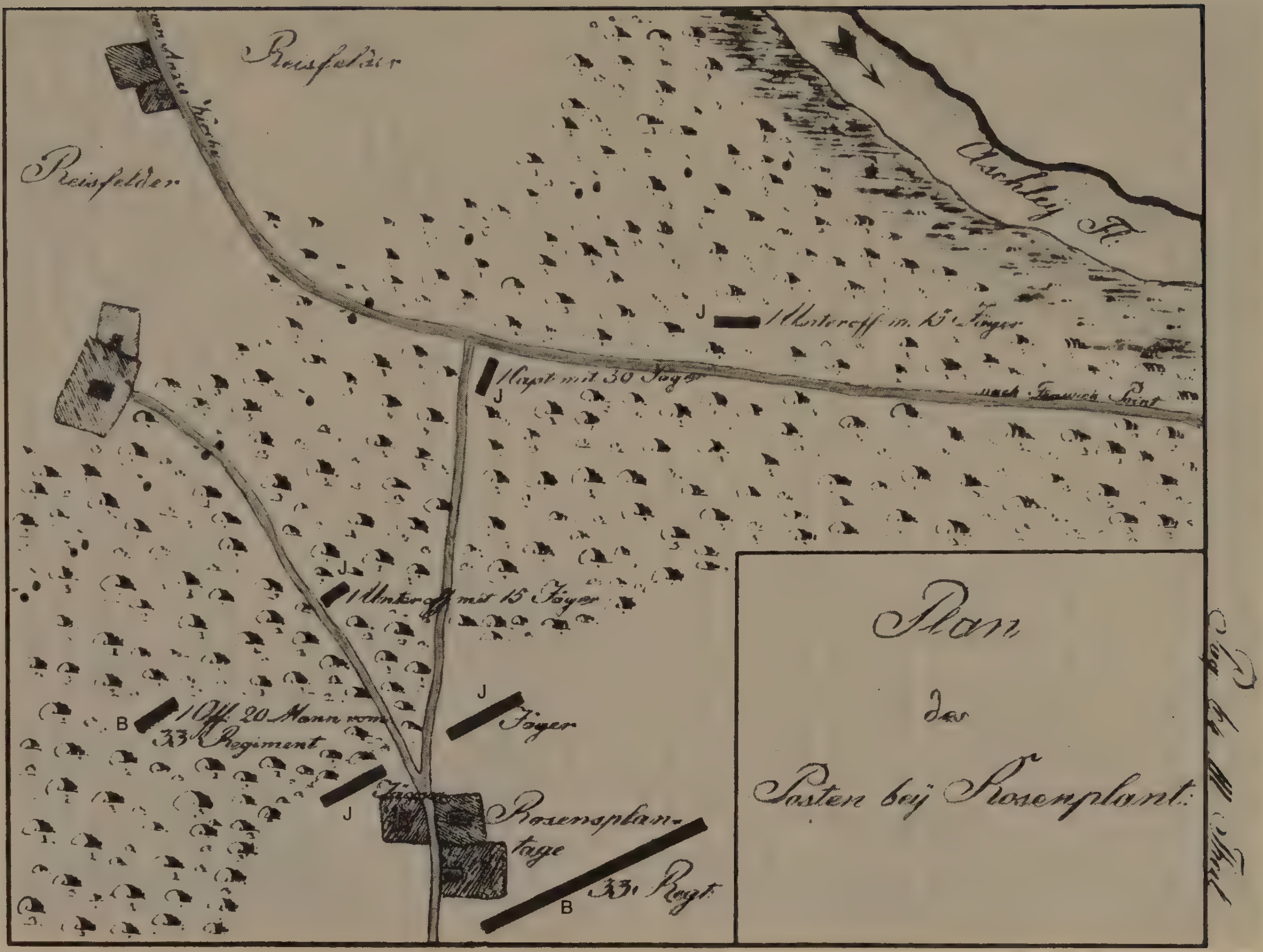
On the 10th, at four o'clock in the morning, Lord Cornwallis set out on James Island with the following troops: (1) the jägers; (2) the 33d Regiment; (3) the light infantry; (4) the English grenadiers; (5) the two Hessian grenadier battalions and the Clarke Brigade. At daybreak this corps crossed the Wappoo Cut (or Canal) and took the following positions on the mainland, on the right bank of the Ashley River:

The jägers and the 33d Regiment, under Colonel Webster, set up their post at [Tom?] Rose's plantation on the main road to Ashley Ferry. The light infantry under General Leslie was stationed on Linning's[40] Point, and the English grenadiers with the Clarke Brigade were posted on Fenwick's Point.[41] The two Hessian grenadier battalions Linsing and Lengerke occupied the bridge over the Wappoo.

On the 11th a number of ordnance, supply, and transport ships entered the Stono River and anchored in the bay where the Wappoo Canal joins the Stono River, whereupon it was made known to the army that it was to fill all its needs from there. It was high time, too, for we jägers had almost nothing left on our bodies and on our feet.

PLAN OF THE POST AT ROSE'S PLANTATION

At the top of the plan the road from St. Andrew's Church runs through rice fields to Fenwick's Point on the Ashley River. A picket of a captain with thirty jägers is posted below the road, and another one of a noncommissioned officer with fifteen jägers above it. Tom Rose's plantation is shown at the bottom of the plan, surrounded by a picket of a noncommissioned officer with fifteen jägers above, and another one of an officer and twenty men of the 33d Regiment to the left. Other jägers are shown above the plantation buildings, with the 33d Regiment itself below.


Plan
der
Posten bey Rosenplant.
Pag. 64 III Theil
Reisfelder
Reisfelder
von Ansons Kirche
Aschley Fl.
J
1 Unteroff. m. 15 Jäger
nach Fenwicks Point
1 Hapt. mit 30 Jäger
J
J
1 Unteroff. mit 15 Jäger
J
Jäger
B
1 Off. 20 Mann vom
33. Regiment
J
Jäger
Rosensplantage
B
33. Regt.

J = Jäger Corps
B = British

At daybreak on the 12th, Colonel Abercromby, with the light infantry and two amusettes, marched to Hammond's plantation, which was situated about one German mile from the jäger post, in order to undertake a foraging there for the few artillery and generals' horses which we had collected in the countryside. At the same time Colonel Webster marched up the road along the left bank of the Stono River with the jäger detachment and the 33d Regiment to cover the left flank of the light infantry.

Colonel Webster took his position at Savage's plantation, where we ran into an enemy party of fifty horse and about one hundred infantry, whom we attacked and skirmished with for over two hours, during which two jägers were wounded. Afterward, they left us and moved against the chain of Colonel Abercromby, whereupon the jägers rushed to the aid of the light infantry as soon as they heard several amusette shots. Abercromby then ordered me to march on ahead with forty jägers and lie in ambuscade along the road. But the enemy did not follow further than rifle-shot range of the ambuscade. I waited all night without having had a drink of water the whole day in the oppressive heat, and withdrew to the camp in complete silence.

The 13th. Since I was expected to dine at headquarters today, I left early and made use of the time on the way to look around on Fenwick's Point. Yesterday we began work on the redoubts and a line at this point where the Wappoo falls into the Ashley River, which lies opposite the southern part of the fortifications of Charlestown. The work is being laid out in a triangular form and mounted with four 32-pounders, four 24-pounders, and two 6-inch howitzers, so as to fire on the enemy vessels and the fortifications of the city. But since the Ashley River appears to be about three hundred paces wide, the enemy ships can be of no use during the siege but to frighten the inhabitants and destroy their houses. For the enemy opened fire on the workmen today and several shots from 32-pounders exploded *à la volée*.[42] Meanwhile, I noticed that these balls, which one could hear long before they struck, startled the workmen somewhat.

This small headland is called St. Andrew's Parish. It is a complete island formed by the Wappoo, the Ashley River, St. Andrew's Creek, the Stono River, and the marshes. We do not have the most pleasant area for our post. The wood which surrounds us is full of wolves, snakes, and various poisonous insects, but they keep away from us because of our large night fire. During my strolls I discovered alligators from ten to twelve feet long in a deep, marshy pond which connects with the Wappoo and thus with the Ashley River.

The 15th. At daybreak Major Dundas and five hundred men of the light infantry were sent forward into the vicinity of St. Andrew's Church to forage the plantations which are situated on the right bank of St. Andrew's Creek. At the same time, Colonel Webster advanced with the jägers and the 33d Regiment to Lowndes plantation to cover Major Dundas's left, and to forage there and divide the enemy forces. The Americans had demolished the bridge near the church and posted a number of riflemen along the creek, with whom the jägers skirmished from our side of the bank up to the end of the foraging.

On the 16th I held the outpost, and an American officer with a trumpeter appeared with letters for the Commander in Chief. But on the 17th Captain Hinrichs held the outpost. He placed an ambuscade of one corporal and ten jägers along the highway to Ashley Ferry, since the enemy knew that we were without cavalry. But since the captain had set a bad example of sparing his men, which a young officer often follows and generally observes at the wrong time, he let the men leave the ambuscade in the morning about eleven o'clock because it was very warm. This step was hardly taken when to his and our dismay a party of thirty horse appeared which would have been his. These horses would have helped all the officers, because we still had to go on foot.[43]

On the 18th the two grenadier battalions Schuler and Graff left Fort Johnson and joined the army at Hudson's house. The newly constructed redoubt at the ruined fort was occupied by the English Major Mecan[44] and 120 men of the Huyn Brigade.

Today a dragoon of the former Pulaski corps arrived here as a deserter. He was a Prussian by birth, and had served in the Seven Years' War with the Kleist volunteer hussars. He was dressed in Polish uniform and armed with a lance, generally well equipped, well mounted, and knew how to show off his horse like a good hussar. He had deserted from the detachment at St. Andrew's Church and gave us a warning that we would be attacked very soon by their cavalry. Since he seemed to be quite a reasonable fellow, I asked him what sort of a man the dead Count Pulaski had been.—"He was a young and noble gentleman, a very daring horseman, and feared nothing in the world. For how could he have known fear, since he tried to leap over the abatis with us during the storming of the works at Savannah under the Comte d'Estaing to attack it in the rear. He certainly would have succeeded in crossing over with us had he not been mortally wounded in front of the abatis, of which wound he died."—What a splendid eulogy for an officer after his death from the mouth of one of his subordinates! What esteem does this count not merit in the eyes of every officer? It is a pity that this great man and courageous soldier had sullied his reputation in the history of his country through the conspiracy against his king.

The 19th. We have surrounded Hudson's house on James Island with a breastwork twelve feet thick. Two redoubts have been constructed to the left of it, three hundred paces distant from each other, and connected and surrounded with an abatis of pointed apple and peach trees. The left redoubt is based on the left bank of the Stono River and the right on the old Wappoo Canal. Each redoubt is arranged for two hundred men and two fieldpieces, and thus entrenches the house, which serves as a barracks. The pieces fire *en barbette* and the work is situated in a very good position, since the whole is surrounded by level ground which extends in all directions for a distance of six to eight hundred paces. Under the protection of this post, our provisions fleet and transport vessels will lie in the Stono River when the army marches to Charlestown.

Yesterday the fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot, which rides at anchor near Lighthouse Island, discharged a part of the guns, ammunition, and provisions and awaits a favorable wind to cross the bar and enter the estuary formed by the two rivers, Ashley and Cooper, which constitutes the harbor of Charlestown. Should luck now turn its back on us, and a severe storm come up which would force this fleet to go far out to sea, it could plunge us into a very great disaster and tear the entire undertaking to pieces, since these ships no longer possess their normal balance because of too great a buoyancy and are provided with provisions for only four days. Every sensible man will realize from this how many hardships and risks are taken with each step in this war, and that he whom luck forsakes loses everything in an instant.

Toward evening an armed English brigantine and a row galley crossed the bar and anchored at Five Fathom Hole, whereupon all the enemy vessels which covered the canal between Sullivan's Island and Fort Johnson withdrew closer to the works of Charlestown.

The 20th. About four o'clock in the afternoon the entire English fleet crossed the bar under the protection of its frigates and anchored at Five Fathom Hole, which ought to give new spirit to the army and discourage the enemy, for Charlestown was now completely cut off by water.

The 21st. Since up to now all our efforts to lay ambuscade have been wasted, and the Commanding General wanted to take a prisoner, I tried to approach the enemy today with a small party to reconnoiter the changing of his patrols. I was lucky enough to find the place where the main party stayed and the smaller ones departed toward our post. Since the ground is sandy and there is no other thoroughfare in this area, I could easily detect hoof prints and distinguish the fresh tracks from the old. I placed a corporal and five jägers in ambuscade in a small thicket near the place where the enemy party which alarmed our post usually turned back. I gave each man a guinea and ordered each one to take a bottle of water and bread and not to stray off until I recalled him. The night was beautiful, with bright moonlight. About midnight a party appeared, which was attacked from the ambuscade after they had fired their pistols toward our sentries, but only one sergeant major with his horse was wounded and captured. We gathered the news from him that General Lincoln had occupied Charlestown with seven thousand men several days ago, that the post at Ashley Ferry was held by a warning detachment, and that one hundred and fifty horse and two hundred men stood at St. Andrew's Church, which were detached from the corps posted at Bacon's Bridge.

PART FOUR

From the march of the army from James Island up to the assault of Charlestown.

The 22d of March. Toward four o'clock in the afternoon the army marched off. The van under General Leslie consisted of the jäger detachment, the 33d Regiment, and the light infantry. We had scarcely arrived in the vicinity of St. Andrew's Church when we were greeted with cannon shots from the opposite bank of St. Andrew's Creek, whereupon the army halted. Now, since it could cost many men to drive away the enemy and capture the bridge, the general asked me whether I would not attempt to cross a little further up the creek, which would force the enemy to leave his post. If not, cannon must be brought up, since nothing could be accomplished here with four amusettes.

Who would say "No" if he thinks of distinguishing himself? I accepted the offer. I was permitted to select fifty jägers, supported by the worthy Captain Boyd,[45] my close friend, with three companies of light infantry. We took a detour through the woods and about seven o'clock in the evening reached and crossed the creek, which was no deeper than three feet. But we found a swamp on the other side, a good half hour wide, which was so muddy and deep that many of our men sank in up to their chests. Meanwhile, Fortuna and Bellona did not let us sink. The enemy, who could have destroyed us here because we were dispersed and every man was compelled to work his way through the swamp, abandoned his post to us. We had only a small skirmish with his rear guard and two wounded. We quickly took post in the churchyard and began work on the bridge at once.

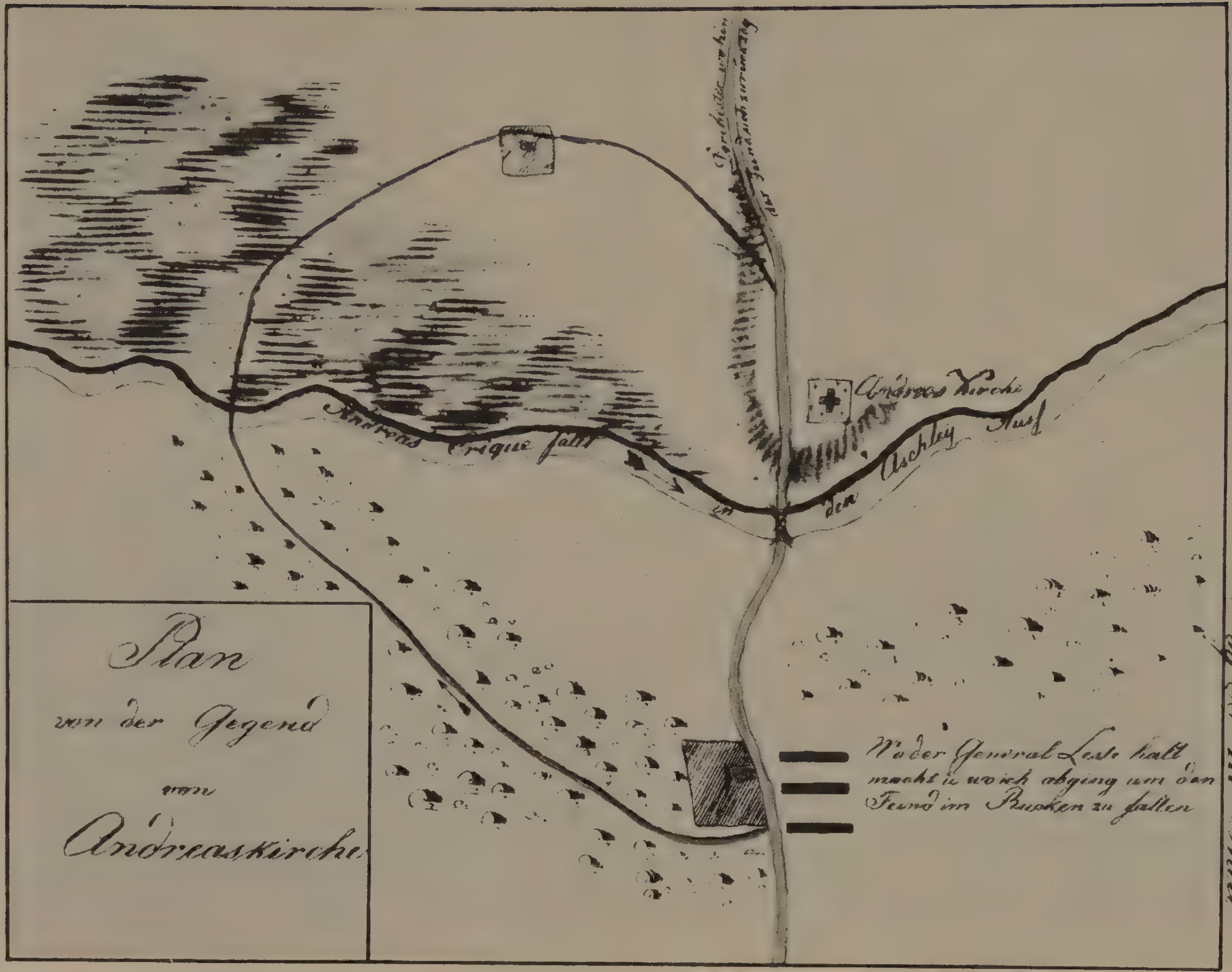
On the 23d, about eight o'clock, Captain Boyd and I received orders to try to get to Drayton's house.[46] The country in this area is mostly cut through with woods and fences, but without cavalry this undertaking still remained uncertain, because we constantly had to risk being attacked by a superior detachment of cavalry, infantry, and guns and quite possibly falling into an ambuscade.

We had not marched a half an hour when we encountered an enemy detachment of cavalry, but since we vigorously attacked and pressed them with rifle shots they remained in the distance only to observe us.

PLAN OF THE AREA OF ANDREW'S CHURCH

The inscription to the right below Church Creek reads: "Where General Leslie halted and where I departed to fall on the enemy's rear." Along upper road: "To Dorchester, where the enemy retreated." St. Andrew's Parish Church was founded in 1706.

Pag. 88 III Theil


Plan von der Gegend von Andreaskirche

Vorschütte wo hin der Feind sich zurückzog
Andreas Kirche
Andreas Crique fallt in
den Aschley Fluß
Wo der General Leslie halt macht u. wich abging um den Feind im Rücken zu fallen

Toward noon we reached the zoological garden of Drayton's plantation, where we took post and were now out of danger.

We requested Mrs. Vice Governor Drayton[47] to refresh our hungry souls with bread and wine, which she gladly did, and in return for which she received a *sauvegarde.*[48] After the anxiety we had experienced, we enjoyed this good meal. In the afternoon General Leslie arrived with the van and took up his quarters at Drayton's plantation. The jägers and the 33d Regiment, under Colonel Webster, took their post in a thicket opposite the zoological garden on the road to Dorchester, and the army advanced to St. Andrew's Church.

On the 24th at daybreak General Leslie and five hundred men of the light infantry arrived at the jäger post on the highway to Dorchester. He ordered us to shoulder arms and advance to Middleton's plantation to reconnoiter the area and the banks of the Ashley River, and to collect Negroes, forage, and cattle. We received positive information that General Lincoln occupied Charlestown with seven thousand men,[49] and that Colonels Washington[50] and Vernier with six hundred horse and a part of the light infantry stood at Dorchester and occupied the pass to Bacon's Bridge.

The 25th. At daybreak the outpost under Captain Hinrichs on the highway to Dorchester was alarmed by an enemy party. He sent several men through the wood lying before him on the right to fire a few shots in the flank of the enemy. A noncommissioned officer of the enemy party, who ventured ahead beyond all daring, was shot in the belly and captured. I asked him why he had behaved so rashly.—"Sir, Colonel Washington promised me that I would become an officer right away, if I could discover whether the jägers were supported by infantry and had cannon with them, because if not, he would try to harass the jägers."

He begged me to ask the surgeon whether his wound was mortal, and when he heard that it was he quietly lay down like a brave man, clasping his hands, saying: "Well, then, I die for my country and for its just cause."

Captain Hinrichs handed him a glass of wine. He drank it down with relish, and died like a man.[51]

The 26th. About ten o'clock in the morning General Leslie paid me the honor of asking if I wanted to go with a party to Rantowle's Creek, since the corps under General Paterson had arrived there and would join the army in the morning. The way amounted to something over two good hours; the Commanding General and Lord Cornwallis would ride there, and he would take along three companies of light infantry for escort. About one o'clock we arrived at General Paterson's, where we found that all the cavalry was mounted, and that this corps had brought along many Negroes, horses, and cattle which it had collected in the countryside. My good friends told me they had made a very troublesome march, that they had been compelled to cross more than ten rivers, each crossing having been disputed by the militia of the state, and that they had suffered a loss of two officers and perhaps one hundred men.[52]

Since the light infantry remained behind, General Leslie assigned a dragoon horse to me, and I took the way back with the general officers. The road from our camp to the position where the Paterson Corps was situated ran continuously through woods in which four highways fell in, all coming from Dorchester. When I noticed this, I took the liberty of telling the generals that this presented an excellent opportunity for Colonel Washington, or Monsieur Vernier, to seize all the generals, for he needed only to put twenty or thirty horsemen in ambuscade along this communication line. Lord Cornwallis joked and said: "Let us ride on. Ewald almost frightens me. It was indeed wrong that we did not take the light infantry back with us."

Meanwhile, we reached the headquarters about five o'clock in the afternoon, where I was ordered to stay for dinner. The meal was not yet finished when an officer of the Legion appeared, who announced breathlessly that Colonel Hamilton and Inspector General Schmidt[53] of the hospital had just been seized, and that only his good horse had saved him. Now had happened what could have occurred this morning. A Hessian grenadier battalion immediately marched halfway up the road to keep open the communication between both parties. Now the generals liked my timely idea, and I laughed up my sleeve.[54]

The 28th.[55] Toward afternoon the entire army assembled at Drayton's plantation. The Huyn Brigade had remained at the fortified post on James Island for the protection of the fleet. The corps under General Paterson, which consisted of the 63d Regiment, the Legion, Ferguson's Corps, the South and North Carolina Volunteers, those of York, and the light infantry of the 71st Regiment, occupied Fenwick's Point and reconnoitered with strong patrols to Bacon's Bridge.

The 29th. One hour before daylight the army set out to Drayton's landing place, where several armed ships and a number of flatboats were lying in line along the right bank to transport the troops to the left bank. Captain Elphinstone directed the landing and the Principal Agent, Captain Tonken, commanded the flatboats.

At daybreak the troops boarded the boats in the following order. The river here is a good half hour wide.

1. Two battalions of light infantry, the jäger detachment under Major von Wurmb.	Under General Leslie	Under Lord Cornwallis
2. Four battalions of Hessian grenadiers, two battalions of English grenadiers.	Under General Kospoth	

3.
The English Brigade under Colonel Clarke.

4.
The 33d and the 71st regiment of Scots under Colonel Webster.

5.
A troop of light dragoons of the 17th Regiment and all the field artillery.

About eight o'clock the light infantry and the jägers climbed up the left bank of the Ashley River at Benjamin Fuller's plantation, opposite Drayton's house. The river here forms a full bend, and this plantation was situated on elevated ground. Some distance away several groups of horsemen and a number of riflemen appeared, who honored us with a few rifle shots; without any damage, however. They seemed to be observing rather than hindering us.

The light infantry spread out beyond the plantation in the shape of a crescent, which became larger as the troops increased. The three jäger divisions, under their captains, had to advance to the center and select their positions at both ends of the crescent, and as the crescent expanded they had to try to gain ground. I took possession of a pleasure grove to the left of the crescent, on this side of a bushy ravine. On the other side lay a very imposing plantation, behind which at a distance of three to four hundred paces the enemy cavalry and infantry appeared, which had divided into three groups just like the jägers.

I greatly desired to obtain information about the enemy. Since I could not discover anyone in the countryside, I risked several jäger volunteers, who crawled under cover to the plantation to see if one of the inhabitants could be found or caught there. But they returned with the report that infantry and cavalry were on the other side, where they could not be observed from here, and that they could not get into the house without being captured.

I then took twenty men and went cautiously through the ravine with four men deployed one after the other; as soon as they were through, I let four more men go, and gradually all twenty men. I reached the opposite height safely, and had a dozen shots fired into the windows and doors of the dwelling. The occupant of the house appeared at once. I beckoned to him with my hat, but he went back into the house. I immediately ordered several more shots fired at the house, whereupon he appeared with his better half and approached me. But since I did not consider myself safe here, I ordered the good man, whose neatly dressed spouse clung firmly to his arm and would not leave, to go back with me through the very muddy ravine. Both good people trembled like an aspen leaf. I spoke kindly to them, assuring them that no harm would come to them if they would tell me the truth of what I wanted to know, and what they themselves knew.

The man then admitted to me that this corps, which observed us from all directions, was under Washington and Vernier; that the garrison in Charlestown was seven thousand men strong, and that he himself had a son in the city serving as major (his name was Horry).[56] He also said that the garrison would defend itself to the utmost, that it was provided with good French engineers, guns, ammunition, and sufficient provisions, and that they had placed their entire hope on the works on Sullivan's Island. The fort was mounted with forty-two heavy guns which would defend the entire channel in the vicinity if the fleet should try to pass it to bombard the city from the water side. They considered such an undertaking to be impossible, and said that the city had communication with the mainland as long as Sullivan's Island remained in their hands.

Hereupon I had a mind to send this good man to Lord Cornwallis, but since his spouse begged me with tears in her eyes not to do so, I let it go and made a verbal report of his statement personally.

I then asked him why he had given his son into the services of the rebels and not into the service of the King.

> "For the entire war we have been kept under the mandate of the Congress, and not the slightest help appeared from the King's party, on which the loyal subjects—whose number was not small—could have depended. Last summer the very weak army under the English General Prevost appeared, which did nothing more than plunder friend and foe. While we were scarcely overjoyed to see ourselves protected by them against the demands of the Congress, General Prevost had to retreat again in the greatest haste, because of the superior army of General Lincoln.
>
> "At that time my son was not in the military service. But as soon as the English had left our area, I was given the choice of giving up my son to the service of his country or leaving everything that I possess.
>
> "Look, sir, at my house. As far as you can see around you in this direction is my own property. I possess this excellent wife, whom you see here before you, and have five more children in the house. Can you still blame my action?"[57]

I shrugged my shoulders, assented to all this in my heart, appreciated the sincerity of this man, and permitted him to return quietly to his home. He offered us breakfast, which offer I accepted with thanks, since we were all hungry and very thirsty because of the extraordinary heat of the sun. At once a basket with Madeira wine and bread was served, which I consumed with my regular gang. The Negro had hardly returned with his basket when a number of riflemen appeared, with whom we skirmished until nearly afternoon, during which two jägers were wounded. It seemed as if these gentlemen had agreed with our host to let us breakfast first in peace.

About five o'clock in the afternoon the troops and the fieldpieces had crossed the river and the army set out at once toward Charlestown. During the march the jägers skirmished constantly with a party which observed us and withdrew toward Charlestown as we advanced. The queue of the army was also accompanied by an enemy detachment, so that we now marched between two fires. About nine o'clock in the evening the army moved into camp near the Quarter House,[58] six English miles from Charlestown. Since the right flank was protected by the Ashley River, the army formed a front facing three sides. The entire army, with the troops General Paterson had assembled at Savannah, may well now consist of ten thousand men. This piece of land which we now occupy lies between the Cooper and Ashley rivers and is called the Charlestown Neck. At the Quarter House it is well over a good hour wide, but in front of the city the width is scarcely a half an hour.[59] Hence this terrain was easy to occupy, since we were protected on both sides by navigable rivers. But on the left side, that is, the front facing the city on the side of the Cooper River, we were not secure against a landing, since the enemy was still master of this side through his fleet.

The 30th. During the night two light 12-pounders and two 6-pounders along with the light baggage were brought ashore at Ashley Ferry and transported to the army. At daybreak the army set out in the following formation:

1. The jägers.
2. The light infantry.
3. The troop of dragoons.
4. The English grenadiers.
5. The two 12-pounders and two 6-pounders.
6. The Clarke Brigade.
7. The 33d and 71st regiments, under Colonel Webster, which formed the rear guard.

The army marched along the highway. Toward noon the vanguard encountered an enemy party of about one thousand men at the Governor's House, a good German mile from Charlestown.

The jägers meddled at once with the enemy party and were supported by the light infantry. During the skirmishing the general officers reconnoitered from the upper part of the house. The jägers were ordered to attack slowly, since the generals were afraid of an ambuscade in this area, which was intersected by deep ditches and short bushes. Meanwhile, the enemy was forced back from one ditch to another up to an advanced flèche which lay almost under the cannon range of the fortifications, where severe firing occurred. Captain Bodungen, who led the vanguard, went around the flèche, whereupon it was abandoned by the enemy. But we had hardly mastered it, and had scarcely reformed a little, when we were attacked again with considerable violence and driven back, whereby three jägers were stabbed with bayonets. The light infantry came hurrying to our support, and the enemy was driven back beyond the flèche for a second time. At that moment the Commanding General appeared and ordered us not to advance one step further, since it was presumed that the enemy merely intended to provoke us by his maneuver and lure us under the fortifications into a violent cannonade.

The enemy, perceiving that his maneuver was not successful, attacked the jägers and light infantry once more with a complete brigade supported by six guns. At this time the English artillery arrived and opened fire on the enemy, who withdrew to the city but was not pursued beyond the flèche. The jägers were relieved by the light infantry. The Commanding General had the jägers assembled and personally extended his warmest thanks to them, while everyone in the army, under whose eyes the action had occurred, expressed thanks and delight to us. We had nine killed, five missing, and eleven wounded, and the light infantry probably had lost just as many. We counted over thirty dead of the enemy, among whom was a staff officer. The jäger detachment was assigned its post at Gibbes's plantation, and the entire army moved into camp at a distance of a good quarter hour behind the plantation. Colonel Webster and his brigade covered the rear.

After the fight I was ordered on duty and the Engineer Major Moncrief was placed over my division. This worthy man, who was my good friend, could tell me nothing more than that I knew better than he how to help myself.—I had seen the city, and he knew nothing else. It was an extraordinarily dark and silent night. I could hear the barking of dogs, the calls of "Who's there?" on the ramparts of the city, and the mournful voices of the wounded who had remained on the field, crying for help. They surely were from the enemy, and I felt sorry that I could not help them.

I could see that I was standing in a garden, and searched for the post of the light infantry, which I finally found, and covered myself as well as I could with sentries. After I had rummaged through the area on my hands and knees for an hour, I luckily found an old Negro. The jägers had heard his cough, which the poor fellow probably could no longer hold back. He told me that the marshy Black's Creek, which fell into the Ashley River, lay in front of me a thousand paces away. While crawling around I had fallen more than once into the water and swamp over my knees, but how could I have guessed that this wet area was not passable? Meanwhile, I remained under arms without a fire and relieved my sentries often to keep them awake. In the middle of this unpleasant night I remembered that this day had been my birthday,[60] which I had thought of celebrating fully since I had kept all of my bones intact.

The 31st. To my pleasure, daylight dispelled the dark night and I discovered with delight that I had spent the night in a very lovely and well-laid-out pleasure garden. I sent a jäger into the very beautifully built dwelling to see if a chair was still to be found in the house.[61] He reported that the entire house was still furnished. Then I inspected my post and found I could relieve all the sentries except one, since an impenetrable swamp and the creek protected me up to the post of the light infantry. On my return I found a few beautiful tables of mahogany and several dozen chairs, on which my jägers rested their weary bones. One of them had even hung up a large mirror on a tree, a novelty which amused everyone so much that all hardship was forgotten.

About ten o'clock the Commander in Chief and Lord Cornwallis arrived with a number of pioneers. A farm building on the plantation was torn down at once to construct a footbridge across the swamp and creek, which was erected within a short time. General Clinton ordered me to cross over with thirty men, and to try and get as far forward as possible so that he would be able to observe the works of the fortifications.

I sneaked from ditch to ditch and got as far as under the guns, where, as soon as they caught sight of me from the outer works, they honored me with several cannon shots. A small number of sharpshooters sneaked out of the works toward me, with whom I skirmished, but since one of them was shot dead the others withdrew.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the general gave me the prearranged signal to withdraw with a white handkerchief. I whistled back to my men to retire (for on such occasions no horn is blown, but one whistles) and arrived at my post in the evening. I ordered the bridge toward the enemy removed and was relieved by Captain Hinrichs and his division. A patrol of the light infantry had discovered the five missing jägers, who had all been killed with bayonets. One of them had had his eyes cut out, which showed that the enemy was very angry and must have lost many men.

CHAPTER 2

From the siege of Charlestown up to the arrival at New York Island.

PART ONE

From the siege of Charlestown.

Month of April, the 1st. Since yesterday we have been occupied with transporting heavy pieces, munitions, entrenching tools, gabions, fascines of different lengths, and provisions from Linning's Creek over the Ashley River to Gibbes's Ferry. Gibbes's plantation has been designated as the park and depot for the siege, and the greenhouse as the laboratory. For lack of horses, the sailors and Negroes were used to drag these things to their places.

The English Engineer Moncrief, who will conduct the siege, had all the wooden buildings in the vicinity torn down, from which he had a kind of mantelet made; these are six feet high, twelve to sixteen feet long, and have three legs to stand firmly on the ground. It took eighteen men to carry away each one.[1] Last night Major Moncrief reconnoitered the depth of the ditches of the fortifications, where six jägers armed only with hunting swords served as his escort.

The 2d. At sunset five hundred workers moved out under the protection of Colonel Abercromby with five hundred light infantry and Colonel Webster with just as many men as a reserve. The *place d'armes* is in a wood along the highway, where it intersects the road coming from Gibbes's Ferry. The troops marched to the places designated by the engineer and opened the trenches without being hindered by the enemy. This work consisted of three redoubts which were situated about six hundred paces from each other. They were connected by a ditch that served as the first parallel, which the besieged had neglected to fill up.

Today a deserter came in from the city, who informed us that the enemy had had forty killed and just as many wounded during the last fight with the jägers before the city. Among the dead were one captain and four officers.

The 3d. The jägers established their camp in three divisions alongside

PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTOWN IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Ewald's plan shows the Charleston Neck, the city, and the British fleet in the harbor. The three jäger divisions are deployed on Gibbes's ("Gibbons") plantation, with Ewald's division next to Gibbes's house and garden. Behind these positions, the British army is encamped at various locations, including Williams's house, which was Clinton's headquarters. The three siege parallels are shown in front of the city.

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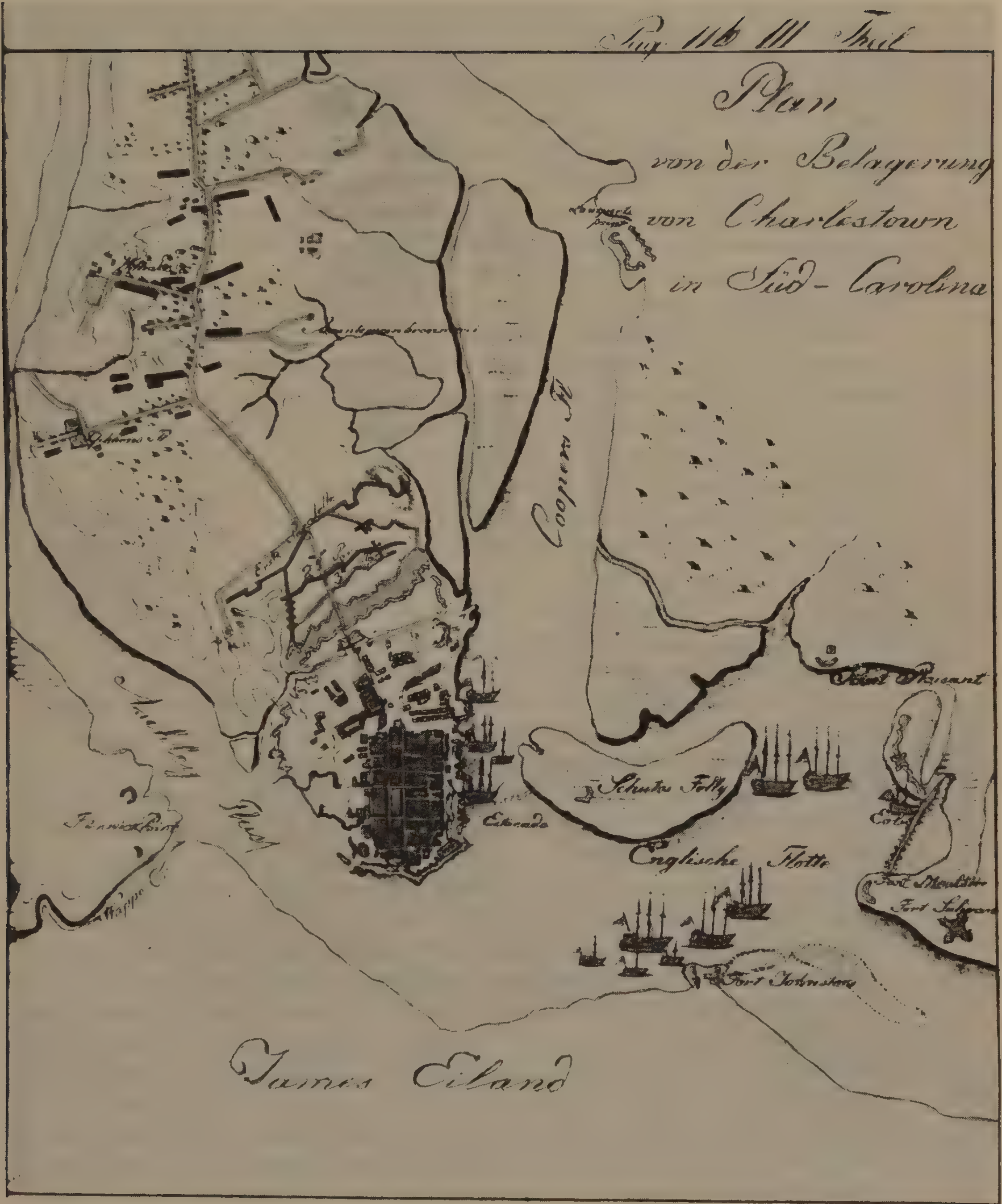


Plan von der Belagerung von Charlestown in Süd-Carolina

Cooper Fl.
Ashley Fl.
Fenwick Point
Wappo Cr.
Estacade
Schutz Folly
Mount Pleasant
Englische Flotte
Fort Moultrie
Fort Sullivan
Fort Johnstone
James Eiland

each other in front of the army and enjoyed their rest. Toward evening an even larger number of workers and guards moved out to improve the works. During this time the besieged fired single shots at the workers and threw thirty 6-inch shells, killing four English grenadiers.

The 4th. Last night we began to work on two crescent-shaped redoubts. One was raised on the right near the bank of the Ashley River, and the other on the left close to the Cooper River. Each one was advanced two hundred paces so that the wings of the besieger are now completely covered, since we have discovered that the two swamps to the right and left of the first three redoubts can be crossed easily, and the water can be drained off.

Since we expected an enemy sortie against the two redoubts, Major Wurmb and one hundred jägers reinforced the guard of the new work on the right, and I with just as many jägers the one on the left. The besieged had fired several shots and a few shells since last night, but at daybreak they directed their entire fire on the two advanced works, killing three soldiers of the 33d Regiment and severely wounding three together with two Hessian grenadiers.

About ten o'clock in the morning the two frigates *Boston* and *Providence,* both 32 guns, which were anchored in the Cooper River during the night, set sail and got in a position such that they could fire on the flank and rear of the work in which I was posted. For over an hour we had to endure heavy cannon fire. These vessels surely would have succeeded in destroying the work if the diligent and indefatigable Moncrief had not brought up two 12-pounders and a howitzer to a promontory on Cooper River, whose first shots damaged the *Boston,* whereupon the frigates fired several more sharp salvos and withdrew to their station. Toward evening an enemy brigantine whose deck was crowded with people of both sexes attempted the same pastime. It fired twenty-three shots at us and sailed back. As soon as night fell the jägers departed.

The 5th. Last night the works were improved and a communication trench was constructed connecting the two wing redoubts with the others. The fire of the besieged was violent during the night and continued the whole day, wounding two officers and four English grenadiers. Toward evening, during the relief of the trench guard, the enemy redoubled his fire. About this time the battery near the distillery, with which Moncrief had repelled the vessels the day before, began to play at random to prevent either of the frigates from lying on the flank of the works.

Toward nine o'clock in the evening, the Commander in Chief ordered the batteries on Fenwick's and Linning's points to play upon the city, which quieted the enemy fire somewhat. A terrible clamor arose among the inhabitants of the city, since the firing came entirely unexpectedly. During this time I had approached quite close to the city to discover the effect of these batteries, and in the short intervals between the shooting I could often hear the loud wailing of female voices, which took all the pleasure out of my curiosity and moved me to tears.

The 6th. Last night work was begun on a battery of nine 24-pounders in the first parallel, between redoubts Numbers 1 and 2, which is to be manned by sailors. After their fright of yesterday, the besieged kept very quiet until four o'clock today, although we had worked all day on the platforms in the batteries and redoubts. The left-wing redoubt is designed for seven heavy guns.

Today the energetic Captain Elphinstone hauled a large boat on rollers overland from the Ashley River into the Cooper River. It is being armed with two 6-pounders to intercept the boats of the besieged, which are still passing unhindered from the city across the Cooper River to the mainland, or at least to make this crossing unsafe. The British Legion crossed the Ashley River today and joined the Webster Corps, which covered the rear of the besieger.

I had to advance with my division up to the sandhills near the Ashley River. I set up my hut in an old, dilapidated Indian fort which lay on the highest hill; the ruins of its breastwork consisted of oyster shells. About six paces behind my hut two officers were buried, one of whom had died of his wounds during the siege.—Here I could daily sing, "Memento mori!"[2]

Toward evening the besieged began to fire violently, which lasted until around midnight. During this time two men were killed and two wounded.

Since buildings were lacking, the hospital for the wounded and sick had been established in large tents a thousand paces behind my hut. The heat and the vermin increased extraordinarily, and these poor people had to experience this double discomfort.

The 7th. As soon as night fell, we began moving the heavy pieces to the left-wing redoubt. But since the swamp lying between the highway and the redoubt was not covered sufficiently with heavy boards, everything except for one 24-pounder mired in the swamp, and we had great difficulty in moving even this one piece to its position. All the pieces and ammunition, and practically everything required for the siege, must be brought from the landing place up to the destination points by the sailors and Negroes, all of which takes up considerable time.

The fire of the besieged was violent throughout the whole night, which was answered by our batteries on Fenwick's Point, whereby four men lost their lives. Toward midnight a deserter arrived from the city, who brought the news that the besieged would make a strong sortie before daylight. The entire light infantry and a part of the English grenadiers immediately reinforced the trench guard, but the enemy did not appear.

The 8th. In the afternoon, about one o'clock, eleven American schooners and sloops loaded with troops sailed down the Cooper River to the city right before our eyes. They are said to be reinforcements, under General Woodford,[3] from the Washington or Northern army.

As soon as the reinforcements had arrived in the city, the besieged shouted for joy three times from their works, which mingled with an hourly pealing of bells and a continuous cannon and mortar fire at our parallels and redoubts, during which our batteries on Fenwick's Point were completely silenced.

To our relief, the worthy English Captain Collins and his eighty-three artillerymen arrived today. His vessel had foundered, but he and his men had been saved by an English privateer at the very moment when his ship was at the point of sinking.

The besieged continued their fire the whole night. On our side, we had finally brought six 24-pounders to the left redoubt, making the noise which probably had attracted the heavy fire from the city. For all the sailors were drunk and dragged the guns amid a constant shouting of "Hurrah!", no matter how often they were asked not to cheer. But since everything was carried out with the greatest orderliness, the cheering merely demonstrated the boisterous and stouthearted character of the English sailor.

The 9th. The besieged kept up their fire throughout the past night. Thus far, one English officer and one man have been killed and five men wounded.

In the afternoon[4] Admiral Arbuthnot passed the channel with the fleet, under the most violent gunfire from Fort Moultrie. It was the most majestic and beautiful spectacle that one can imagine. The fort was veiled in fire and smoke, and the roar of forty-three heavy guns resembled a terrible thunderstorm. Despite all dangers threatening the fleet, it sailed quite slowly past the fort with colors flying proudly, one ship behind the other, without firing a shot. As soon as it had passed the enemy fort, each ship made a sudden turn, fired a broadside, and sailed to its designated anchoring place. The admiral guided the fleet in a small boat with a plummet in his hand.[5] On only one ship, the *Roebuck,* which led the column, was the main mast damaged, and the entire fleet had only some forty dead and wounded.

Friend and foe admired the conduct of these courageous seamen, and everyone must realize by it that only an English fleet can execute such a masterpiece. It appeared, too, as if the heavens wished to enhance their brilliant performance, for it was the most beautiful weather in the world, with hardly any wind; the maneuver was carried out only with the aid of the flood tide. A single vessel laden with powder,[6] which had kept a little too far away from the fort because of its very dangerous cargo, sailed hard on a sandbank. Since it lay under the guns of the fort, and its cargo could have been recovered at night by the enemy, the admiral dispatched an armed boat with an officer and twenty sailors, who set the vessel on fire under the most frightful firing from the fort, but the boat returned to the fleet without losing a man. The fleet had anchored between the water batteries of the city and the fort on Sullivan's Island. The distance from the city to the fort by water was reckoned at seven miles or one German mile. The fleet later separated and lay partly in Servan Bay and partly in Spencer's Inlet.[7]

From this time on the besieged were remarkably quiet, and I do not believe they fired more than twenty shots and threw over ten shells. They had considered this undertaking by the English fleet to be impossible in the face of their fort, because of the narrow winding channel whose deep water runs between sandbanks. The distance from the muzzles of the cannon was less than six hundred paces, and the pieces consisted of 24-, 32-, and 42-pounders. The English fleet consisted of fourteen sail.

During this time the besieged were busy transporting cattle and all kinds of chattel from the city to the other shore. Moreover, many families are leaving the city out of fear of famine. All this could have been prevented by some one thousand more men, with whom the surrender of the fortifications surely would have been hastened. On our side, we are occupied with mounting the batteries, and have transported another boat by land to the Cooper River; both of them were armed and ready for service.

The 10th. During the past night we erected a battery of six 12-pounders between redoubts Numbers 4 and 5, three hundred paces in front of the first parallel. As we expected an enemy attack on this outlying battery, I was ordered to occupy this unfinished work with forty jägers and fifty grenadiers one hour before daybreak.

When day broke I was bombarded extraordinarily hard, during which one jäger and five grenadiers were killed and four wounded. The besieged fired nearly three hundred cannon shots and threw forty-one shells at this work alone, so that pieces of the breastwork flew up in the air.

Toward evening General Clinton summoned the fortifications, whereupon General Lincoln answered, "Duty and orders from the Congress direct me to defend myself to the utmost."[8] This reply was accompanied by a violent bombardment. Today we brought the third armed boat overland and launched it in the Cooper River.

The 11th. During the night we worked on all the batteries. A zigzag trench had been dug from the first parallel as far as the advanced battery mentioned above. In addition, two heavy mortars and four howitzers were brought to the right of the parallel. The besieged delivered an intense fire during this activity, but in the daytime the enemy did not fire over fifty cannon shots and threw only sixteen shells. This fire was answered by the battery on Fenwick's Point.

Last night the three armed boats ran out for the first time to board an American polacre[9] lying at anchor in the Cooper River not far from the city, which had a number of prisoners, especially royalist subjects, who were held in custody. Under cover of the very dark night, the boats had approached within musket range of the vessel, when they were suddenly challenged by the watch on deck, who threatened to shoot them out of the water if they did not quickly answer where they hailed from.—"We come from the city and want to go to the other shore."—During this reply the English boats drew near the ship to discover if it was strongly manned. But they found the deck was full of people and rowed back. As soon as the Americans saw this, they shouted to them that one boat should come alongside the ship at once, and the other two should lay to. They should also declare what they had on board or they would be sent to the bottom. The malicious sailors, who now saw their game was spoiled by the vigilance of the crew of the ship, replied, "Our cargo consists of sabers and pistols!" Then they began to laugh loudly and clapped their hands, whereupon they were accompanied by grapeshot from the ship's pieces and by small-arms fire.

The 12th. Last night several hundred paces of approaches were prepared between the redoubt on the right and the sailors' battery. The engineer laid out a demiparallel from the advanced battery up to an inundated area which the enemy had on the right in front of his outer works, during which the besieged did their utmost to disturb this work. Toward five o'clock in the afternoon, an English frigate and two schooners passed the works on Sullivan's Island despite the heaviest gunfire, and joined the fleet without firing a shot.

The 13th. Since our batteries are now mounted with twenty-two 24-pounders, a number of 12-pounders, two large mortars, and a number of howitzers, we hauled ammunition day and night to the small magazines in the trenches. One grenadier was killed and two infantrymen were wounded. We have also begun to work on a second parallel, which extends from the head of the approaches to the advanced battery on the left.

Toward eleven o'clock in the morning our batteries opened. They were served with such good results, especially the sailors' battery, that several pieces of the besieged on the bastion to the left were dismounted by the first thirty shots. We also fired several carcasses from our left, but they fell into the city against the wishes of the Commander in Chief and ignited seven or eight houses, which created a deplorable sight, since it served no purpose. The firing remained intense on both sides the whole day, and three sailors and two artillerymen were killed, with six men of the infantry either killed or wounded.

The 14th. Last night our batteries were louder than those of the besieged. One hour before daylight I was ordered to occupy the heads of the new work with sixty jägers. Since the besieged diligently pounded us with gunfire and shells, I noticed the jägers were not cheerful and that time hung heavy on their hands. Hence I tried firing rifle shots with one and a half loads at a communication consisting of palisades which connected a detached work on the right with the fortifications. I observed with astonishment the effect of the rifle shots, for I was certainly five hundred paces away, whereupon I decided to shoot at the embrasures, as it seemed the powder was not wasted, especially since rifle bullets were not yet expected. At sunset the Commander in Chief came into the trenches and took the firing in very good part, since the men asserted the fire of the besieged on this side had become somewhat weaker, which I could not confirm. However, faith alone makes happy!

During all sieges the besieger attempts to dismantle the batteries of the enemy and become master of the besieged by his fire. He can easily do this, since he can mount more pieces against the besieged front of the fortifications than the besieged can place opposite him. But unless we have placed our entire reliance upon an assault here, I cannot comprehend how we intend to manage. As we are mounting about thirty pieces against some ninety which fire at us from all directions, and moreover, since the enemy works form a full crescent, they will flank us in the end if we continue to work along the same lines as we have begun.

In order to point out the thoughtlessness and levity of these otherwise so excellent soldiers, I shall record here word for word a conversation about the siege which I had early today, the 15th, with my good friend Moncrief. We were firing only a few shots from each piece at one-hour intervals, during which we were exposed to the most frightful fire of the besieged.

Question: “Why do we fire so little, since we shall prolong the siege by our procedure?”

Answer: “That cannot be helped. We must be sparing with ammunition, for we have lost one third at sea. We do not know when the fleet will arrive which will bring us the necessary supplies. In addition, the honest man who received the order to draft the plan for the siege has erred very much.”[10]

Question: “But won’t we mount more pieces and put more of them in the second parallel?”

Answer: “What good does all the cannon fire do? This is nothing compared to your rifle fire, and with small-arms fire will I take the city."

Question: "Why haven't you established a communication line from the depot to the first parallel, so that the generals can walk more safely into the trenches? They must now walk a stretch of three to four hundred paces across open country to get there."

Answer: "The rebels do not deserve this."

These are the principles of the man who conducts the siege, and I well believe that he will reach his objective, provided no human life shall be spared. But I surely believe that for all his courage and tireless zeal he would come off badly against any other army in Europe, and that he would not capture a dovecot in a European war. For the excellent men of the English army are as poor besiegers as they are brave soldiers in the field. They have demonstrated this during the Seven Years' War, at the siege of Havana, and at several others, where only good luck and their courage helped them capture the fortresses. That of Havana cost eight to eleven thousand men.[11]

The 16th. We advanced very well with the approaches, and the fire of the besieged was very severe. Today Captain Bodungen occupied the head of the advanced work and exchanged fire the whole day with the sharpshooters of the besieged, who were protected by a counterapproach which the besieged had constructed from their right up against the advanced trench. Since we have now advanced up to rifle range, the enemy fired mostly grapeshot today. This was answered by twelve coehorns (hand mortars) which we had placed at the head of the approaches to the right and left, which fired most effectively. One man of the light troops and four of the infantry were killed today.

In the afternoon the so-called Admiral's Battery of six 24-pounders was opened, which Admiral Arbuthnot had erected close to the mouth of the Wappoo Canal on James Island opposite the city. It appears as if this battery is more effective than all the others along the mouth of the Ashley River.

The 17th. We extended the approaches considerably, and during the night we constructed a demiparallel on each side. During this activity the besieged fired continuously with grapeshot and musketry, through which five Hessian grenadiers and three Englishmen were killed and fourteen wounded. Today I occupied this unfinished work with sixty jägers. Since we had not constructed traverses in the *boyau*,[12] and were now working into the crescent which forms the fortifications, this work was enfiladed in such a way that the balls passed through the entire length of the communication trench and the *boyau*.

The fire of the besieged was extraordinary: they fired scrap iron and broken glass. Although this fire is not very dangerous, and the fragments usually fly up in the air, my men lost their composure and thought of nothing else but to conceal themselves, despite the fact that they could not hide. Since I was tired of the firing, which had cost the legs of nine men, I sent for entrenching tools and constructed five traverses within one hour, which protected us and spared many people.

The 18th. During the night we improved the incomplete work, while the besieged kept up a constant grapeshot and small-arms fire. Captain Hinrichs occupied the outermost work. One light infantryman was killed, two wounded, and ten men of the artillery and infantry were either killed or wounded. The jägers were kept extremely warm.

The 19th. Last night we were busy completing the communication of the second parallel, which was not yet connected because of a swamp. This was accomplished by erecting trestles upon which we placed baskets filled with sand. During this work two Hessian and two English grenadiers were wounded. We mounted several more hand mortars in the second parallel and in the *boyau,* which rendered good service to the jägers under Captain Bodungen, who was in the trenches today.

In the afternoon we received the good news that a fleet of twenty-four sail had arrived in Stono Inlet from New York with the following troops on board:

1. The 42d Regiment, called the Royal Scots.
2. The Hessian Regiment von Dittfurth.
3. The Queen's Rangers.
4. The Volunteers of Ireland.
5. The Browne Corps.[13]

These troops amounted to fully 3,600 men.[14]

Just at this time, a chief of the Lower Creek Indians arrived at headquarters, who had been sent out by several Indian tribes to observe the English army before Charlestown and to find out if it was in such a condition that it was worth the trouble for these nations to venture further into an alliance with the English, since the American envoys had given them the assurance that the English army consisted of only two hundred men, who would soon be caught. His companion was a seventy-eight-year-old Scotsman named McIntosh,[15] who had commanded the left wing of the Pretender at Culloden. Since that time he had left his native land and spent his life on the frontier of these savages. This worthy old man, who still possessed the vigor of youth, was one of the greatest foes of the Americans, and was glad to be still useful to his fatherland in his old age. I gazed at this man with astonishment—the fires of youth still blazed in his eyes.

The Indian chieftain was known under the name of "Ravening Wolf" as a great warrior who had never lived in peace with neighboring nations. He was copper-colored and of average size. His eyes sparkled like fire, and his costume was the following.

He wore a shirt of coarse linen and over this a blue coat with red lapels and collar, but had neither breeches nor stockings. His feet were clad in sandals. His head was shaved except for the crown and pendants of silver pistols and swords hung from his ears. His face was daubed with red paint in several places, and in his nose he wore a double silver ring. With great skill, he had wound around his head a silk scarf, which was fastened with silver clasps. On his chest he wore a ring-shaped silver collar and around both arms silver shields fastened with red ribbons, which were gifts from England and on which the monogram "George Rex" was engraved.

The same evening he was introduced to the trench guard, and he was led as close to the fortifications as was safe for him to watch the firing of the besieged without danger. The thunder of the guns frightened him very much, and his friend McIntosh had to urge him strongly to walk forward, but he liked the flying shells. He observed with astonishment the long beards of the grenadiers and was allowed to touch them, for he believed that these beards were put on merely for ornament.

The 20th. Today I occupied the new work with the usual number of jägers. We were lucky enough to fire several well-placed rifle shots into the embrasures which flanked us on the right, so that this part of the enemy guns was very badly served the whole day. Our batteries fired so effectively all day, and the shells were so well played from our side, that two powder magazines in the enemy works blew up. One jäger was killed.

The 21st. During the night we advanced a little further from the center, where we erected a battery of four 6-pounders to demolish the gate and barrier of the forward ditch on the highway. The firing from both sides was violent, and the besieged threw any stuff which could be loaded from their mortars and injured our men.

In the afternoon the besieged beat a parley, but since they demanded free withdrawal, which was not accorded them, the negotiations were broken off at nine o'clock in the evening, and a severe cannonade from both sides followed afterward.[16]

The 22d. We pushed a parallel forward from all three approaches. Captain Bodungen occupied it with sixty jägers. Today the enemy riflemen used all their power to silence the fire of the jägers, one of whom was killed.

The 23d. Last night we began to push forward with the double sap from all three heads. We have now approached so close that one could easily throw a stone into the advanced ditch on the other side, which is dressed with pointed trees. I occupied the heads today, and was kept warm with stone missiles and scrap iron. One jäger and two light infantrymen were killed and one officer severely wounded. Four men of the infantry were killed.

The 24th. We improved the sap, during which both sides opened up with the most intense musketry fire. Captain Hinrichs occupied the heads of the work, but his jägers had hardly taken post when the besieged made a sortie on the right. The enemy attack was made with bayonet in hand, without firing a shot. The light infantry abandoned a part of their post and rushed back to the second parallel, whereby the jägers had to pay for the feast. Since it was not yet daylight and they could not shoot, the jägers defended themselves with their hunting swords. Two jägers were bayoneted, four severely wounded, and two, along with eight Englishmen, were captured.

On the whole, I cannot understand why General Lincoln makes hardly any sorties,[17] since he has with him the skillful engineer du Portail,[18] who will surely assist him with good advice, although he is not very experienced in siege warfare.

Last night Lord Cornwallis crossed the Cooper River at the Governor's House with the Volunteers of Ireland and the North and South Carolina provincials by means of our three armed boats to join Webster's corps and take over the command.

The 25th. During the past night we connected the saps with a parallel, which one can call the third, and approached up to the advanced ditch, which lies in front of the main ditch across an esplanade about thirty to forty paces wide. The firing on both sides was violent. Toward midnight the besieged suddenly appeared behind their abatis on the other side of the ditches and opened up severe small-arms fire on the workers. Several French officers shouted, "*Avances, tires!*",[19] which caused such a terrible panic among the workers and their guard that they rushed back into the rear trenches and threw the guard there into disorder. The guard then began firing without considering whether any people were still in the saps or upon what they fired. Toward three o'clock in the morning our men reassembled, and the most severe cannonade continued all night long.

When day broke the besieged had abandoned the abatis, which was now in our hands, including the barrier and the demolished bridge. A cannonade and small-arms fire continued the whole day.

The 26th. During the night we crowned the advanced ditch and erected a breach battery of six pieces right in front of the barrier in order to fire on the so-called Royal Work, which consists of a hornwork. We continued working the whole day under the heaviest cannon and small-arms fire. Today I visited this lodgment, where two jägers, two light infantrymen, and two gunners were killed and one officer and eight grenadiers wounded. Meanwhile, we kept the enemy gunners very warm.

The 27th. We improved the lodgment and raised another battery of two 6-pounders in the *boyau* to the left of the second parallel. Cannon and mortar fire continued on both sides the whole night through. The enemy kept three pitch fires burning in front of their works, since they expected to be taken with sword in hand, which really was the unanimous wish of the besieger, so that the disagreeable task might come to an end. For the dangers and difficult work were the least of the annoyance: the intolerable heat, the lack of good water, and the billions of sandflies and mosquitoes made up the worst nuisance. Moreover, since all our approaches were built in white, sandy soil, one could hardly open his eyes during the south wind because of the thick dust, and could not put a bite of bread into his mouth which was not covered with sand. The few wells we had dug in the trenches for water were mixed with sand and as white as milk. The jägers kept entire sections of guns so warm that often not a shot was fired by the enemy for hours.

The 28th. We extended the line farther in the advanced ditch and worked diligently on the new batteries. We brought two 9-inch mortars and twelve hand mortars into the third parallel, and two 9-inch mortars were placed in the demiparallel between the second and third parallels. They rendered good service, since the pieces in the second and third parallels, except for two 24-pounders in Number 6, could no longer fire without damaging our own works.

The 29th. Last night we advanced from the left head of the sap toward the dam to destroy the lock and let the water out of the canal which protected the front of the enemy's fortifications on the right. Cannon and small-arms fire continued against this work the entire night, during which six English grenadiers were killed and fourteen English and Hessian grenadiers wounded, mostly slightly. I occupied this new sap today, and since it seemed to be very important to the besieged they threw small shells and stones at this approach all day long.

We received the news that the enemy fortifications on Lempriere's Point had been abandoned and that the garrison had withdrawn into the city. Four guns, a great amount of ammunition, and a number of small vessels have fallen into the hands of Lord Cornwallis. Now the besieged are surrounded on all sides.

The 30th. The new approach proceeded with good results in places, and we advanced with the sap so far toward the dam that the water from the flooding started to drain off. Today Captain Hinrichs, with fifty jägers, was in the sap and at the front of the new approach. All kinds of fire from both sides was very severe. Two men were killed and eight wounded.

Month of May. The 1st. We worked diligently on repairing the batteries and cutting through the dam. The cannon and small-arms fire remained constant, and four English and three Hessian grenadiers were killed and just as many wounded. Captain Bodungen was in the trenches today. One jäger and one light infantryman were killed and a jäger had his right arm shot off. Toward evening our mortars played with such good effect that the enemy guns were silent.

The 2d. Through their fire the besieged destroyed the lodgment at the advanced ditch and held up the work opposite the dam so much that little was accomplished. I was on duty today and the fire was as always. One jäger, one artillery corporal, and eight men were wounded. The siege corps had one deserter.

The 3d. Captain Hinrichs was on duty today.

The 4th. The dam was pierced almost completely and the water ran off noticeably. The fire of the besieged was violent, while ours was silent. The besieged had aimed a part of their guns at the highway, and when Captain Bodungen and the jägers entered the trenches, one jäger was killed and seven severely wounded. In all, about twenty men were lost today. Toward evening the gunfire continued for two hours without interruption.

The 5th. In the evening at ten o'clock the cannon and musketry fire of the besieged was so violent and directed with such good effect that the workers could do little. I occupied the advanced approaches today. Last night the besieged started a counterapproach from their bastion on the right opposite the sap to the dam, which greatly hindered our work. I tried to protect the workers as much as possible, but there were at least one hundred sharpshooters in the hole, whose fire was so superior to mine that the jägers no longer dared to fire a shot.

The 6th. Last night we transported guns and ammunition to the batteries. The sap leading to the dam had progressed so far that all the water drained out of the canal, which the enemy could not prevent by his incessant grapeshot and musketry fire.

The 7th. Last night we finally brought the dismantling and breach batteries into the second and third parallels and readied them to open. They were mounted with twenty-three heavy pieces, two howitzers, two 9-inch and one 13-inch mortars, and some twenty hand mortars to demolish the Royal Work and make breaches in it. I cannot understand our work. We excavate the earth toward the entire front, we shoot at the entire front, and nowhere do much damage. I spoke once more with my friend Moncrief.—"The cannon fire is nothing. We only want to frighten the rascals with it. We will capture the rascals with small-arms fire, and if that doesn't work, with the bayonet. You and your jägers shall still force them to surrender, for you certainly must notice that you and your good men stop the enemy gunners more than once—that they can't fire a shot. We captured Pondichéry from the French by the same method."[20]

Thus spoke this man always. It is true I have never met a braver and more energetic man, for what he lacks in scientific knowledge, he makes up by his courage. Where one of those great engineers, a Vauban or a Gribeauval,[21] would survey much at a glance, this man places himself in one spot for hours with all composure, invites a hundred shots fired at his red coat, and does not leave his place until he has seen what he wished to know. If he believes he has erred, he returns at once and undertakes a second promenade of the same kind. During the night he constantly prowls around with one or two men and visits those places he could not approach in the daytime. But what good is all this? His entire excavation work is confused nonsense. I assert once more that this man could hardly serve as an errand-boy for an engineer during a siege in a European war, although he has served as a subengineer during the sieges of Louisburg, Havana, St. Augustine, and several more in the Seven Years' War, where he may have learned this method of work from his superiors.

Admiral Arbuthnot ordered Captain Hudson[22] and three hundred seamen to land on Sullivan's Island and seize the fort with sword in hand. But as soon as the garrison saw that the situation was serious, they beat a parley and surrendered the fort. Forty-three heavy pieces were captured and a major and one hundred and fifty men taken prisoner.[23]

The 8th. Last night the besieged opened two embrasures of two 24-pounders at the bastion on the Ashley River which flanked our third parallel, the sap, and all the batteries, during which the enemy cannon and musketry fire continued without letup. I was on duty today, and just at daybreak one jäger and two Scots were smashed by shells.

At seven o'clock, when all the forward batteries were in good positions, the Commander in Chief ordered the besieged summoned for the second time. The negotiations lasted until nine o'clock in the evening and were broken off. Hereupon the besieged shouted "Hurrah!" three times, while the bells rang and their batteries opened fire, which was answered briskly by our batteries.

From now on, orders were given to use small arms constantly, for which purpose double-barreled guns were distributed at the lodgment, in the trenches, and at the dam. In addition, boxes filled with cartridges were placed along the parapet, so that the firing could be sustained continuously.

The 10th. Last night we advanced the sap up to the canal and built a new lodgment. Captain Bodungen occupied these two lodgments. The fire was murderous, and two officers and ten men were either killed or wounded.

The 11th. Last night we constructed a gallery over the canal, broke through the abatis under the most terrible fire, and built a lodgment about thirty paces from the main fortifications; another one was constructed through the advanced ditch. I was on duty and occupied both, where I was supported by grenadiers and jägers. Cannon and musketry fire were horrible, and, certainly, almost every minute cost the lives of several men. Without noticing it, due to the frightful musketry fire, the besieged were lucky enough to demolish all our dismantling and breach batteries.

Toward eight or nine o'clock in the morning, orders were given to fire on the city with red-hot shot, which set fire to several houses and made the sight still more terrible and melancholy, whereupon the enemy fire weakened somewhat. The Commander in Chief, who pitied the city being reduced to ashes, issued orders about ten o'clock to stop the firing of red-hot shot, and granted the besieged time to reconsider. But since the enemy fire increased with scrap iron and stone missiles, our firing continued until two o'clock in the afternoon.

During this murdering and burning I heard the sound of a drum. Just then I was in the lodgment, which had been built through the advanced ditch. I heard that it was a parley, shouted we should cease firing, and sent jägers in all directions. At that moment, Lieutenant Colonel Writhshebet [Shepheard?] of the light infantry appeared and handed me a letter from General Lincoln, addressed to General Clinton. We both sat down in the lodgment. I sent for wine, and we both comforted our souls after such a difficult business. I made the remark that, "If you knew what I know, you would have had eight days' more time before surrendering." For actually the besieged were now completely superior to us, since none of our dismantling and breach batteries were in a condition to fire a shot. Moncrief merely scratched his head.[24]

After a lapse of two hours the reply arrived, which the American lieutenant colonel took back with him to the fortifications. Within a short time, whole swarms of French and American officers came out of the city, with whom we conversed, on which occasion I became acquainted with their First Engineer, Monsieur du Portail. The negotiations continued until four o'clock on the afternoon of the 12th, whereupon the fortifications were surrendered and the garrison became prisoners of war. The garrison retained its equipage and the officers their swords. One English and one Hessian grenadier company took possession of the Royal Work, and the 7th, 42d, and 63d regiments occupied the interior of the city. The admiral took possession of the ships and the works which protected the harbor.

The besieged together with the citizens who had fought on the walls consisted of seven thousand men, who laid down their arms on the esplanade about six o'clock.[25] The generals in the city were Lincoln, Moultrie, Scott, and Woodford,[26] and among the officers were many French and Prussian, including one officer from the Trier service as a volunteer.

The garrison consisted of handsome young men whose apparel was extremely ragged, and on the whole the people looked greatly starved. We captured four hundred guns, including twenty brass cannon and a number of mortars and howitzers, and large stores of rum, coffee, rice, and indigo. There were still nearly two hundred Frenchmen of the army of Comte d'Estaing in the city, where I made the acquaintance of a French grenadier.

The besieged concealed their losses, but one officer told me that the largest number had been killed by rifle bullets. All the houses were full of wounded, and the number of their dead was estimated at one thousand men. Since I carry around my diary constantly in my portmanteau, and cannot know if it may not one day fall into the hands of the enemy, I have not accurately listed our dead and wounded, but have been especially concerned about the killed and wounded jägers. Meanwhile, I understand that both sides have lost many men. The besiegers estimate their losses at seven hundred men.[27]

The following vessels have been taken, which list was given to me by a good friend from the navy.

1. The frigate *Boston,* 32 guns.
2. The frigate *Providence,* 32 guns.
3. The frigate *Ranger,* 24 guns.
4. A polacre, 18 guns.
5. Five three-masted ships.
6. Seventeen schooners and over one hundred boats of all kinds. Fourteen vessels had been submerged, which formed the barricade in the Cooper River.

Thirteen vessels of various sizes loaded with merchandise, which had withdrawn into the Wando River, fell into the hands of Lord Cornwallis. The row galleys had escaped.[28]

On the 14th the captured officers stirred up a tumult in the city, drew their swords, and shouted "Long live Congress!" After a short hand-to-hand fight, in which several men were killed and wounded on both sides, we mastered them and they all had to hand over their swords. The generals were confined to their quarters. I came across several officers who had a cloth bound around the left leg. This symbol appeared suspicious to me and I led them to the guard.

The 18th. Now, after the greater part of those who were present at the siege had escaped uninjured, and he who enjoyed this good luck had reason to be heartily glad, a new peril hovered over many a head which could not have been foreseen. In the company of Lieutenant Wintzingerode, I went to the city today to purchase a few muskets from the prisoners or to obtain several through the good offices of the English artillery captain Collins, whose business it was to inspect the arsenals and powder magazines. I inquired after the building or magazine where the muskets were stored and found an English artilleryman who worked there and directed me to the place.

By our mutual good luck, however, when I was still about a hundred paces away from the entrance to the magazine I met the servant of Grenadier Captain Biesenrodt,[29] from whom I learned that his master was ill in the city. Now, since I did not know how long the siege corps would remain together, and I wished very much to see this man—one of my good old friends—I turned around with the servant and decided to go to the magazine in the afternoon.

But Providence interposed in order that Lieutenant Wintzingerode, as well as myself, should not be burnt up. Suddenly, the lucky idea struck me to ask him not to enter the magazine until I returned, and I asked him to go to the coffeehouse, where he should wait for me. We parted. Wintzingerode went to the coffeehouse and I to Captain Biesenrodt's quarters, which lay about seven to eight hundred paces away from the magazine. I had hardly entered the house, when such an extraordinary blast occurred that the house shook. I ran out of the house, saw a thick cloud of vapor a short distance away, and rushed there. The most dreadful cries arose from all sides of the city. I saw that the magazine, into which I had intended to go some eight or ten minutes earlier, had blown up with all the people who worked in and around it, along with several adjacent houses. The view was horrible. Never in my life, as long as I have been a soldier, have I witnessed a more deplorable sight. We found some sixty people who were burnt beyond recognition, half-dead and writhing like worms, lying scattered around the holocaust at a distance of twenty, thirty, to forty paces, and in the confusion no one could help them. We saw a number of mutilated bodies hanging on the farthest houses and lying in the streets. Nearby and at a distance, we found the limbs of burnt people. Many of those who hurried to the scene were killed or wounded by the gunshots which came from the loaded muskets in the cellars.

Toward evening we discovered that about three hundred people had lost their lives, among whom were the following: Captain Collins (who had been rescued twice at sea with his eighty-three artillerymen, only to be burned to death), an officer of the artillery, Lieutenant McLeod[30] of the 42d Scottish Regiment, seventeen English and two Hessian artillerymen, and one Hessian grenadier who stood guard at the entrance.

The entire disaster had occurred through carelessness. In the cellars in which the muskets were stored there was a quantity of powder, and, as one might assume, one of the muskets had discharged while being handed into the cellar and the shot had struck a powder keg.[31] The catastrophe could have been greater, since a very large powder magazine was situated only two hundred paces away.[32]

From this incident I realized once more that if one still lives, it is destined that he shall live. One should do as much good as possible, trust firmly in the Hand of God, and go his way untroubled. Here I recalled the following French verse:

Miserable toy of blind fortune,
  Victim of wrongs and laws,
Man, you, who through a thousand injustices
  Must find life troublesome,
From whence comes only death, you fear all its power.
  Coward, face it without flinching.
Think, that if it is an outrage,
  It is the last you will receive.

Remarks concerning the city and its works.

The city is laid out in a triangle, the long sides of which are formed by the Ashley and Cooper rivers. Reckoning from the hornwork to the fort which protects the harbor, the city is about one hour long, and its greatest width is a good quarter hour at the exit of the fortifications. The streets are straight and all run at right angles to each other. The houses number about eight hundred, built mostly of wood in three stories. The number of inhabitants, who consist of all nations, is said to amount to six thousand whites and mulattoes in peacetime, without counting the Negroes. Most of the inhabitants are prosperous merchants who live in the best taste and greatest luxury. We did not find any men in the city other than those who had fought on the rampart, among whom were many Jews, especially Polish Jews, who had arrived in the country with Count Pulaski. It was a sad sight to see most of the houses empty and locked, which, however, were now opened and occupied by the garrison. Most of them were extremely well furnished and provided with the most beautiful mahogany furniture.

On the land side the works consist of a regular hornwork, called the Old Royal Work. It is mounted with eighteen guns and walled up from the ground with bricks to the strongest thickness. Its slope and scarp are faced with lime mixed with oyster shells two feet thick. It is surrounded by a muddy ditch, over which there is a stone bridge protected by a lunette surrounded by a double-palisaded ditch twelve feet wide and six feet deep. Within musketry range of the works is an entrenchment of redans built in the shape of an indented crescent, whose flanks are protected by two detached bastions. The ditch around these works is a good twelve feet wide and certainly six feet deep, double-palisaded.

The breastwork is dressed and the ditch surrounded by a strong abatis of pointed trees. The only entrance, which was built in the center of the works, is a lunette protected by a double-palisaded ditch, around which an abatis of pointed trees extended. Forty to sixty paces in front of the works they had dug an advanced ditch eighteen feet wide and seven to eight feet deep, which was protected to the scarp by an abatis. At the points where the advanced ditch extends to the Ashley and Cooper rivers, they had constructed sluices to control the water passing from the rivers into the ditch, which had formed a morass in front of the flanking bastions.

It appears to me that we should have directed the point of attack at one of these bastions, for it was impossible to blast a breach in this hornwork. This work was too solidly built for us to reach our objective here. Moreover, since this work was in the center of the crescent, we exposed ourselves to the flanking fire from both sides, as indeed we experienced. However, it would have been safer to attack the flank bastions, because we would have needed to protect ourselves on only one side.

The French colonel and engineer du Portail, who arrived in the works fourteen days before the surrender, found it very bad that all the works were open to the city. He changed and remedied as much as he could in this short time: he closed the hornwork at its gorge, joining with a curtain the two detached bastions, which were protected by the morass and connected with the other works by a palisade; in the hornwork itself he placed another small redoubt for defense in case of the direst need. Had this man arrived in Charlestown sooner, I believe we would not have obtained such a cheap bargain. These works were mounted with ninety-three pieces.

The works which were laid out along the two long banks of the Cooper and Ashley rivers consist of batteries whose outer and inner walls are revetted with whole palmetto trees, the wood of which is as tough as cork, and on which the heaviest cannonball makes no mark.

The harbor where both rivers converge was protected by a triangle whose exterior side was walled up from the water with bricks, and the interior side faced with palmetto logs. It was built in terraces and had three tiers of heavy pieces numbering thirty-seven 24- and 16-pounders. In all, the works facing the water were mounted with three hundred pieces.

The 20th. Yesterday and today two thousand of the captured militia were paroled to their homes under the condition that they do not serve again until they have been exchanged. This transaction, which really borders on the ridiculous—doing something beneficial for a person on parole of which he has no idea—was arranged only to avoid sustaining these guests. However, this economy will cost the English dear, because I am convinced that most of these people will have guns in their hands again within a short time. All the captured officers were sent under guard to Haddrell's Point.[33]

PART TWO

After the capture of Charlestown, from the departure up to the arrival of the siege corps at Staten Island.

Month of May. On the 21st at daybreak the light infantry, the 42d Regiment, and the Queen's Rangers marched to Dorchester and Strawberry to disperse the enemy parties which had appeared again between the corps under Lord Cornwallis and Charlestown. A part of the siege corps received orders to keep in readiness to embark. We received the news that the militia of South and North Carolina, which had assembled since the siege of Charlestown, had left Georgetown and retired toward Camden just as Lord Cornwallis arrived at Manigault.

At noon I walked once more through the works of the city, where I suffered a sunstroke due to the intense power of the sun. I began fainting and could hardly reach a sutler's hut, where I luckily started vomiting for two hours. After swallowing much liquor mixed with water, I came around well enough so that I was in a condition to return to camp about five o'clock, where the jäger detachment received orders to march at once, but the orders were countermanded after the lapse of an hour.

The 22d. At ten o'clock in the evening the jägers and the English and Hessian grenadiers, under General Kospoth, marched out beyond Ashley Ferry to support the light infantry in case of necessity.

The 24th. In the afternoon some sixty loyal inhabitants arrived from the mountains demanding officers, arms, and ammunition to serve the King and take revenge on their neighbors, who had oppressed them very much up to now. They asserted that a great number of their comrades had already gone over to Lord Cornwallis.—I do not trust these people, for what can such a handful of men undertake? I believe they are carrying out a deception to obtain arms and ammunition and to use them against us. It is said that Major Ferguson has volunteered to lead these people.

On the 27th General Kospoth marched back with the above-mentioned corps, and the light infantry arrived back at the siege corps on the 28th.

On the 30th and 31st the jäger detachment and the English and Hessian grenadiers were embarked on transport vessels in the Cooper River above the city. Today all the warships which were to protect the fleet sailed to Five Fathom Hole.

Month of June. On the 1st and 2d the light infantry, 42d Regiment, and the Ranger Corps were embarked. The Hessian regiments Dittfurth, Huyn, and Angelelli[34] were assigned as the garrison of Charlestown. The last-named regiment had just arrived from Savannah by water. General Paterson was appointed commandant.

The 2d. Toward evening I found myself reassured through my own experience of the principle that what God will preserve, will be saved. I had been on shore and had hardly arrived on board the ship at dusk when the ship's captain came into the cabin and reported to me that a fire was still burning in the galley, which is against the ship's regulations, for no fire is permitted after sunset. I ran out of the cabin to shout to the corporal of the watch on deck to extinguish the fire at once. They had been draining water out of the ship, and the hatches were not yet closed. I did not notice this opening because the fire blinded me. I fell down through the entire ship, certainly eighteen or twenty feet deep, without hurting myself other than that I felt somewhat stiff in my limbs for several days, which disappeared later. I thought to myself: "You miserable human, you always fear the dangers which you see, by which you seldom perish, and often stand on the brink of the grave without suspecting it." Is not all fear in vain?

The 3d. At six o'clock in the morning all the transport vessels left the wharves of Charlestown, passed through the channel between the estacade, and cast anchor about ten o'clock near Sullivan's Island.

On the 4th all the warships crossed the bar (a chain of sandbanks), and on the 8th the transport vessels followed. The entire fleet consisted of some one hundred sail. Toward evening, with a good southwest wind, we had lost sight of the mainland.

The return journey was as pleasant as the outward journey was unpleasant. The wind was usually present, although we often had calms during the best weather. But on the 17th we reached the Highlands of Navesink, passed Sandy Hook at four o'clock in the afternoon, and the greater part of the fleet cast anchor in the Narrows near Middle Ferry between Long Island and Staten Island.

Since our company aboard ship consisted of only two lieutenants and sixty jägers, everyone had sufficient accommodations. The ship's captain and helmsman were both very reasonable people. We were supplied with an abundance of all necessities and spent these eleven days in real rest with good food, wine, and sport.

PART THREE

From the disembarkation on Staten Island until the siege corps rejoined the army on York Island.

The 19th. At six o'clock in the morning all the troops under command of General Leslie disembarked at Cole's Ferry on Staten Island and moved into cantonment quarters at Richmond, Rosebank, and Newton. The reason for this landing was the following.

After General Knyphausen had received the news of the capture of Charlestown, he had been induced by several braggarts (fugitive loyalists) to undertake an expedition from New York to the Jerseys. His reasons were based on the following information, which these windbags had represented to him as credible.[35]

1. That by the capture of Charlestown, many people would side with the King's party.
2. That a great dissatisfaction existed in the American army; that if he would show himself, entire brigades would throw down their arms and desert.[36]
3. That General Maxwell and his corps could be surprised, and that they themselves had an understanding with reliable people in the neighborhood where this corps was cantoned.

Accordingly, General Knyphausen had proceeded with a corps of five thousand men from York by water and landed at Elizabeth Point in the Province of Jersey on the 10th[37] to surprise or attack and destroy the corps under General Maxwell, which was cantoned between Elizabethtown and Springfield.

General Maxwell, who was no mediocre general, was on his guard and promptly informed of the landing. He stationed himself in a good position at Connecticut Farms Meeting House,[38] where his front was covered by a marshy brook which cut through a range of hills and by marshy woodlands. Moreover, one could not get near this position at all, because of the narrow approaches at the flanks which the Americans had strongly occupied.

General Knyphausen had hardly landed and marched off when he ran into enemy parties which made his every step troublesome. As a very sensible man, he realized that he had been deceived by the braggarts, but to withdraw at once, that, too, was not advisable to undertake in the presence of a courageous enemy. Thus he dared to attempt something more than stake his good name and reputation on a retreat, which had to be carried out in full view of the enemy across a navigable river.

The Jäger Corps under Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb, reinforced by the

English Guards and Hessian Leib Regiment, made the attack on the pass at Connecticut Farms Meeting House.[39] The enemy gave ground, but it was realized that it would cost many men to dislodge him. The Jäger Corps, which suffered very much in the attack, held out until almost all its cartridges were expended and no rifle fired any longer. The English Guards and the Leib Regiment relieved the jägers, and the fight continued until the night. The losses of both parties were estimated at one thousand men, and said to have been fairly equal on both sides. In killed the Jäger Corps lost Lieutenant Ebenauer of the Anspachers and twenty-two noncommissioned officers and privates, and in wounded Captain Donop, Lieutenants Cornelius and Bohlen, and fifty-nine noncommissioned officers and privates.[40]

Since General Knyphausen gathered intelligence in the evening that the enemy had received reinforcements, he withdrew as far as the heights behind the Elizabethtown River and ordered the town occupied by the Jäger Corps, where there were skirmishes daily. In addition, the general had a bridge of sloops built across the Sound[41] to have a secure communication with Staten Island.

On the 20th I traveled from Staten Island to Elizabethtown to visit my friends, and to occupy the camp and post there. I found General Clinton and General Leslie, and wished to remain at Elizabethtown, since for lack of officers the commanding sergeant was in command of my company. But General Leslie did not give me permission to remain, and desired that I should return at once to the detachment on Staten Island.[42]

On the 21st General Leslie's corps on Staten Island received orders to march at a moment's notice from General Knyphausen, since General Washington had drawn near Chatham and threatened to fall on the neck of General Knyphausen's corps.

The 22d. At seven o'clock in the evening, General Leslie's troops received orders to assemble at Cole's Ferry and to embark on their former transport vessels. This was carried out successfully on a very dark night during a violent storm with thunder and lightning.

The 23d. In the morning these transport vessels set sail, moved up the North River, and anchored toward evening near Philipse's house. This maneuver forced Washington to withdraw to the Clove, since the Leslie Corps could land in his rear and place itself between his army and his depot at West Point. He ordered Generals Maxwell and Dickinson to stand near Elizabethtown with a strong corps to observe General Knyphausen.

The 24th. As soon as General Knyphausen received intelligence that Washington had withdrawn his army to the Clove, he broke camp with his corps and attacked the enemy's advanced corps to gain air and to secure a safe retreat.[43] The enemy was driven back beyond the defiles of

Springfield, during which over seven hundred men on both sides remained on the field. The Jäger Corps, which launched the attack as usual, had fourteen men killed and Lieutenant Colonel Prueschenck, the Anspach Captain Roeder, Captain Lorey, Lieutenant Diemar, and thirty-five men wounded.[44]

Toward evening General Knyphausen's corps withdrew past Elizabethtown to Elizabeth Point, without being pursued by the enemy, and dismantled the bridge across the Sound.[45] The troops embarked on sloops, moved up the North River, and in the evening joined the Leslie Corps at anchor at Philipsburgh.[46]

The 25th. At daybreak all the troops, under General Knyphausen, were disembarked at Philipsburgh and moved into camp. The right wing was situated on the Bronx River, and the left past Philipse's Hill to the Hudson River. The headquarters were at Philipsburgh.—Thus I was now back safely in this area where we had roamed about on the defensive for two years. Had I been able to follow my own desire, I would have gladly remained in Carolina with Lord Cornwallis. I had brought up the subject at headquarters through Major André, but the Commander in Chief sent me word that I should remain with him.

PART FOUR

From the disembarkation at Philipsburgh up to the end of the campaign.

Month of July. The Jäger Corps was assigned its post in Philipse's woods, between the Hudson River and the Saw Mill River, which it had occupied at various times for the past two years.

On the 9th Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb proceeded with the entire Jäger Corps toward Tarrytown, during which I with the foot jägers covered the passes of Odell's house and Dobbs Ferry, since Lieutenant Colonel Prueschenck was wounded and Major Wurmb sick.

The 14th. Since information came in that the enemy took post at night before Tarrytown to lie in wait for the parties of DeLancey's refugees, of which several had been captured, I was ordered to go out at nine o'clock in the evening with twenty horse and one hundred foot jägers toward Tarrytown to attack or disperse these parties. But since I did not discover the enemy I returned.

The 18th. The news came in that the French fleet under Admiral Ternay[47] had arrived in the harbor of Rhode Island with the following troops, which disembarked under the Comte Rochambeau.[48]

1. The Regiment Bourbonnais with 1,000 men.
2. The Regiment Saintonge with 1,000 men.

3. The Regiment Soissonnais with 1,000 men.
4. The Regiment Royal Deux-Ponts with 1,000 men, a German regiment.
5. A battalion of artillery with 500 men.
6. The Legion of the Duc de Lauzun,[49] which the duke himself commanded, consisting of 50 uhlans, 250 hussars, 100 grenadiers, 100 chasseurs, and 100 light artillerymen.—The entire force is estimated at 5,000 men.

The ships were the following:

1. The *Duc de Bourgogne,* 80 guns
2. The *Neptune,* 74 guns
3. The *Conquérant,* 74 guns
4. The *Provence,* 64 guns
5. The *Jason,* 64 guns
6. The *Éveillé,* 64 guns
7. The *Ardent,* 64 guns

The frigates:

The *Surveillante* and the *Amazone,* each 40 guns.
A hospital ship pierced for 64 guns.[50]
A bomb ship and thirty-two transport vessels.

On the 22d I was ordered to march at a moment's notice with three hundred foot jägers. The same orders were received by the light infantry, the English and Hessian grenadiers, the 22d, 37th, 38th, and 43d regiments, and the flank companies of the English Guards. The two Anspach regiments and the 57th Regiment moved from McGowan's Pass into encampment at New York.

On the 23d the troops set out from Philipsburgh across West Chester to Frog's Neck under command of Generals Mathew, Leslie, and Kospoth. I had the advanced guard. Only a few small parties of the enemy appeared, with whom I exchanged several shots. At noon the corps arrived at Frog's Neck to embark, but since too great a calm prevented the transport vessels from approaching, the corps remained at Frog's Neck.

The 24th. Toward noon all the troops embarked on the transport vessels, and the Leib, Landgraf, and 42d regiments, which had boarded ship at Philipsburgh, arrived here. I boarded *The Two Brothers* with my detachment.

Early on the morning of the 27th, General Clinton arrived at the fleet and boarded the armed ship *Grand Duke,* 20 guns. The fleet, which consisted of sixty-two sail, put to sea under escort of two frigates, a sloop, a polacre, and three galleys, and anchored in Huntington Bay on the coast of Long Island.

The reason for this expedition was to make a landing on Rhode Island to attack the French, who had just landed. I had cause to be exceedingly pleased with it, for my having the command over three hundred jägers might not happen again for the rest of the war. Moreover, the honor of fighting with the French excited me very much. The frigates left the fleet and sailed toward Rhode Island.

On the 31st the frigates returned and brought the news that the French had left and proceeded to New England, whereupon the fleet weighed anchor and sailed back.[51]

Month of August. On the 2d and 3d all troops were disembarked at Whitestone and moved into camp on the heights. I was placed with the jägers in the woods above Flushing, with Colonel Abercromby and the light infantry in Flushing.

On the 17th I was relieved from my quiet post by Lieutenant Colonel Prueschenck, who had recovered from his wound. I do not deny that I would have liked to enjoy this repose more, at least to have had time to equip myself with the necessities. On the 18th I arrived back at the Corps on Morris Hill[52] on York Island.

Since we expected a meeting between Rochambeau and Washington,[53] from which it is to be assumed they would undertake something against New York because of their superiority, several works were built on Snake Hill.[54]

The 21st. Last night I was ordered to go out with one hundred and fifty foot jägers to Philipse's Church to occupy this post until Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb joined me with the mounted jägers. I had scarcely taken my precautions when I ran into an enemy party which attacked me so swiftly that I could hardly reach the bridge. But after several shots they withdrew. At daybreak Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb arrived and ordered me to hold this position. He went with the mounted jägers to Dobbs Ferry to collect information about the enemy. Toward noon he returned with two prisoners and we marched back to Morris Hill.

The 31st. After he had foraged the entire area from Tappan to Paulus Hook, General Washington left the right bank of the Hudson River and withdrew to his fortified camp at the Clove.[55]

Month of September. The 3d. For several days I have been severely stricken for the first time by the local fever, with all its discomforts. Since I do not want to leave the Corps, and no house is close by, I am forced to resort to a small cave, in which the rats annoy me more than the fever.

The 17th. After the burning south wind and the cold nights returned, the putrid fever gained such an upper hand among the troops which have been in the south that they die like flies, and all the hospitals are filled.

Month of October. The 1st. For some time the jägers, light infantry, all the grenadiers, and five other regiments have been under orders to embark at a moment's notice. Everyone believed we would attack

Washington before he could unite with the French, but suddenly the secret has been discovered.

The American General Arnold, who had greatly distinguished himself among the rebels by his bravery, has become a traitor to his own side. He had promised General Clinton that he would surrender the fortified works he commanded at West Point, which was the principal depot of the army. But since the Commanding General did not possess a complete knowledge of the approaches to this position, Adjutant General Major André, one of the most skillful and efficient officers in the army, volunteered out of true patriotic zeal to travel there in disguise and make all arrangements with that traitor.

Major André reached West Point safely, but on his way back, one hour away from our outposts, he was stopped by three American militiamen. Since he lost his composure at this ticklish moment, and offered these people a hundred guineas if they would let him go, these three men, inspired by true patriotism, took him prisoner and escorted him to King's Ferry. General Washington had just returned there from Bedford in New England, where he had held a council of war with Comte Rochambeau. Major André was unmasked, and they found all the papers necessary to a plan which threatened the complete ruin of the Americans. Major André was sent a captive to Philadelphia.[56]

By chance General Arnold's adjutant brought him the news, without having any misgiving, that the English Adjutant General André had just been arrested at King's Ferry. Arnold could barely save himself by means of a boat in which he fled to an English vessel stationed not far below West Point.

The trick was well planned. Since Washington was not present with the army which stood near West Point, Arnold held the army in his hand. He had ordered over half of his men to cut wood, and the works of the fortress were very weakly manned. Moreover, there was scarcely any more ammunition in the works than what was kept in the little cases, and what the small garrison had in its pouches. This principal post, which guarded the gateway for communication with Canada, separated the French from Washington, and divided the whole into two parts, would have been lost suddenly by the Americans with all the guns, ammunition, and provisions. Indeed, their entire army would have been either captured or killed. If this affair had had a successful result, it would have put an end to the war, preserved the thirteen great and beautiful provinces for the Crown of England, and made Major André immortal.

General Arnold had arrived safely at New York. He was appointed an English brigadier general and received £10,000 sterling as a gratuity, presumably to lure more gentlemen with this bait. He was truly a great loss for the united provinces.[57]

On the 6th the news arrived that the good Major André had been hanged and buried with all military honors. All the American officers had attended the funeral procession. The enemy pitied him and his friends deplored and lamented his fate. The officers of the entire army mourned for him eight days with black crepe bands around their arms.[58]

I was extremely sorry for the poor man, for I had had the honor of making his acquaintance two years before the American War on his travels to Cassel.[59] He was my friend, and had shown much friendship for me and the Jäger Corps.—How important is a single hapless moment in a human life! Had the otherwise so excellent man and soldier retained his composure at the instant when the three men stopped him, had he answered them defiantly instead of offering them money, all would have worked out well. Indeed, even when he saw that these people intended to stop him, he could have merely set spurs to his horse and scampered off, for he could not lose more than he lost afterward.—America must be free and André hanged!

On the 18th the European provisions fleet arrived, which had 2,300 recruits on board. Among them were 900 Hessians, of which 146 were assigned to the Jäger Corps. Most of them were Imperial and Prussian deserters. It was high time that the provisions fleet arrived, for it was said that there were provisions in the depots for only fourteen days. For six days the army had received rice instead of bread.

The 28th. Since the New Englanders maintained more than one hundred armed vessels to plunder the coast of Long Island, and often landed strong detachments to roam through the countryside, the Jäger Corps was ordered to march there at once. Toward evening the Corps crossed the East River at Maston's Wharf and arrived on the 29th in the vicinity of Westbury. It had to occupy the following cordon along the Sound: Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb ordered me to cover the left flank. I held Cow Bay, Cow Neck, Searingtown, and Hempstead Harbor.[60] The Wurmb, Donop, Hinrichs, and Prueschenck companies occupied the area from Westbury up to Mosquito Cove. The lieutenant colonel was quartered in Westbury, which was the center, and the two Anspach jäger companies, under Captain Waldenfels, were billeted at Jericho. At Oyster Bay were the Queen's Rangers, under Colonel Simcoe, who covered the right flank.[61] At Norwich, behind me, lay the mounted jägers for support. The line of the entire cordon was well over two good German miles, which was occupied by about one thousand men.

The places mentioned are mostly single houses, of which perhaps ten to twelve lie together at one spot. The entire Corps was in cantonment and usually ten, twelve, to sixteen men were placed together. The main roads to the bays and landing places were occupied by pickets of each company, for which straw huts were erected for the winter, and large watch fires had to be maintained for the men's warmth. In front of the lieutenant colonel's quarters at the center a redoubt was built on a height, in which there was a guard and the two amusettes. In the meantime, everyone was glad that he was under a roof, although every officer could rest only with his saber in his hand.

From this time on the army occupied its winter quarters, and it seemed as if all courage was gone with Major André's death.

ON LONG ISLAND

The 17th Regiment of Dragoons, behind the jägers at Hempstead.
The English grenadiers at Newtown.
The light infantry in the huts at Bedford.
The 37th Regiment and Diemar's hussars at Denys's Ferry.
The 28th Regiment at Brooklyn.
Loyal Americans on the Fly.
3d Battalion of DeLancey's. }
New England Volunteers. } Lloyd's Neck
The Grenadier Battalions Linsing and Lengerke at Jamaica.
Those of Loewenstein and Graff at Flushing.

PAULUS HOOK IN JERSEY

The 54th Regiment.

NEW YORK

The 22d, 42d, Landgraf, Erb Prinz, Prinz Carl regiments and the Anspach Brigade.

YORK ISLAND

The 57th Regiment at the East River, the Hessian Leib Regiment at the North River, Mirbach's at McGowan's Pass, the 76th and 80th regiments at Laurel Hill and the pass at Kings Bridge.

STATEN ISLAND

The 43d Regiment at the flagstaff, Hessian Regiment Bünau near Watering Place, two battalions of Skinner's in Richmond.

Month of November. The 15th. Nearly twenty-four hours have passed without an alarm sounding at one or the other parts of the cordon.

Toward noon the news arrived that some one hundred men of this rabble had just landed at Cow Bay. Since this bay belonged to my district, I hurried there and the Wurmb Company followed. But after having plundered a few houses, they had cast off in their boats and were already beyond rifle range. Now, since the people there believed the enemy would return during the night, I remained in the vicinity until an hour before daybreak on the following day, but they had disappeared.

On the 20th Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb revealed to me that a corps under General Arnold would be embarked on a secret expedition, and that the Commanding General desired me to go along with a detachment, provided my physical condition permitted, for I still had the unpleasant native fever every other day. My friend Simcoe also was in the party. I accepted with joy. Two captains whose turn came for command had received orders shortly before me, thus the turn was now mine, and from this time on I was ready to march again.

End of the Fifth Campaign of the Year 1780

Volume IV

Sixth Campaign, 1781, Up to the Return to Hesse, 1784

CHAPTER 1

From the embarkation at Denys's Ferry on Long Island up to the arrival at Portsmouth in Virginia.

PART ONE

From the embarkation at Denys's Ferry up to the arrival in the James River.

1780.

December. On the 2d the following troops received orders to hold themselves ready for embarkation and were assigned to the appropriate transport vessels:

1. The Hessian and Anspach foot jägers.
2. The light infantry.
3. The English grenadiers.
4. Two battalions of Hessian grenadiers.
5. The 80th Regiment.
6. The Anspach Brigade.
7. The Ranger Corps.
8. Robinson's Corps.
9. The Althouse sharpshooters.

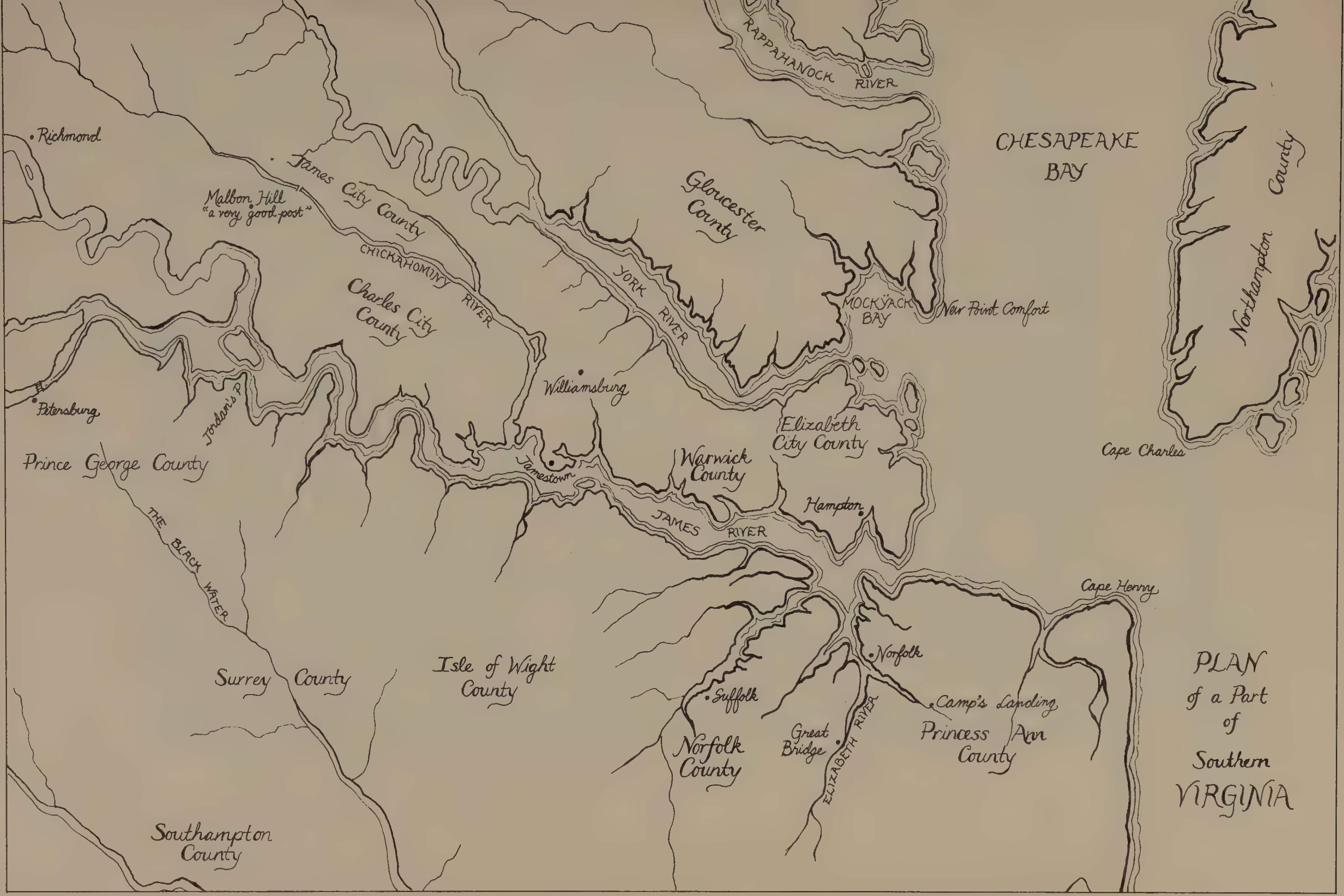
This prompted General Washington to concentrate his army at New Windsor, not far from West Point. Since more troops were ordered for the approaching expedition than actually departed at the time, Washington could not detach a corps at once, but had to be on his guard, because he could not guess whether it was aimed at him.[1]

On the 7th I received orders to be ready to embark with 125 foot jägers, and further, to take no more equipment than what each man could carry himself.

On the 9th I left the Corps, and on the afternoon of the 10th I embarked with the Althouse sharpshooters on a stout three-master at Denys's Ferry on Long Island. There I found the following troops already embarked in the Hudson under General Arnold.[2]

PLAN OF A PART OF SOUTHERN VIRGINIA

This plan, copied from an unknown map, was transcribed by a German hand other than Ewald's. However, Ewald has inserted the locations of Great Bridge and "Camps" (Kemp's) Landing, and under "Malbon" (Malvern) Hill, just above the road to Richmond, has written the remark "ein sehr guter posten" ("a very good post").


PLAN
of a Part
of
Southern
VIRGINIA
CHESAPEAKE BAY
RAPPAHANOCK RIVER
Northampton County
Cape Charles
New Point Comfort
MOCKYACK BAY
Gloucester County
YORK RIVER
Richmond
James City County
Malbon Hill
"a very good post"
CHICKAHOMINY RIVER
Charles City County
Williamsburg
Petersburg
Jordan's P.
Prince George County
Jamestown
Warwick County
Elizabeth City County
Hampton
JAMES RIVER
Cape Henry
THE BLACK WATER
Norfolk
Camp's Landing
Surrey County
Isle of Wight County
Suffolk
Great Bridge
ELIZABETH RIVER
Princess Ann County
Norfolk County
Southampton County

1. The Ranger Corps.
2. The 80th Regiment.
3. The Robinson Corps.
4. A company of English artillery.
5. One hundred pioneers.

The whole amounted to about twenty-two hundred men.[3]

Toward noon on the 20th the fleet set sail. It consisted of twenty-three transport, ordnance, and provisions ships. But the fleet was scarcely under way when a violent whirlwind arose, which damaged the masts and yards of several ships. For this reason we cast anchor toward evening off Prince's Bay in the mouth of the Hudson River.

The 21st. About ten o'clock in the morning the fleet set sail under escort of the two sloops of war *Charon,* 44 guns, and *Bonetta,* 20 guns, under command of Commodore Symonds.[4] We passed Sandy Hook with a north wind and took a course NNE. At Sandy Hook, the following armed vessels joined the fleet:

1. An armed three-master.
2. Two sloops.
3. Four brigantines.

These were vessels which depended on the army and not on the admiralty.[5]

On the 23d a storm arose, followed around midnight by a calm with severe lightning, then the wind came up.

The 24th. We were driven against the coast, where we had only seventeen fathoms of water. The latitude was 38° 22′ north. Toward midday six strange vessels appeared, whereupon the commodore gave chase with the armed ships. The fleet gave up the pursuit and did not see the vessels again.

The 26th. Last night the fleet was so scattered by a gale that at dawn I found myself alone with my ship. Since I had not discovered any vessels by the 28th, I had the letter of rendezvous opened in the presence of all the officers and ship's captain. I found that our rendezvous was Cape Henry at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay.

On the 29th at daybreak we reached the cape, where we tacked about. Toward noon the entire fleet reassembled there. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the fleet passed the estuary of Chesapeake Bay and anchored toward evening at Lynnhaven Bay, off the coast of Virginia.

The 30th. Toward nine o'clock in the morning we set sail, and in the afternoon anchored again in Hampton Roads at the mouth of the James River. In a few hours the fleet was under sail and anchored toward evening at Newport News.

Although the wind was so strong that the boats could hardly hold steady in the water, the signal was given at once for all the commanding officers of regiments and detachments to report to General Arnold on board the *Charon.* There orders were given that all the troops were to be in readiness for disembarkation and supplied with salted meat, biscuit, and rum for five days.

PART TWO

From the disembarkation from the transport ships up to the passage over the James River to Westover.

On the 31st all the troops except the artillery and the horses of the mounted rangers disembarked from the transport ships, boarded small open sloops and boats, and moved up the James River under escort of the armed vessels. The transport ships followed at some distance with the provisions, the artillery, and the mounted rangers.

Toward evening a small body of Americans appeared on the left bank of the James River at Warwick. The vessels anchored, and General Arnold ordered me, since I was in the boats with the jägers and Althouse sharpshooters, to approach these people to reconnoiter them. I was to land at my discretion and attack them, and in particular I should try to capture several prisoners and catch a few natives. The rangers would follow close behind.

I approached within rifle shot, the shore was high. I ordered several shots fired at them, which they answered with small-arms fire, whereupon I concluded that they did not have any cannon with them. They were posted behind fences and appeared to number several hundred men. I sounded the depth of the water and found that it was only up to a man's waist. I had four boats. I called to my men to fire a volley, draw their hunting swords, plunge into the water, and swiftly attack the foe. Everyone obeyed. The enemy fired a volley when we jumped into the water and three men were wounded. But the enemy was startled by the unexpected attack and withdrew.

I formed my men as well as I could when I climbed ashore, and took fifty men with me to pursue the enemy. Two wounded men fell into my hands. The enemy reassembled behind a plantation, where I attacked him. He left this position when the Ranger Corps arrived, and withdrew under cover of night. We learned that this had been a party of 230 men from the corps of General Ewens [Colonel Ewing?] under the command of Baron Steuben, a former Prussian major, which had taken post at Petersburg. Afterward fresh provisions were collected from Warwick and we spent the night on land, but were alarmed three times by the enemy.[6]

I do not deny that this little trick left me with no great opinion of General Arnold's judgment, ordering men without bayonets to land and attack an enemy equipped with bayonets, especially since the light infantry was just as close to them as I was. That the enemy lost his nerve and left—that was luck! But had they taken a stand, and thrown themselves upon the jägers and sharpshooters when I climbed up the steep bank with my men, which could not be done in the best order, all would have been lost. Meanwhile, there had been no time on my part to protest whether I should attack, for I had to be fearful that the man, on his false principles, would hold me for insubordination or cowardice. But I risked nothing. If it had turned out unsuccessfully, the failure would have fallen on him, since the attack took place under his eyes. The general himself came ashore, admired the bravery of the men, and expressed heartfelt thanks for my good will. It was impossible for me to keep still. I assured the general that we had done nothing to deserve thanks; the jägers had carried out his orders. But I wished that I had had the shore to defend, and he had attacked me with all the sharpshooters in the corps. He looked at me and remained silent. I turned around and went to my men.

The Year 1781.

Month of January, the 1st. At daybreak an American party appeared, with whom I skirmished. Toward nine o'clock orders arrived for the troops to leave the land and board the boats, which took place at once. Since it was now ebb tide, which prevented the boats from lying in close to shore, we had to wade through the water up to our knees, and then the navel, over a distance of a good quarter hour before we could reach the boats.—That was a wet New Year's Day! The extraordinary and insufferable heat oppressed us very much, crowded together in our open boats and vessels, but it stood us in good stead today, wet through and through as we were.

Toward midday the jägers and the Althouse sharpshooters were placed on the small vessels, since one could hardly move in the boats. This small fleet anchored on this side of Hog Island.[7]

The 2d.[8] In the morning the fleet set sail again, and about midday cast anchor at Burwell's Ferry,[9] where two enemy vessels and several distinguished rebels fell into our hands.

Several battalions with a few guns appeared on Burwell's height, which, perhaps, would attempt to dispute our landing. General Arnold sent a naval officer with a white flag ashore, warning them to lay down their arms and obey their King.[10] The American officer[11] asked the English naval officer where the General Arnold was, who had sent him, whether he possibly was the traitor Arnold. If this were the case, he requested him to tell the next ranking English officer that if he had a request to make, he would like him to use his name, for the American officer would not and could not give up to a traitor. But if he were to get hold of Arnold, he would hang him up by the heels, according to the orders of the Congress.[12] The English officer delivered the message word for word, and Arnold was obliged to make a very wry face.

Toward evening the fleet set sail with the flood tide and anchored off Jamestown during the night.

On the 3d at daybreak the signal was given to disembark. But the boats had hardly reached shore when a counterorder was issued, since we had received the news that a strong corps of Virginia militia had assembled here, whereupon we set sail up the river.

N.B. The river in this area is a good hour wide, though from Jamestown on it narrows noticeably. But it often has very deep inlets, whereby it becomes very wide again at many places.

Toward evening General Arnold received intelligence that an American corps had fortified the heights of Hood's Point,[13] and had stationed infantry and cannon there to bombard us in the narrow winding channel which is formed by sandbars. General Arnold immediately ordered the sloop *Hope,* 24 guns, and the privateer *Cornwallis,* 12 guns, to sail against the battery, which was bombarded to good effect. Just at this time, I was ordered to board the boats with the jäger detachment, the Althouse sharpshooters, and two companies of rangers under Colonel Simcoe. We entered Ward's Creek and landed in order to attack the enemy works from the rear. The American detachment, which had observed the landing of the detachments under Colonel Simcoe, fired some twenty shots at the boats, which killed only one sailor, abandoned its position, and withdrew hastily toward Petersburg. Three 24-pounders and two howitzers fell into our hands, and both plantations were plundered.[14]

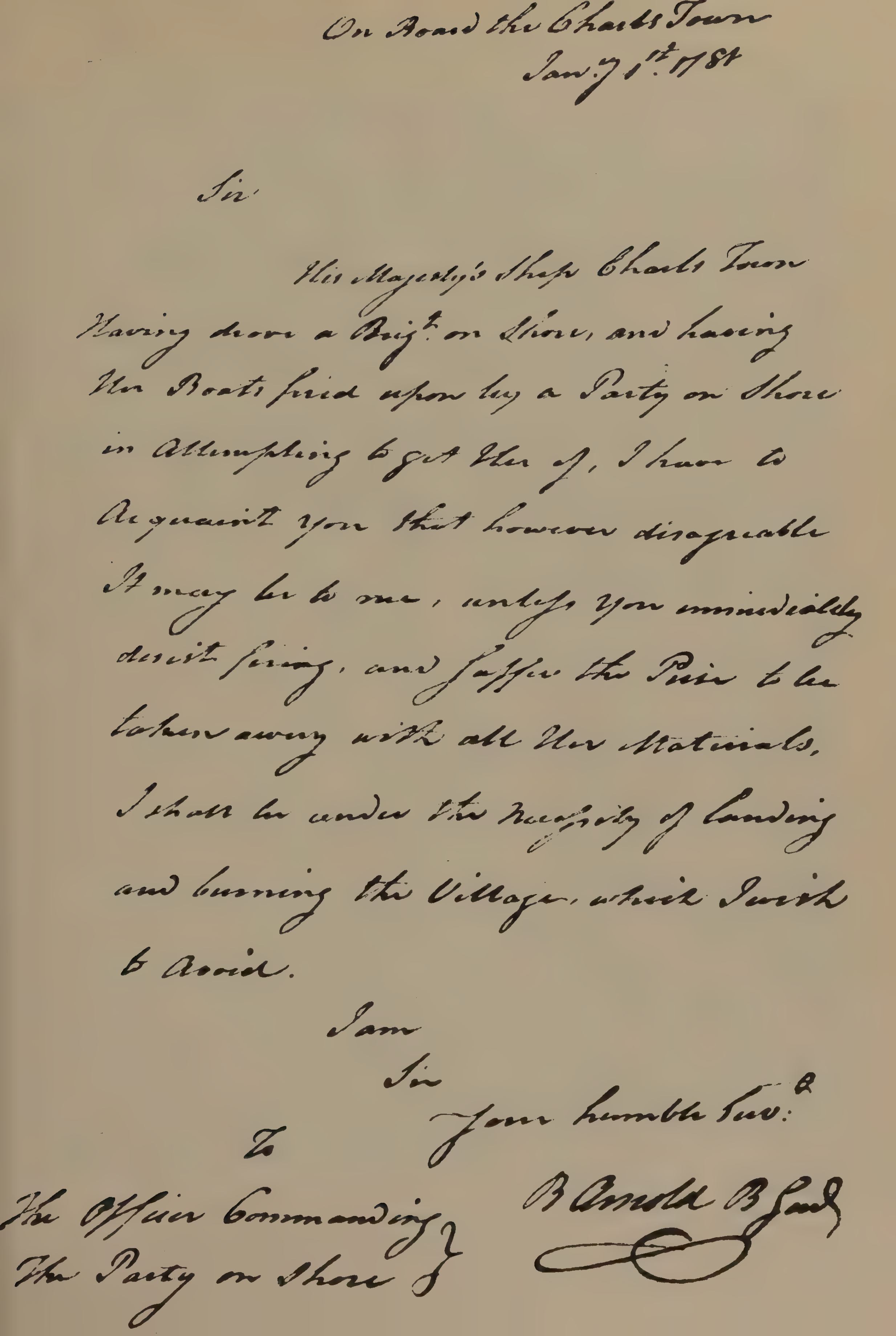
The fault of these works lay in the fact that they were not closed at the gorge. For had they been in a better state of defense, and the garrison commanded by an enterprising officer, they could have easily delayed us until the militia had assembled and strengthened the position. Since the channel in the river lay within small-arms range, this could very easily have prevented us from further undertakings.[15]

On the 4th at daybreak the fleet set sail again, passed Hood's Point, and anchored about nine o'clock in the morning near the left bank at Westover. Toward ten o'clock in the morning the troops landed.

Here Colonel Byrd[16] had one of the most important plantations in Virginia. It consisted of forty fine buildings, which because of their regular style of construction resembled a small town. The fortune of this family was estimated at forty thousand pounds sterling. Mr. Byrd had managed his affairs very well; he had given one son to the English and another to the American service, and thus carried favor on both shoulders.[17] All the officers were treated to a very good breakfast.

LETTER OF BRIGADIER GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD TO THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE PARTY ON SHORE, JANUARY 1, 1781

The text of the letter reads as follows: "On Board the Charls Town Jan^{y} 1st 1781 Sir His Majesty's Ship Charls Town Having drove a Brig^{t} on Shore, and having Her Boats fired upon by a Party on Shore in Attempting to get Her of, I have to Acquaint you that however disagreable It may be to me, unless you immediately desist firing, and suffer the Prise to be taken away with all Her Materials, I shall be under the Necessity of landing and burning the Village, which I wish to Avoid. I am Sir Your humble Serv^{t}: B Arnold B Genl To The Officer Commanding The Party on Shore." By permission of the Public Record Office, London.



On Board the Charls Town
Jan.y 1st 1781

Sir

His Majesty's Ship Charls Town Having drove a Brig.t on Shore, and having Her Boats fired upon by a Party on Shore in Attempting to get Her of, I have to Acquaint you that however disagreable It may be to me, unless you immedeiatly desist firing, and suffer the Prize to be taken away with all Her Materials, I shall be under the Necessity of landing and burning the Village, which I wish to Avoid.

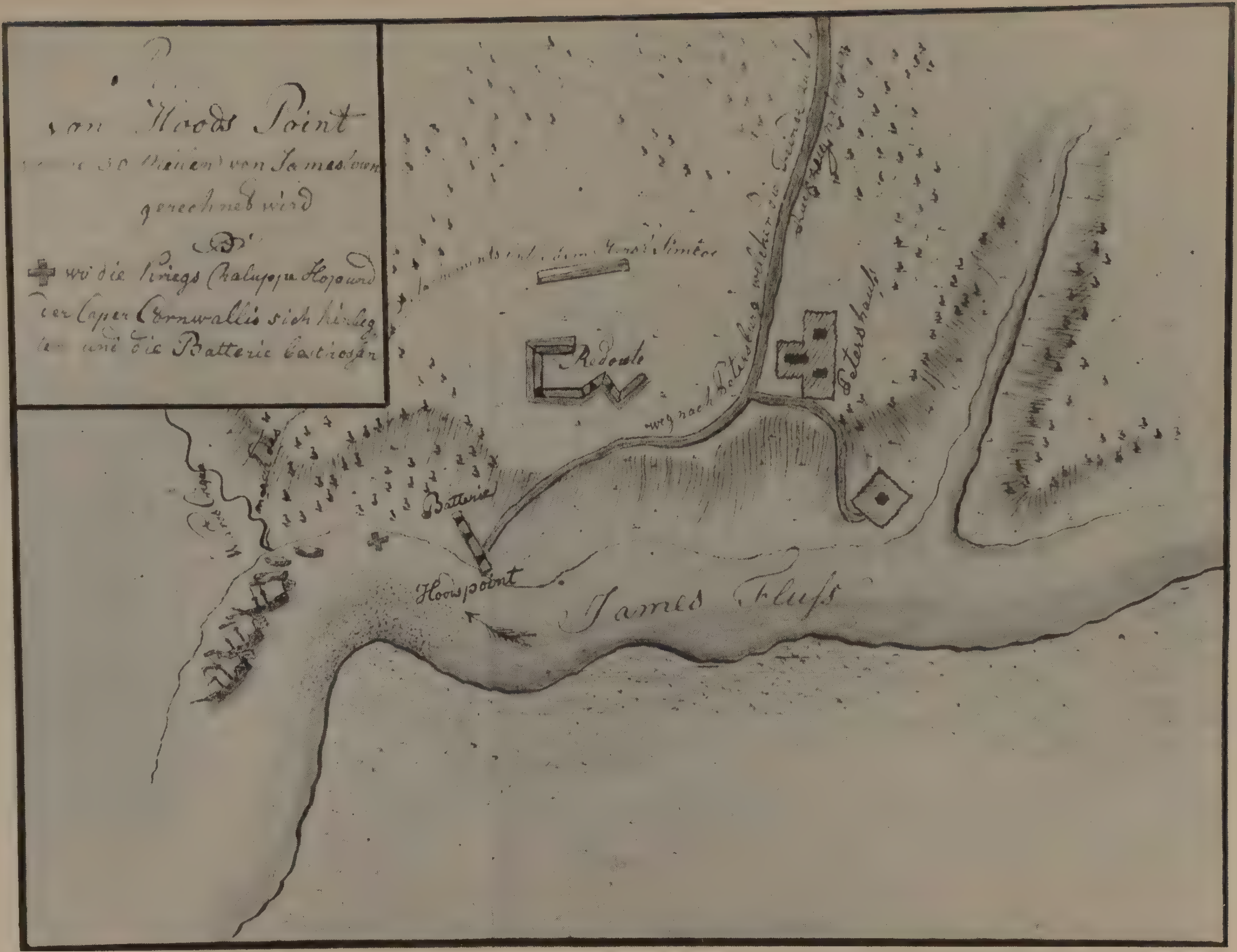
I am
Sir
Your humble Serv.t

B Arnold B Genl

To
The Officer Commanding
The Party on Shore

PLAN OF HOOD'S POINT, WHICH IS RECKONED THIRTY MILES FROM JAMESTOWN

The inscription in the box at the cross reads: "Where the sloop of war *Hope* and the privateer *Cornwallis* lay to and bombarded the battery." At Ward's Creek: "March of the detachments under Colonel Simcoe." Along road: "Road to Petersburg which the enemy took for their retreat."


von Hoods Point
30 Meilen von Jamestown
gerechnet wird
wo die Kriegs Chalupen Hopound
der Caper Cornwallis sich hinleg
und die Batterie beschossen
Redoute
weg nach Petersburg welcher die Gränze
Petershaus
Batterie
Hoowpoint
James Fluss

PART THREE

From the march from Byrd's plantation to Richmond and return.

After General Arnold had collected favorable information from the countryside, and was provided with reliable guides with the help of the Byrds, the corps set out in the direction of Richmond toward evening.[18] I had the advanced guard, which I arranged in the following order, since I did not want to use any flankers at night in order not to reveal the march.

1. Four jägers, two of whom marched along the fences on the right and two on the left.
2. At a distance of twenty-five paces behind I had six jägers follow in the same manner, where I was myself.
3. An officer and twenty jägers at a distance of fifty paces.
4. An officer with thirty horse of the Queen's Rangers at a distance of fifty paces.
5. The jägers and Althouse sharpshooters in six platoons at a distance of one hundred paces.
6. The light infantry of the rangers.

Since we had to be fearful of ambuscades, especially since the night was very dark, with this formation I could never get into disorder if the outermost point fell into an ambuscade, for each group had room to help the other if it was alarmed. I had directed the first four men to let everyone pass through that they met, and in case of emergency to use only their hunting swords.

Colonel Simcoe followed with the mounted rangers, and then came the corps on foot.

The grenadier company of the 80th Regiment.
The 80th Regiment.
Four light 6-pounders.
Robinson's Corps
The light infantry company of the 80th Regiment.
An officer with ten horse of the rangers.

We passed the defile of Turkey Island Creek, which cut through two steep heights, over which was a bridge. A half a dozen men could have easily defended this pass at night.

Toward midnight a major of the Virginia volunteers with his orderly and two captains gradually fell into my hands, safe and sound. Their horses, which were very handsome, were put to good use among my men on foot. They had their pockets filled with orders from Baron Steuben for assembling the militia. The major had gone out to observe exactly where we were in our march. I had marched so quietly that he was quite astonished when several men grabbed his horse by the bridle and knocked him off. Toward morning the corps halted on the left bank of the Four Mile Creek and rested for an hour.

On the 5th, about four or five o'clock, the corps set out again and arrived at Bailey's Creek, where the enemy had completely demolished the bridge. But it was rebuilt within a half an hour.

Toward two o'clock in the afternoon we reached the heights of Richmond, where several battalions of the enemy with cannon had taken up positions to the left of the town. To the right lay a very steep hill, overgrown with brushwood, which General Arnold thought was occupied by riflemen.[19] The general pointed there with his hand—"That's a task made for you!" I deployed at once, formed two ranks well dispersed, and climbed up the hill. The enemy left after firing a volley which wounded one jäger, but three others who had gone too far to the right were captured.

On the crest of the hill, I formed my men as quickly as possible in order to come up with the enemy, who had withdrawn to a wood behind a deep ravine, where he made a new stand.[20] But since I would have had to cross it under his fire, I tried to detain him by skirmishing until more troops came up for my support. On the whole, it was a crucial moment for me. I was on barren, level ground[21] and the enemy could count my men. I discovered that he had no riflemen, but infantry equipped with bayonets. My men appeared to be so tired and worn out that I no longer dared to rely on their legs for a hurried flight. Meanwhile, the firing drew me forward on the left, whereupon this party of the enemy fell back toward Westham. I moved to my left to the main corps, which by this time had dislodged the enemy from Richmond.[22]

Here I ran into Colonel Simcoe, who immediately drew me to one side and asked whether my men were still able to march, since he intended to destroy a cannon foundry and powder magazine of the enemy at Buckingham, three hours from Richmond.[23]

Hereupon I called for volunteers from among the jägers and Althouse sharpshooters, of whom 53 came forward as well as 150 rangers, 9 of the 80th Regiment, and the cavalry of the rangers. This detachment set out at once under Colonel Simcoe.

The colonel then took the cavalry and one hundred foot soldiers, went with them toward Westham in order to cover us, and ordered me to proceed with the rest of the men. I was to destroy as much as possible until his return, for which purpose an artillery officer was given to me. I then tried to attack the place, which lay in a valley close to the left bank of the James River, from all sides. All the people of the foundry fell into my hands, including the inspector and engineer Lieutenant Colonel Baron

Werneck.[24] This man was a German noble and had served as an artillery officer in the Hanoverian service during the Seven Years' War.

I had left half of the men under arms in the hills, and with the other half I damaged and made unserviceable as much of the machinery and tools found at the smelter as was possible. During this time the artillery officer blew up the powder magazine, consisting of seven hundred barrels of powder and two mills.[25]

The cannon foundry had been laid out by an Englishman according to the Woolwich plan, whereby much was driven by the aid of a waterfall.

Toward ten o'clock in the evening, Colonel Simcoe sent an officer to me with instructions to fall back to Richmond as quickly as possible. He could no longer hold out, for he had information that a strong American corps was approaching.

I assembled my men at once, of whom two thirds were drunk because large stores of wine and beer had been found in the houses. They were now so noisy that one could hear us two hours away. Meanwhile, I ran into Colonel Simcoe about halfway back, whereupon we withdrew to Richmond, where General Arnold and his men were cantoned in sweet repose. We were quartered here in order to rest up.[26]

On the morning of the 6th, Colonel Simcoe and the light troops moved forward a half an hour and took post in the direction of Westham. During this time General Arnold set fire to all the magazines and workshops for shipbuilding, which was carried on vigorously here, including all the vessels still on the blocks. Forty-two vessels were loaded with all kinds of merchandise for the corps' booty and sailed down the James River.[27]

Toward midday, after half of the place was in flames, the corps set out for Westover and remained overnight on the left bank of Four Mile Creek.[28]

Early on the morning of the 7th the corps marched off again. But we had not yet marched a half an hour when a report arose that an enemy corps had occupied the pass of Turkey Island Creek in order to cut off our retreat. At the moment when this alarm occurred, an American corps appeared which threatened to attack our rear guard. Colonel Simcoe was immediately ordered to rush with the jägers and rangers to Turkey Island Creek. But we discovered there that it had been a false alarm, originated by people who wished to get us out of the neighborhood quickly. Toward evening the corps arrived back at Westover, where it cantoned quite spaciously in the buildings of Byrd's plantation.

Since the march back took place rather hastily, some sixty men—too fatigued to keep up—fell into the hands of the enemy.[29] Meanwhile, however, the swiftness of the marches, which amounted to fourteen German miles in all,[30] led to the successful outcome, for we had really caused very great damage to the enemy's magazines. Moreover, we met with very little resistance, since the enemy did not expect such an audacious stroke and had divided his forces.

On the whole, this expedition greatly resembled those of the freebooters, who sometimes at sea, sometimes ashore, ravaged and laid waste everything. Terrible things happened on this excursion; churches and holy places were plundered.

On the 8th the news arrived that a party of enemy cavalry, about 150 horse, had just arrived at Byrd's Court House,[31] two good hours from Byrd's plantation. The colonel immediately took his cavalry and ordered me to follow with two companies of rangers, in order to surprise this party. The colonel ran into a vedette which fired and withdrew. Following this the rangers charged into the enemy picket, which could hardly get to their horses. They cut down some thirty men and captured one captain, one lieutenant, and sixteen men. One ranger was killed and three wounded.[32] On the morning of the 9th we returned.

PART FOUR

From the embarkation at Byrd's plantation up to the landing at Hardy's Ferry in the County of Isle of Wight.

The 10th. In the morning the entire corps embarked on its small vessels and set sail at once.

Toward evening the general received the news from shore that General Steuben was advancing with a corps from Petersburg, in order to occupy the position at Hood's Point again and make our passage difficult.[33]

Despite a sudden gale and thunderstorm, General Arnold ordered me to get into the boats with fifty jägers, along with Colonel Simcoe with two hundred rangers, Colonel Dundas with two hundred men of the 80th Regiment, and Major Robinson[34] with two hundred men of his corps. We landed at ten o'clock in the evening on Hood's Point without seeing anything of the enemy.

I was the first to go ashore. Since the thunderstorm had subsided and a beautiful, clear evening with moonlight followed, by which one could see far around, I took four men, a hornblower, and Captain Murray of the rangers to reconnoiter and patrol a short distance into the country. I ordered two men to proceed in front of me at a distance of fifty paces, and I followed with the people mentioned.

The way led through a wood which was enclosed by wooden railings, and the road, on which the heavy rain still lay, was wide and sandy. I had hardly gone four to five hundred paces when I heard horses trotting through the water. I bent down to the ground and could detect something approaching me. I had no desire to run back, since I thought that it would be several men whom I could seize. To the right on this side of the fence, or railing, I found three or four trees, behind which I concealed myself and the other four men. A moment later, a body of twenty to thirty horse appeared. I had a mind to let them pass and fire upon them from the rear. But the officer, who looked my way just as he approached me, ordered a halt and called to me, "Who's there?" I kept still; he called again, "Who's there?" Since the game was now too serious for me, I jumped out from behind the tree and shouted to him, "Friend of the watch!" At that moment I called for fire. The two jägers who were with me, and the hornblower, who was armed with one of my double pistols, gave fire and the entire troop fled. The two jägers whom I had sent ahead dropped to the ground at their approach and contributed their fire. This party had probably been sent out to patrol toward Hood's Point. I was annoyed to think that if I had taken twenty-four men with me instead of four, the entire party would have been mine.

I then returned, found General Arnold, and gave him a report of the affair. He was sorry that I had not taken a prisoner.

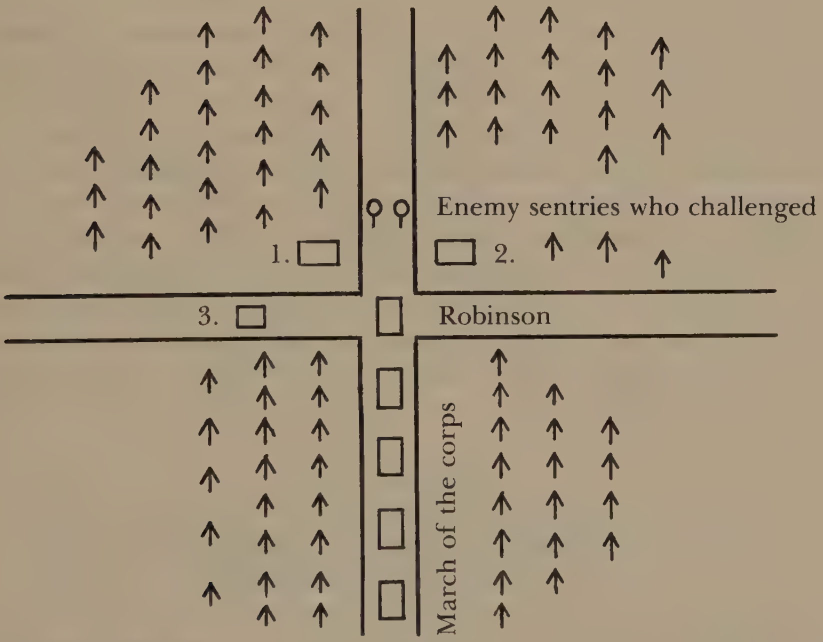
Here Colonel Simcoe came to me and begged me not to take offense that Major Robinson and his provincials, rather than myself, would have the advanced guard. I knew that this man was a fellow-countryman. His father, General Robinson,[35] was a friend of General Arnold, who probably wanted to give him an opportunity to get his name in the *Gazette.*[36] I smiled, for I knew the honorable man. The corps set out at once on the road to Petersburg in the following order.

> N.B. This corps, both the leader and all its officers and men, consisted of loyalist Americans.
> 1. Robinson's Corps.—How the honorable man was marching, I don't know, for I had no desire to appear overcurious about the head.
> 2. Myself with fifty jägers.
> 3. The rangers.
>
> In reserve: Colonel Dundas with two hundred men of the 80th Regiment.

We had hardly marched a half an hour, when some twenty musket shots were fired at the head, but the bullets injured no one and were honorably answered by Robinson's gentlemen. Instead of halting and searching this wooded area with reconnoitering patrols, everybody kept on marching.

After a lapse of about a half an hour, we heard two extraordinarily loud voices challenge the head with a very clear "Who—is—there?" The good major ordered, "Forward!" At that instant, a terrible fire fell out of the woods from the front and left among Robinson's honorable Americans. Weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth arose, and one captain, two officers, and some forty men were either killed or seriously wounded. I ran to the head and found a deplorable situation: the honorable fellows were so disconcerted by their bad luck that if the enemy party had suddenly attacked them with the bayonet, the entire column certainly would have been thrown back to Hood's Point. General Arnold himself came to the head, which was in the greatest confusion, and I could not restrain myself from bursting out with—"So it goes when a person wants to do something that he doesn't understand!" Meanwhile, the general requested me, with the most courteous expression, to take command of the advanced guard.

From what I could discover in the darkness, the enemy ambuscade was about as follows. There was a crossroad through the thick woods where the mishap occurred. According to the effectiveness of the fire, and the challenge which was the signal for the ambuscade, the enemy must have lain in such a manner.



1. 2. 3. The ambuscades. From here, they could see by the bright moonlight how we came up the road.[37]

The corps set out at once, without the reserve, which remained with the dead and wounded to drag them to the ships, as we had no wagons. Since I now feared the same game by the enemy, I marched in small separated parties. Colonel Simcoe followed me with the rangers.

We had hardly marched a good half hour when the general ordered a halt. I posted a few men around me here and crept forward. As I lay on the ground, I could perceive a slight rustle coming from dry branches lightly touching in a wood. Although the wood was very dark, I could detect a defile right in front of me. After a lapse of about a half an hour we marched back, and at daylight the troops boarded the vessels.

The 11th. As soon as the troops were on board, the fleet set sail, passed Hood's channel, and anchored on the 12th near the mouth of the Chickahominy River. Toward two o'clock in the afternoon the fleet got under sail again with the ebb tide and anchored about evening at Cobham.[38] As soon as it was dark, Colonel Dundas landed here with four hundred men of the 80th Regiment and set fire to a flour and forage depot which was guarded by one hundred men. Three men of the 80th Regiment were wounded and several Americans captured. At midnight the party returned to the vessels.

Toward morning on the 13th, the fleet moved with the tide to the vicinity of Jamestown, where anchor was dropped around midday. In the afternoon the fleet set sail again and anchored toward evening at Burwell's Ferry.

Early on the morning of the 14th, the fleet sailed and cast anchor close to the right bank of the James River in Isle of Wight County. Preparations were made at once to disembark all the troops at Hardy's Ferry,[39] which took place at dusk. Colonel Simcoe, with the rangers and jägers, had to take post at a plantation halfway to the landing place in order to cover the landing. There we captured an American major and a preacher of extraordinary size, one of the greatest partisans of the rebels, who was armed with a saber and a pair of pistols. We called him the "High Priest" because of his height.

PART FIVE

From the landing at Hardy's Ferry in Isle of Wight County up to the arrival at Portsmouth.

The 15th. After the horses for the cavalry and artillery had been disembarked, and the corps provided with biscuit for three days, we set out toward Smithfield at ten o'clock in the morning. In the afternoon we crossed the pass of Pagan Mill, which consisted of a dam three hundred paces in length, on which there were three bridges for crossing the marshy water. We marched over a range of hills where the road ran like a corkscrew, and where a handful of men could have performed wonders.

At the last defile one of my flankers captured the American Major Pierce,[40] who had ridden out alone to reconnoiter. The poor man had a thousand pounds in paper money and a particularly beautiful gold repeater[41] in his pocket, all of which, along with his very fine horse, was taken as booty by a single man.[42] Toward evening the corps arrived at Smithfield, where it cantoned.[43] I took my post at Pierce's plantation, which belonged to the captured major, a quarter of an hour distant from the town. The fleet had sailed up to the mouth of Pagan Creek, from which point the boats were directed to Smithfield.

On the 16th at daybreak Major Gordon[44] with a detachment of one officer and thirty jägers, thirty horse, and one hundred men of the 80th Regiment crossed Pagan Creek in boats. They marched to Old Town,[45] attacked an enemy detachment of considerable size, put it to flight, and captured two officers and twenty-two men.

Several hours later Colonel Simcoe went out with his cavalry to reconnoiter the pass of Mackie's Mill,[46] which General Arnold had to cross with the corps. After a short time the colonel sent word that this pass was occupied by the enemy with infantry and two pieces.[47] Hereupon General Arnold ordered me to hurry there with the jägers and three companies of rangers, and to do everything possible to dislodge the enemy.

In the afternoon I arrived on this side of the pass, where I found the colonel. The pass consisted of a small stream which had high banks. The mill lay on the other side, behind which was the bridge demolished by the enemy. The enemy had placed his infantry and two pieces in the gardens in such a way that they could enfilade the bridge and a great distance on our side. There was much to reconnoiter but no time for it; we saw the enemy right before our eyes. He had to be driven out, and we immediately proceeded quickly to the task. The ground was high on both sides of the creek, and on an elevation on this side, right along the road, I found a number of separated trees where the terrain appeared to be higher than on the other side. Here I took post at once with one officer and thirty jägers, of whom I ordered fifteen men to shoot at the people in the gardens, and directed another fifteen should keep up a constant fire on the guns. I distributed the remaining jägers along the creek and ordered them to fire continuously at anyone who showed himself. The guns fired four shots, two with balls and two with grape, whereupon they were pulled back, since no one had any more desire to load them.

While this was taking place, a jäger informed me that he had seen a footbridge over the water on the left, about a thousand paces below the mill. I ordered the fire kept up and saw that it was very effective. I distributed the jägers among the rangers and hurried to the footbridge. I found it and immediately ordered ten or twelve men to cross over. This had the effect of causing the enemy to abandon the gardens and hedges, and it looked as though he intended to withdraw to the wood lying behind him. To my astonishment, however, all the jägers and rangers left their posts, rushed to the footbridge and crossed it, without my being able to prevent it. I ran along with them and tried to put barely a part of them in order on the other side. In this I succeeded. Now there was nothing else to do but to attack the enemy, who, however, was so surprised by the spirit of the men that he ran head over heels to the woods. My men pursued him for over a half a league.—Thus, chance often has the greatest share in the successful outcome of events in war.

We found eleven dead and eight wounded of the enemy, and took one officer and eight men prisoner. There were two jägers and one ranger killed, and five men were wounded. I immediately took post and repaired the bridge as well as I could, so that it was in good condition for Simcoe to cross with his cavalry. A report was given at once to the general, who sent engineers to repair the bridge so that the whole corps could cross it.[48]

On the morning of the 17th, General Arnold departed from Smithfield and crossed the pass of Mackie's Mill.

On the 18th at daybreak the corps set out, crossed Chuckatuck Creek at the mill of the same name, and camped on Sack Point. During this time the fleet, on which the corps constantly depended for its provisions and ammunition, lay at the mouth of the Nansemond River, into which the Chuckatuck flowed near Sack Point.[49]

On the 19th, past midnight, Colonel Simcoe and the rangers, the jäger detachment, and the Althouse sharpshooters crossed the Nansemond in flatboats.[50] At daybreak, the colonel went toward Portsmouth with the cavalry. Toward nine o'clock in the morning, General Arnold ordered me to follow with the infantry. After a march of eight hours, we arrived toward evening at Portsmouth and took post at once.

Toward afternoon on the 20th, General Arnold arrived at Portsmouth with the entire corps. This place lies on the left bank of the Southern Branch of the Elizabeth River, which is navigable for frigates to the upper part of the town. The town consists of 150 wooden houses and is inhabited mainly by rich merchants and mariners. Above and below, near the town, two muddy creeks flow into the river, making the place a kind of a half-island. The area is level and covered with woods at a distance of four to five hundred paces around the town. The entire area is very swampy and regarded as very unhealthy. The whole town had been abandoned by its inhabitants, except for three families.[51]

Directly opposite Portsmouth lay the blot of Norfolk, which had been burned to the ground at the beginning of the war, except for a few houses. The blackened, burned ruins presented a dismal prospect to the eye.[52]

The entire corps went into cantonment, and the light troops occupied the front from one creek to the other with only weak pickets, for according to all reports no enemy was to be seen.

On the 22d, work was begun on six redoubts in order to protect the place, which was designated as the fortified post for this province. The redoubts were to be connected by an abatis of pointed trees.

CHAPTER 2

From the arrival at Portsmouth and the union of the army under Lord Cornwallis up to the arrival of the army at York and Gloucester.

PART ONE

From the arrival at Portsmouth until after the affair before Portsmouth, in which I was wounded.

Having rested since the evening of the day before yesterday, I used the opportunity to roam through the entire area to orient myself. I discovered that Scott's Creek protected half of our front on the right up to a distance of about a half an hour. This marshy creek falls into the Elizabeth a good half hour's distance below the town. Between this creek and the one which flows into the Elizabeth River just below the town is a thick swampy wood in which a plantation is situated. But at Scott's plantation, which lies on the other side, there is a causeway where one can cross the creek. On my return, I proposed that I should lie in this wood at the causeway, since otherwise Portsmouth could easily be reconnoitered and attacked from here through the aid of the woods. But since no enemy was to be feared, no attention was paid to my idea. I also found that our right through Mill Point, which lay somewhat higher than the town to the right across the creek, could be flanked and bombarded. For my part, I would not have chosen Portsmouth for a fortified post without having constructed a good work on Mill Point, and another on the right bank of the river at the Norfolk distillery. By this means one would be complete master of the river, and since Portsmouth can be fired upon from Mill Point, this could easily be prevented by a redoubt.[1]

On the 23d, about three o'clock in the morning, the jägers and rangers under Colonel Simcoe crossed the Elizabeth River and landed on Powder Point above Norfolk. The march was continued immediately toward Great Bridge to reconnoiter this area. During the night Colonel Dundas with 250 men of the 80th Regiment went up the river in boats to get in the rear in case Great Bridge was occupied by the enemy. The two detachments met around midday.

We had hardly arrived when we found a loyal-minded subject, which was regarded as a miracle, although General Arnold had asserted that when he made an appearance the people would change their minds in droves. The man gave us the news that six hundred Americans were advancing toward us. It was decided immediately not to wait for them but to proceed toward them. We set out at once on the road toward Suffolk, and we were scarcely a quarter of an hour away when I, with the advanced guard, ran into an enemy party which withdrew hastily after a few rifle shots. Captain Shank[2] followed at once, overtook them in the defiles of Edmunds Bridge,[3] cut down a part of them, and captured a captain and three dragoons. Through them we learned that General Gregory,[4] with a corps of three thousand men, had taken post behind the swamps one and a half German miles from Great Bridge. Following this information, we retired at once to Great Bridge.

Toward evening the detachment set out toward Kemp's Landing,[5] arriving during the night. This pass was likewise reconnoitered.

Remarks on the two passes of Great Bridge and Kemp's Landing.

Great Bridge is an important position in Virginia, if Portsmouth is to be designated and maintained as a fortified post. It consists of a village of twenty-five fine buildings and is inhabited by tradespeople, who, however, had all flown and left us their good Madeira and large stocks of provisions. The place lies on the Southern Branch of the Elizabeth River, ten English miles from Portsmouth, where several small creeks fall in. These creeks, along with the two banks of the river, form an impenetrable marsh of fifteen to sixteen hundred paces. A single causeway passes over this swampland, and there is a wooden bridge in the middle which rests on trestles and piers. This long bridge, from which the village takes its name, is 223 paces in length.[6]

The Elizabeth River as well as the small creeks rise in the great Dismal Swamp, an immense swampy woodland which extends from here into North Carolina. One can cross from here to North Carolina only at Great Bridge. Indeed, the inhabitants have made a passageway through this wilderness, with the help of fallen trees (called logs), for single travelers on foot. One can cross here with the aid of a compass, but if the year is not very dry, it is impassable.

Since the Northwest River also rises in the Dismal Swamp to the south, and flows into the Currituck Sound, it has only one crossing, a miserable wooden bridge called Northwest Landing Place. Thus, he who is master of the James and Elizabeth rivers and holds Portsmouth, Great Bridge, and the Northwest River crossing in his hands is the complete master of the entire part of Virginia called Princess Anne County, which lies between these two passes, Chesapeake Bay, and the James and Elizabeth rivers.

Kemp's Landing consists of ninety dwellings, and is a trading place because of its location. It lies close to the source of the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River. If this place were protected by a redoubt occupied with one hundred men and two guns, or only a mere detachment of light troops, any enemy troops which ventured to cross the logs would be cut off.

The 24th. Toward ten o'clock in the morning we left Kemp's Landing, and one captain with sixty rangers was posted there. We marched back by way of New Town and Norfolk.

Since they had relied at Portsmouth on this detached party, they had undertaken a little foraging by the English artillery along the road to Great Bridge at the time. On the way back, however, their escort fell into an enemy ambuscade at Pallet's Mill, during which one artillery officer was killed and several artillerymen were captured.

This enemy party is said to have been from a light corps commanded by a certain Major Weeks,[7] to whom the country people are greatly devoted, partly from inclination and partly from fear. In the countryside he is considered an excellent officer and a good partisan. There was much talk about him at Kemp's Landing, but we laughed because we had neither seen nor heard anyone. Afterward, we were astonished over the trick that he had played in our rear.

On the 28th the jägers and rangers, under Colonel Simcoe, marched to Great Bridge in order to take post there and to protect the workers who had to throw up a redoubt for one hundred men and two guns. Three hundred Negroes were taken there, who arrived by water about the same time. The work was completed in three days. We then removed a part of the Great Bridge and laid a footbridge for communication by land. During this task the colonel remained with the workmen, and I occupied the Edmunds Bridge toward Suffolk with fifty jägers and two companies of rangers.

We returned during the night of the 30th. The redoubt was garrisoned by one captain and one hundred men of the 80th Regiment.

On the 9th of February, reports were received from our patrols that General Lawson[8] and one thousand men had taken a position on the height of Doctor Hall's[9] plantation. General Arnold quickly decided to attack him.

At eight o'clock in the evening, in very rainy, dark, and stormy weather, the jägers, one hundred rangers, and one hundred men of Robinson's under Colonel Simcoe silently boarded the boats at

Portsmouth and entered the Western Branch of the Elizabeth River. At midnight we landed at Sutherland's plantation to attack the enemy in the rear. From there we made our way alongside the river through pathless woods and marshes until we fell into the highway from Suffolk, about a half an hour from Hall's plantation. We halted here and formed into close platoons, one behind the other. The jägers were ordered to shoot at the people who were revealed by their fire, and the rangers and Robinson's men were given orders to swiftly attack everyone with the bayonet.

Several hundred paces away lay a bridge, which the enemy had occupied at the rear. The colonel ordered me to select twenty rangers and to make myself master of the bridge by trick or by force. We set out and I asked my men only to remain silent and follow me. I took two brave fellows with me and made up my mind, if I were challenged, to say nothing like "Good friend!", but to attack the enemy sharply and follow him swiftly. But to our chagrin we found no one near the bridge. The bird had flown the nest an hour before. The fires were still burning brightly. Here we met Colonel Dundas, who had gone out with all the cavalry and two hundred men of the 80th Regiment to attack the enemy in the front. On the morning of the 10th the entire detachment marched off toward Portsmouth, where we arrived at midday.

This expedition was quite trying for me. Several hours previously, I had taken medicine when I felt the fever again. To hold back its effects I had to drink red wine, which caused extreme distress. I mention this only to show the reader that one must do everything one can to perform one's duty scrupulously; and that a man, if he will, can do very much.

The 12th. The news came in from Princess Anne County that Major Weeks was spreading ruin in the area and severely harassing the few good loyalists. The communication between Portsmouth and Great Bridge was made unsafe. Therefore General Arnold decided to send two parties there, one under Colonel Simcoe and the other under myself, in order to drive away the honorable gentleman.

In the afternoon, about four o'clock, both detachments boarded the boats at Portsmouth. The one under Colonel Simcoe consisted of two hundred foot and forty horse and landed at Norfolk. My detachment consisted of two hundred foot and thirty horse and landed at Powder Point. The colonel began marching toward Kemp's Landing, where he was to remain until I with my detachment had passed the Devil's Elbow Swamp to his right. My purpose during this march was to take the enemy party in the rear or between us, if they had secured the passes of London, Dauge's, and Brock's bridges.[10] These are the three main passes of the county. Toward evening I arrived in the vicinity of Great Bridge in order to gather some information about the enemy from the commanding officer there. From here I was to try to arrange my march so that I would arrive the next morning, the 13th, in the vicinity of Brock's Bridge. During this time, the colonel would take his march toward London Bridge to draw the enemy's attention upon himself.

I was just about to continue my march when I received an order to return immediately to Portsmouth. Three French ships of the fleet of Admiral Ternay had sailed into the mouth of the James River in order to blockade it. It was presumed that these ships intended to join the Americans in some undertaking against Portsmouth.[11]

In the forenoon of the 13th I arrived at Powder Point, where I found the colonel with his detachment. But at this moment we received instructions to follow our original orders.

The 14th. Toward midnight I received the information from a guide given to me, whom I used as a spy at the same time, that the enemy had occupied Dauge's Bridge. I departed at once from the vicinity of Great Bridge, crossed the Devil's Elbow Swamp—two good hours wide—and about nine o'clock in the morning arrived on the other side at a plantation which belonged to a loyalist and a relative of my guide.

This swampy woods was crossed on a very dark night, and I do not deny that I would have liked to know the distinguishing marks by which the guide directed himself. The men had to march in single file, constantly going up to their knees in the swamp. We had to climb over countless trees which the wind had blown down and that often lay crosswise, over which the horses could scarcely go. They had to be whistled at continually to prevent them from going astray. Men and horses were so worn out that they could hardly go on when I happily left this abominable region behind.

According to an arrangement, I found at the loyalist's place a note in cipher from the colonel which ordered me into the woods where the highway intersected the footpath from the swamp. I was to conceal myself and await further news from him and from the enemy. The cause of this delay was the return of the three French warships to the mouth of the James River. I posted sentries around me and was quite glad that at least I had a passable road for retreat. For had the enemy struck me just as I reached the end of the swamp, when the strength of the men was used up, many a one who wanted to escape the misfortune of falling in impassable regions after a desperate defense could have lost his life in this miserable way. Meanwhile, I remained here under two disadvantages: we had no more bread with us and could hunt up none without revealing ourselves, and I had to fear that some of my men might desert because of hunger.

In this situation, I resorted to a short talk in which I exhorted my men to maintain good conduct. I promised them that they would have very good subsistence after accomplishing this task.

Early on the morning of the 15th I received a second note from the colonel, instructing me to continue the march at my discretion. I then approached Dauge's swamp in order to go through it and come out at the rear, since according to my information the enemy had occupied Dauge's Bridge. Toward three o'clock in the afternoon we had safely crossed this marshy woodland of two and a half German miles in breadth.

Although I had crossed the first swamp with great difficulty during the night, this last passage surpassed the first one very much with respect to all hardships. The men had to wade constantly over their knees in the swampy water and climb over the most dangerous spots with the help of fallen and rotted trees. At times there were places such that if a foothold were missed, a man could have suffocated in the swamp. I had to cross a flooded, swampy cypress wood with the cavalry, a quarter of an hour further to the right, where one had to ride continually in water over the saddle. At the end of the swamp, whither our two guides led us safely at the same time, there was a log causeway—a good quarter hour long—which because of its great holes was just as difficult for the horses and men to cross as the swamp had been.

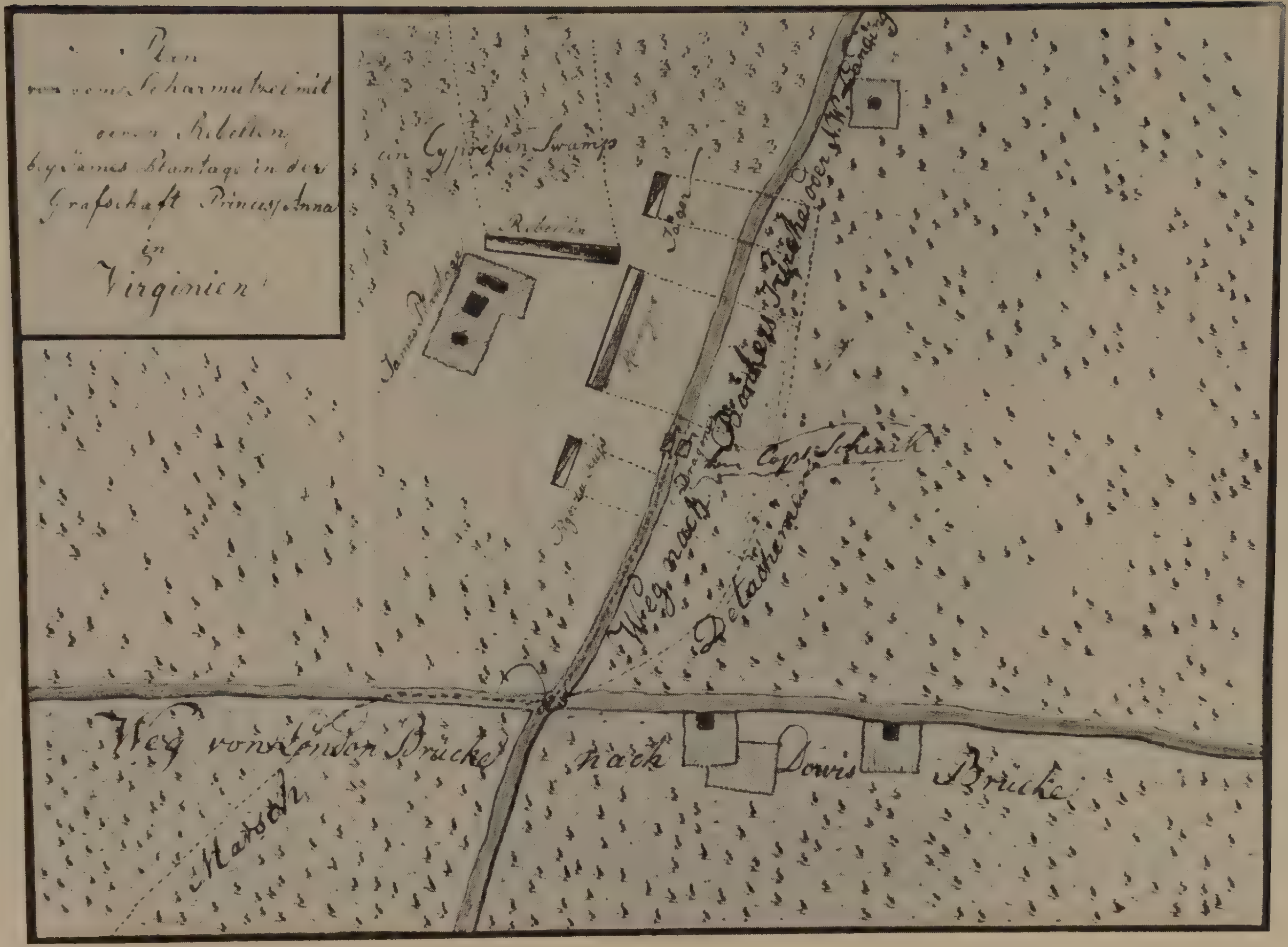
At the end of the causeway was a small house, which I surrounded so unexpectedly that none of its residents could escape. These people gazed in astonishment at the sight of us, when they learned the way which we had taken. I drew up here and counted my men. I had not lost a single man—thank God!

From the occupant of the house I received the news that Major Weeks and his party had burned Dauge's Bridge and withdrawn. I threatened the man with the noose if he did not disclose to me what he knew, and at the same time I showed him several guineas which he could earn if he spoke the truth. The fear of the gallows and the love of the gold softened the heart of this man. He revealed to me that just two hours before Major Weeks with six to eight hundred men had been in the vicinity of Jamison's plantation,[12] three English miles (a good hour's march) from his house. To be sure, the six to eight hundred men were too many for me; however, it was now too late to change the plan, and I could not obtain assistance. Therefore I made up my mind quickly, sat down, and hurriedly made the following plan[13] of the area and of Weeks's camp, according to the way this man indicated to me. After I had told my men that we must fight, as we had no way to retreat, we marched at once.

Since my guide thought that the enemy could be outflanked around his left with the help of a wood, I ordered Captain Shank with thirty horse and twenty foot jägers to take the highway straight to the plantation. He was to draw the attention of the enemy upon himself from this side and skirmish with the posts existing there. But as soon as he heard the firing from my side, he was to attack with all his force.

PLAN OF THE SKIRMISH WITH THE REBELS AT JAMES'S PLANTATION IN PRINCESS ANNE COUNTY IN VIRGINIA

Along lower road: "Road from London Bridge to Dauge's Bridge." Along upper road: "Road to Bonkers [Pungo?] church or Northwest Landing."


Plan
von dem Scharmutzel mit
denen Rebellen
bey James Plantage in der
Grafschaft Princess Anna
in
Virginien
ein Cypressen Swamp
Rebellen
Jäger
James Plantage
Jäger zu Fuss
Dragoner
Weg nach Bankers Kirche oder Sh. W. Landing
Capt. Schenk
Detachement
Weg von Kendon Brücke
nach Dowis Brücke
Marsch

I made my way through the wood with the 180 jägers and rangers, but I had marched scarcely eight hundred to a thousand paces when I heard strong rifle fire. The man from the small house informed me that the enemy must be situated at James's,[14] rather than Jamison's, plantation, which was close to our left, since there was a crossroad from London Bridge and Northwest Landing at this plantation.

I quickly formed a front on the flank and directed my men to fire a volley as soon as they caught sight of the enemy and then boldly attack the foe with the bayonet and hunting sword. I ordered the jägers to disperse on both flanks and kept the rangers in close formation. We had not passed five to six hundred paces through the wood when we saw the enemy in a line facing the side of the highway to London Bridge, firing freely against Captain Shank's advance. In doing so, they carelessly showed us their left flank. I got over a fence safely without being discovered by the enemy. Here I had a volley fired, blew the half-moon, and shouted "Hurrah!" I scrambled over a second fence and threw myself at the enemy, who was so surprised that he impulsively fled in the greatest disorder into the wood lying behind him. At this moment the gallant Captain Shank advanced with his cavalry, ably supported by Lieutenant Bickell with his twenty foot jägers. Some sixty men were either cut down or bayoneted by the infantry. We captured one captain, one lieutenant, four noncommissioned officers, and forty-five men, some sound and some wounded. All the baggage, along with a powder cart and a wagon loaded with weapons, was taken as booty by the men. I ordered Lieutenant Bickell with all the foot jägers to quickly follow the enemy into the wood. He followed him until night fell and brought back seven more prisoners. On my side, I had three jägers and two rangers wounded and one horse killed.

I immediately dispatched Lieutenant Holland[15] with four ranger dragoons to the colonel at London Bridge in order to give him a report of the incident, and quickly took all security measures for my position at James's plantation. Now I let my men enjoy the luxuries of the American planter, who was a very rich man. At two o'clock at night Colonel Simcoe joined me.[16]

I learned from the prisoners that Major Weeks designated daily a rallying point where they were to reassemble after a reverse. He seldom remained in one place for twenty-four hours, and toward evening they were on the march again. Their present rendezvous was Northwest Landing. The enemy strength had been 520 men, and his people were so devoted to him that none of them were willing to enlist in our service.

The 16th. In the morning the colonel's detachment arrived. He marched off at once to seek out the enemy again. The colonel went in advance with the cavalry toward Pungo Church,[17] and ordered me to follow slowly with the infantry because the men were very tired. This was the only road the enemy could take to the pass of Northwest Landing.

In the forenoon I arrived at Pungo Church, which lay on a height. It was built of brick and enclosed by a wall, which made a very good post, since it was surrounded on both sides by swamps for a great distance. I found the colonel here with the cavalry. He ordered me to lay an ambuscade in the churchyard, and advised me to turn to the left toward Tale's [?] plantation with the rest of the infantry and rummage through this area, since the enemy appeared to be completely scattered, according to his information. He himself would go with the cavalry to Ackiss's plantation[18] to collect information about the enemy. Later, he would rejoin me in my area or recall me.

After I had laid an ambuscade of one officer, ten jägers, and ten rangers at Pungo churchyard, I marched to Tale's plantation. After a lapse of less than an hour, one of my flankers on the right reported to me that he had seen several sentries dressed in blue coats at a distance of several hundred paces. Now, on such an occasion, where the enemy had been alarmed previously, the usual precautions taken for reconnoitering him here would have spoiled the game in this instance. Therefore I immediately sent out the jägers in two parties, hurrying to the right and left, in order to seek out and attack the enemy. I myself took the rangers and followed the road straight toward the plantation, which I perceived in the distance. The party on the right ran into the enemy, and the other party, in accordance with previous orders, hastened to the spot where the firing broke out. I found the enemy in full flight, running through a marshy meadow to a wood. Two of their men were killed and a lieutenant with five men captured. Had Lieutenant Bickell seized another officer who stood a few paces away instead of the lieutenant, the commander of the party—Major Weeks himself—would have been captured. But since he was not as well dressed as the lieutenant, he was not taken for an officer. Just before, a jäger had killed his horse.

This man, whom I had the good luck to chase all around, knew the countryside better than I could ever know it. That was evident from the positions he took, for a retreat always remained open to him in the impassable woods which he alone knew. But on this occasion, my spies were better than his; and luck, on which everything depends in war, was on my side.

I divided my force into eight small parties, followed the enemy, and rummaged through the entire terrain beyond Tale's plantation almost to Ackiss's, where eleven more men fell into my hands. Through the prisoners I collected the information that their rendezvous was in the great Dismal Swamp.

Toward evening the colonel arrived from Ackiss's, and we marched to

Cornick's plantation,[19] where we rested for several hours during the night.

On the 17th we marched to Kemp's Landing. The colonel received orders here to return to Portsmouth, where we arrived in the afternoon of the 18th.

The 21st. Since General Arnold had convoked a large provincial assembly in Princess Anne County to persuade the inhabitants—who pretended to be good friends—to take a new oath of allegiance to England, Colonel Simcoe marched with the jägers and rangers to Kemp's Landing to protect the assemblage there. Over four hundred persons of both sexes were present, all of them over twenty-two years of age, who gladly swallowed the oath after they were earnestly assured that the King was firmly resolved to protect them continually as loyal subjects during the war with a strong corps.

Arnold then assured the people that he would constantly sacrifice his blood and his life for them. While taking the oath, several persons made wry faces, as though they would choke on it. Nevertheless, everyone put on a good show.

During the afternoon the wealthiest and foremost inhabitants were entertained at the expense of the good King. They ate and drank fully, and all our pretended loyalist friends, whose hearts Arnold thought he had won, were in high spirits. After everything had come off peacefully, we marched back on the morning of the 23d.

Shortly before our departure, I breakfasted with one of the most distinguished and richest residents of this area, named Walker,[20] with whom I held the following conversation:

> I said: "Why don't you raise a battalion for the defense of this area? You, as the first citizen of the county, can accomplish whatever you want by setting an example for your neighbors. Everyone will follow you. Uniforms and weapons will be furnished readily for the war, and these people would be very well paid."
>
> He replied: "I must first see if it is true that your people really intend to remain with us. You have already been in this area twice. General Leslie gave me the same assurances in the past autumn, and where is he now? In Carolina! Who knows where you will be this autumn? And should the French unite with the Americans, everything would certainly be lost to you here. What would we loyally disposed subjects have then? Nothing but misfortune from the Opposition Party, if you leave us again."
>
> I said: "How can you be called friends of the King if you won't venture anything for the right cause? Look at your Opposition Party:

> they abandon wife, child, house, and home, and let us lay waste to everything. They fight without shoes and clothing with all passion, suffer hunger, and gladly endure all the hardships of war. But you loyalists won't do anything! You only want to be protected, to live in peace in your houses. We are supposed to break our bones for you, in place of yours, to accomplish your purpose. We attempt everything, and sacrifice our own blood for your assumed cause."

At this moment, a jäger arrived and informed me that the rangers were marching. I took my leave and rode off.

When my blood had cooled down again, I realized that this man, who did not want to be a soldier, would have been a fool if he had acted as I had advised him. For he possessed a fortune in property of £50,000 sterling, and had for a wife one of the most charming blondes that I have ever seen in all my life!

Month of March, the 2d. I finally received the post in the wood on Scott's Creek at Scott's plantation. For since my men had no fixed post up to this point, and frequently served under English officers who winked at them about everything, I suspected that they were running wild. I therefore earnestly petitioned the general for a special outpost. I found the proposed post the most suitable for covering the right and moved into it this evening. I could now arrange everything in my own way. I had a number of trees along the creek felled crosswise into the water, in order to block the passable places, and had three apple trees cut down and pointed to barricade the causeway, but without hindering free access.

The 5th. For several days our outposts have been constantly alarmed. An enemy party seized and burned one of our armed boats, 2 carronades, on the Elizabeth River between Portsmouth and Great Bridge.

We received the news that the Marquis de Lafayette and Generals Wayne and Muhlenberg of the Northern army are advancing to unite with the Southern troops under General Baron Steuben.[21]

On the 10th the news arrived that an American corps under General Gregory had taken a position on the heights of Edmunds Bridge, one hour from Great Bridge, and it looked as if the post at Great Bridge would be seized by a *coup de main.* In order to be certain of this stroke, Major Weeks and his corps had crossed the lick way[22] above the post through the swampy woods to cut off the communication between this post and Portsmouth.

Colonel Simcoe received orders to march at once with his corps to Great Bridge to protect this post against all affronts by General Gregory. For my part, as soon as night fell I had to lie in ambuscade in the bushes on this side of Great Bridge along the road from Kemp's Landing to

Great Bridge, where the footpath fell in with the licks. As soon as he had crossed the swamp, I was to attack Major Weeks with the jägers, one hundred men of the infantry, and all the cavalry of the rangers.

The night was very dark but still. After midnight, about two o'clock, when I had just taken my measures for an ambuscade, a number of shots were heard in the direction of Kemp's Landing. I immediately hurried there, forming a vanguard of all the infantry and ordering the cavalry to follow, and behind them the jägers. Since the countryside was greatly cut through by woods, I could not use the jägers because of the dark night.

I had scarcely marched two English miles up to Hopkins's plantation when I was informed that some people were approaching. Hereupon I commanded, "March! March! Lower bayonets!" Whereupon a "Who's there?" was heard, and the enemy fired a small volley. But at that instant, when I thought of fighting hand to hand with him, he scattered into the woods. From the two men who were captured I learned that they were from Weeks's corps and were detached to cover the rear, while he attacked Captain M'Kay marching from Kemp's Landing. The enemy had closed in on Captain M'Kay, but had withdrawn after hearing the firing from my direction. Since I did not deem it advisable to follow the enemy because of the dark night, I marched back to my former post.

On the morning of March 11th I received orders to march to Great Bridge with two hundred men and lie in ambuscade a good hour beyond the posts which lay along the road to Edmunds Bridge and the one to Suffolk. In the forenoon, toward ten or eleven o'clock, an enemy patrol of two dragoons and four riflemen appeared, stopped, looked around for a while, and went back quietly. To my chagrin the good Colonel Simcoe, like all his countrymen, lost his patience for conducting this kind of warfare. In the afternoon he sent me from one piece of ground to another, which I would have left because our efforts were in vain. But to my and his dismay, a party of about forty horse and one hundred foot appeared and approached the ambuscade just at the moment when I had withdrawn. We went to meet them but they retired in good order toward Edmunds Bridge. Toward evening we marched back to Portsmouth.

On the 16th we received news that a French warship of sixty-four guns had sailed into Chesapeake Bay, but had sailed away after a lapse of several hours. In the meantime, this caused some anxiety among us, since we knew the fleet under Monsieur Ternay,[23] which had three thousand troops on board, was off the coast of Virginia, and that Generals Wayne and Muhlenberg had reinforced the Southern army with a strong corps. From this one could conclude that if this French fleet was not beaten, it intended to undertake something against Portsmouth.

The 17th. With every minute, a bearer of evil tidings arrived. The one had the news that the Marquis de Lafayette approached at quick step with a corps of ten thousand men. Another reported that the French fleet was off the coast of Virginia, and a third had even seen the union between Rochambeau and Lafayette. Now the water rose up to our necks. General Arnold, who had constantly beaten the French and Americans at table, lost his head and wanted to make up all at once for what had been neglected up to now. We now worked hastily to make this post impregnable, although the entire place consisted of miserable works of only six to eight feet on the average, which were flanked on both sides by Gosport Point and Mill Point.

Moreover, if the enemy landed at Lynnhaven Bay and attacked Norfolk, he could take the post at Powder Point from the rear. In the meantime we worked. The Negroes and the entire garrison were put to work. But the most annoying thing, which I now learned for the first time, was that we had brought from New York only enough entrenching tools for three hundred men, notwithstanding that this corps had been detached in order to take, fortify, and maintain a post in Virginia. Had it only been thought about, this mistake could have been repaired in the countryside. But as long as the water did not go over our necks, everything went along as usual in the old humdrum way.

On the 18th a fleet of warships entered the Chesapeake. A naval officer was sent at once by land to Lynnhaven Bay to observe the fleet, and returned with the bad news that he had seen the French flag.

General Arnold, the former American Hannibal, now stayed on horseback day and night, galloped constantly from the fortified windmill up to the blockhouse on the left and back, and had a dam constructed across Mill Point Creek to create a flood in front of the right. Everyone, who knew only the English engineer and no other, continually asked him a question which he answered with another one, until a cold sweat broke out over him.—"What do you think of this fine works? By God! The French will not take it by assault! By God, they cannot!"[24]—As if there were no mortars and pieces in the world!

All our armed vessels entered the Elizabeth River and anchored at Mill Point. They consisted of the *Charon,* 44 guns; the frigate *Guadaloupe,* 28 guns; the *Fowey,* 24 guns; a fire ship, the *Vulcan*; and a number of privateers. Now, no one wanted to venture out of his hole to reconnoiter the enemy, and so we lived in anxiety for twenty-four hours.

An hour before daylight, while I was checking my picket behind Scott's Creek, one of my patrols returned with a man they had caught. When I threatened to hang him, he confessed that a corps of five thousand men under the Marquis de Lafayette, Baron Steuben, and General Muhlenberg was on the march toward Portsmouth to join the French troops which were on board the French fleet in the Chesapeake, and then to take Portsmouth by storm.[25] He was an inhabitant of Suffolk, and had been instructed to observe whether many of our parties were on the highway. From this time on, I ordered my patrols to crisscross. Toward ten o'clock I dispatched a skillful corporal named Sipple, whom I could depend upon, with six capable jägers who were to hide in ambuscade an hour away along the road to Suffolk, so that I could be notified in time of the enemy's arrival. I then rode to town to render my report myself.

The general, who could not be indifferent to this news, because he ran the risk of being hanged, invited me to his table, whereupon I went to my lodging house to change my clothes. I had hardly dressed when I heard several rifle shots, and shortly afterward many shots in succession. I rushed toward my picket, and called to Lieutenant Bickell to send me a noncommissioned officer and sixteen jägers, in order to double the picket and to impede the enemy's passage over the causeway. For from this side he could approach our works covered by the woods up to four to five hundred paces.

I reached the position of the picket and discovered to my astonishment that the entire opposite bank of the creek was occupied by the enemy, who directed his fire upon me. I found no picket, and was full of despair over the misbehavior of the noncommissioned officer of the picket. I dashed into the wood, where a short distance away I came across the jägers posted behind trees. With sword in hand I drove them toward the causeway again, where they fought like heroes in spite of the most frightful fire. At this time, the requested sixteen men arrived. Except for eight men who I kept with me in front of the causeway, I distributed them along the creek, because I could not trust several places.

During this time the riflemen suddenly withdrew, and they advanced in closed battalions against the causeway, but not a shot was fired. Despite all the efforts of their officers, however, they came no further than the entrance of the causeway, gave fire, and withdrew again. Fresh troops advanced each time, but they fared no better. At this moment, I was wounded in the knee. Since I felt that the bone and the large tendon must have been injured, I sat down and asked these eight brave men, of whom three already were wounded, not to leave their post, since the enemy could not come further as long as they stood firm. At length the post defense major, Captain Murray, arrived, who had been sent by the general to see how I was making out. I showed him my wound and said that no support had been sent to me. He wanted to call Lieutenant Bickell to take over the fight, since I could not remain much longer because of the pain. He galloped back and returned. Lieutenant Bickell came running. The captain helped me on a horse and led it back through the wood. Some five to six hundred paces away I met a detachment of about fifty men. I asked the officer what he was doing here, and he assured me that he had been sent to me by the general and had no further orders. I told him to go to the causeway, and since he was a soldier of the best sort, he went.

At the end of the wood I met General Arnold. He expressed his sorrow and asked me if the enemy would possibly take the post. The question annoyed me, for he could see it all for himself.—I said, "No! As long as one jäger lives, no damned American will come across the causeway!"—I was scarcely in my lodgings, and had assured my landlady that her enjoyment was spoiled today, when I received the news that the Americans had given up the action and hastily withdrawn. Like everyone else, I was transported with joy. I rejoiced over the magnificent behavior of my brave jägers, who with all éclat had thus distinguished themselves before the eyes of the English. For surely one jäger had fought against thirty Americans today.[26]

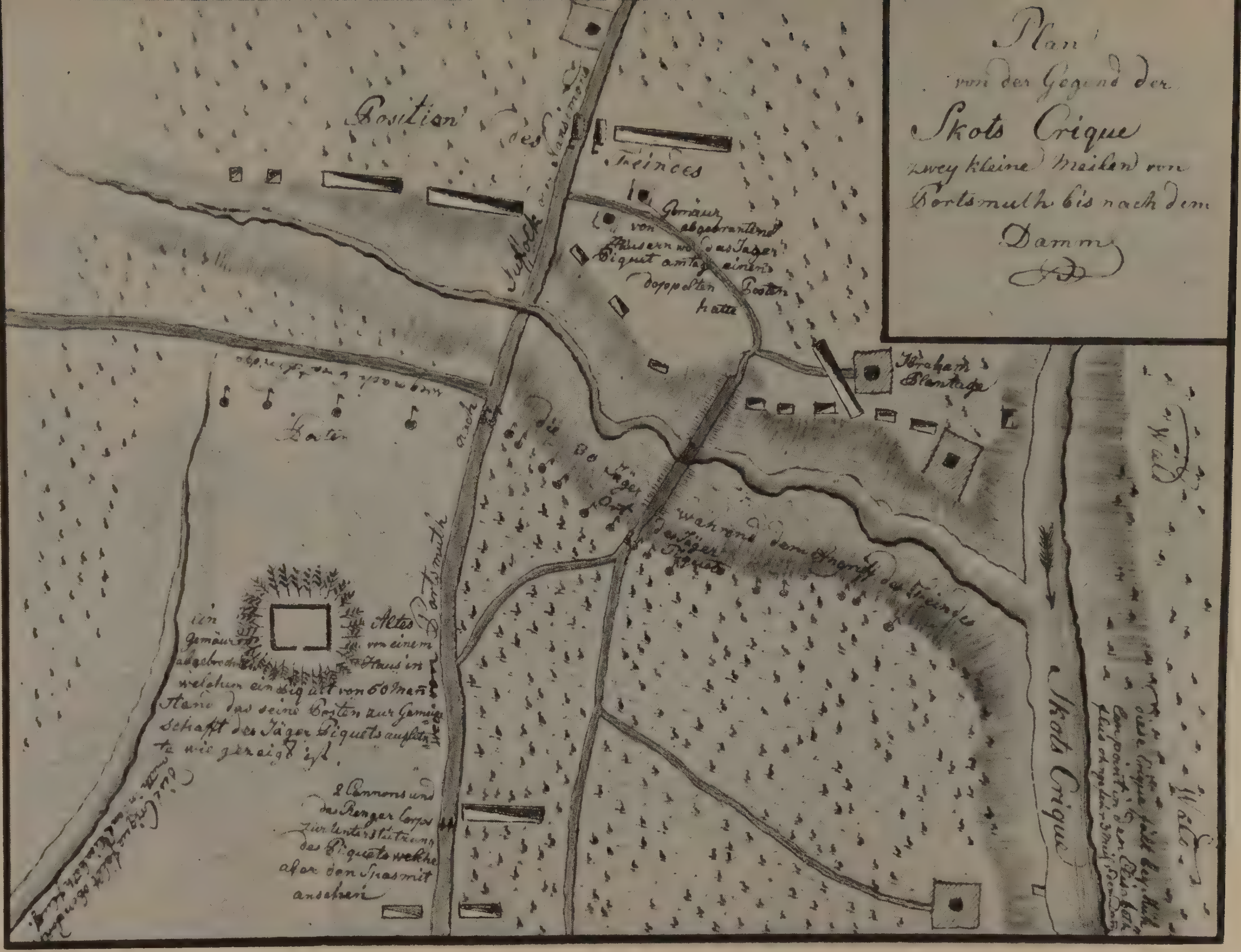
After the order of the day had been issued, I did not learn of one word of compliment in it concerning the excellent conduct of my men, which displeased me no end. Shortly afterward, the general sent his adjutant Lieutenant Robinson[27] (a native American) to me to inquire after my condition. I thanked the general very much for his kindness, but gave him to understand that I was greatly astonished that no acknowledgment of the excellent conduct of the jägers had appeared in the order. I told the adjutant that I presumed the general was displeased, due to national pride, that thirty-two jägers had held off a thousand Americans. For my part, I desired no compliment. I would present it to myself—my left knee had arranged it for me—but I demanded satisfaction for the jägers. The good Robinson made a wry face. After a short time the general himself arrived, who took all pains to appease me. Moreover, he assured me that commendation would be announced at the evening password. It was done then.[28]

In the evening Captain Duncan of the English navy arrived here from the fleet, who brought us the gratifying news that it was the English fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot which had entered the Chesapeake Bay under the French flag,[29] that the French fleet under Admiral Ternay had been beaten off the Virginia coast, and that they had returned to Rhode Island.[30] The hasty withdrawal of the Americans had followed the discovery of the deception.[31]

Just about this time Corporal Sipple returned, who had been given up for lost. Since he had run directly into the head of the enemy column, he had withdrawn with his men under constant fire in order to warn me. All six of his men had been killed or severely wounded, and he himself had escaped through a deep swamp. In addition to these, I had five more dead and four badly wounded. The Americans, who had indeed tried to drag away their dead and wounded with them, had to leave nine men in front of the causeway, among whom was one officer.[32]

PLAN OF THE AREA OF SCOTT'S CREEK, TWO SHORT MILES FROM PORTSMOUTH UP TO THE CAUSEWAY

Above creek: "Position of the enemy"; "Ruins of burnt-out houses where the jäger picket had a double picket in daytime." Below creek: "The 30 jägers during the attack of the enemy"; "Position of the jäger pickets." Along vertical road: "Road from Portsmouth to Suffolk or Nansemond." Along horizontal road to left: "Road to Great Bridge." Below the abatis surrounding square, to left: "An old ruin of a demolished house in which a picket of 50 men stood, which is its position for cooperating with the jäger pickets posted as indicated." Left of guns in road: "Two guns and the Ranger Corps for the support of the pickets, which, however, witnessed the play." [Simcoe's rangers were absent.] Lower left corner: "This creek falls into the Elizabeth River above Portsmouth." Lower right corner: "This creek falls into the Elizabeth River at Mill Point, about three miles from the causeway." Scott's Creek now flows within the city of Portsmouth.


Plan von der Gegend der Skots Crique zwey kleine Meilen von Portsmuth bis nach dem Damm
Position des Feindes
Suffolk von Nansimond
Gemäuer von abgebrantend Häusern wo das Jäger Piquet am tag einen doppelten Posten hatte
Abraham's Plantage
Wald
Wald
Skots Crique
diese Crique fällt bey Mühl[illegible] point in den Elisabeth fluss ohngefähr 3 Meil[illegible]
während dem Angriff des Feindes
das Jäger Piquet
die 80 Jäger Post
Portsmuth
nach
weg nach Kemps landing
Laten
ein Altes Gemäuer von einem abgebrochenen Haus in welchem ein Piquet von 60 Mann stand das seine Posten zur Gemeinschaft des Jäger Piquets aufstellte wie gezeigt ist.
2 Cannons und das Ranger Corps zur Unterstützung des Piquets welche aber den Spas mit ansehen
diese Crique fällt oben bey
[illegible] in den Elisabeth fluss

The 30th. Thank God that these ten days are past! Since last night, after an opening was made in my calf yesterday to draw off the pus, I have slept several hours for the first time. Up to now I ran the risk of losing my leg, since the upper part of the bone, directly under the bend of the left knee, was damaged, and the main tendon of the large muscle in the knee hung only by a thread. Meanwhile, the skillful English Surgeon General Smith[33] assured me that if I kept quiet the muscle would grow strong, then stretch again, and I would not have a stiff leg. Since yesterday I have become so well that I can write in my diary in my room, aided by a noncommissioned officer, and have been able to dictate this myself.

PART TWO

From my wounding until I received the post at Norfolk.

On the 31st, to our joy, a fleet of transport ships entered the Elizabeth River and anchored at Portsmouth. It had the following troops on board, under the English General Phillips, who was to take over the command of the entire force.

1. The English light infantry	1,000 men
2. The 76th Regiment of Scottish Highlanders	600 men
3. The Hessian Regiment Erb Prinz	500 men
4. English artillery	100 men
	2,200 men[34]

We received news that the Marquis de Lafayette had arrived at the Southern army with only a few horsemen and a party of light infantry for his personal guard. The greater part of his corps had not yet crossed the Head of Elk River. The frigate *Monk,* 32 guns, the sloop of war *Hope,* and several privateers moved up the Chesapeake Bay to Head of Elk to prevent the corps there from taking the shortest route by water, thus forcing it to take a detour of several hundred English miles.

General Arnold.

This man was born in New England in North America. He learned pharmaceutics and established himself in that business. Then, in an unlawful way, he declared himself bankrupt. Afterward, he engaged in horse trading in the West Indies and sailed his own vessel there. As soon as the unrest arose in America, he became one of the most fiery and zealous of rebels, and was chosen a general by his comrades.

In the year 1776 [1775], he undertook the very difficult and perilous march from Boston across the country and through the wilderness of

Canada to Quebec. On this march, the boats of the corps had to be carried by the soldiers in order to cross the large number of rivers. Since they passed through regions where there was no game, the pangs of hunger gained such an upper hand with them that they had to eat their hunting dogs. Over half of the corps, which numbered two thousand men, was worn away by fatigue and starvation. Their clothing was torn to pieces by the bush, and most of their bodies were naked and injured.

In such miserable circumstances these wretched remains of men joined General Montgomery, who with a corps of five thousand men had approached Quebec by way of Albany and the lakes. Soon after their arrival they attempted to storm Quebec, where, however, they were repelled by the worthy and brave General Carleton. Half of the Americans were killed, Montgomery was slain, and Arnold's left leg was shot apart. Despite this, he led his remaining troops back safely to Ticonderoga, traveling partly from lake to lake and partly by land. During the marches Arnold had to be carried on a stretcher, and this was indeed in the severest of winters. For this reason he was styled another Hannibal by the Americans.

He often served with great success during the war and had all respect in the English army. At the Stillwater affair in 1777, where General Burgoyne was captured with bag and baggage, his right foot and heel were riddled by a Brunswick rifleman. The wound would not heal up, and because of this he could no longer serve in the field. In 1778, after we vacated Philadelphia, he was appointed the governor of the city, where he married the youngest Miss Shippen,[35] the celebrated American beauty. In 1780 the Congress entrusted him with the important post of West Point, where he then played the cunning trick on his countrymen which brought the good André to grief.

He was a man of medium size, well built, with lively eyes and fine features. He could be very polite and agreeable, especially at table, but if one stayed too long in his company, then the apothecary and horse trader showed through the general. He spoke a great deal about his heroic deeds on the other side, and frequently mentioned his ingenious trick at West Point, a story which he could make ridiculous with much wit.

In his military actions he constantly displayed his former resolution, which, however, was mixed with a cautious concern due to his fear of the gallows if he fell into the hands of his countrymen. He always carried a pair of small pistols in his pocket as a last resource to escape being hanged. I have watched him very closely, and I found him very restless on the day the Americans threatened to take Portsmouth with a *coup de main.* On that day, he was not the "American Hannibal."

His dishonorable undertaking, which, had it succeeded, could have actually turned the war more favorably for England, nevertheless cannot be justified, for surely self-gain alone had guided him, and not remorse for having taken the other side. If he really felt in his conscience that he had done wrong in siding against his mother country, he should have sheathed his sword and served no more, and then made known in writing his opinions with his reasons.[36] This would have gained more proselytes than his shameful enterprise, which every man of honor and fine feelings—whether he be friend or foe of the common cause—must loathe.

Gladly as I would have paid with my blood and my life for England's success in this war, this man remained so detestable to me that I had to use every effort not to let him perceive, or even feel, the indignation of my soul. In these moments I felt no pain in my wound, and became happy once more when Colonel Simcoe gave me the news that General Phillips had arrived with troop reinforcements from New York, and that this worthy man would take over the command of the army in Virginia.

Month of April, the 6th. The troops under General Phillips were disembarked on the 1st. As soon as the general had gone ashore, he immediately took all measures which would contribute to the best fortification and defense of this post. One saw in him and his precautions that he was worthy of commanding men, and one recognized in him the skillful and industrious officer. In order to strengthen the flank of the post, he had new works constructed to fortify the burnt-out church and its churchyard at Norfolk, where the hospital had been established because of the wholesome air, to avoid an envelopment on this side. He had the far too weak profile of Arnold's works strengthened, and appointed Colonel Fuchs[37] of the Erb Prinz Regiment as commandant of Portsmouth.[38]

The general drove everyone zealously to his duty, which the majority of the men who had served under Arnold up to now did not feel, because everything had been done in the American fashion. All the officers had to be on duty, and the regular troops had to make use of the short rest period for drilling. But he was the most pleasant, unselfish, and courteous man in the world. For example, he was hardly on shore when he visited all the wounded and sick, addressing the one with encouraging words and favoring the other with money or good food from his own kitchen. He also had twenty officers daily at his table, without distinction of rank. But despite all this, he was called a "very hard man," as well as a "very hard fellow," by the lazy and worthless element of the men. However, the long faces did not help, and every man had to do his duty. The quartermaster general department, the commissary, and the servants were watched so closely by him that they soon had to drink water instead of wine. In short, he was a man just as a man should be.

The 12th. The Americans had concentrated their troops on the heights of the right bank of the branch of the James River at Petersburg, in order to await General Phillips there. For since Lord Cornwallis had beaten General Greene at Guilford Court House,[39] not far from Salisbury, and was approaching the Virginia border, Generals Lafayette, Steuben, and Muhlenberg could not select a more suitable position for their concentration, because it was situated midway between Portsmouth and Halifax. If the junction between Cornwallis and Phillips takes place, all but a few posts will soon fall into the enemy's hands again. I did not like the proposed combination of the two corps as long as Greene still had an army in Carolina, for it meant an acre of land won here and fifty lost there. But once again, it is the favorite plan of England to have something in every corner and much nowhere.

The 18th. The Hessian Regiment Erb Prinz, the Robinson Corps, and a detachment of two hundred men from the 76th and 80th regiments, under the Hessian Colonel Fuchs, were assigned to the garrisons of Portsmouth and Norfolk, along with a good part of the artillery. The light infantry, the rangers, the jägers (which since my wounding had been divided into two parts for the light infantry and rangers), the 76th and the 80th regiments, and the light 6-pounders were embarked in long boats at Portsmouth.[40]

On the 19th this corps moved up the James River, landed on the right bank of the Chickahominy River, and laid waste the enemy works and magazines at York and Williamsburg. After a lapse of several days they reembarked, ran up the James River to City Point, landed there, and marched toward Petersburg on the 26th. They attacked the enemy and drove him back across the right branch of the river.

Month of May, the 10th. Since the 2d of May I have been out of bed, and since the day before yesterday I have been able to walk on two canes in the town. My knee is actually still crooked and stiff, but I feel that if I don't follow the advice of the surgeon and exercise vigorously, which I have done since yesterday, I shall not be able to leave for the army soon. Yet early today two cysts from the bone came out with the bandage, which was caused no doubt by the movement.

PART THREE

After I took over the post at Norfolk until I arrived at the army under Lord Cornwallis.

The 17th. Since Major Weeks appeared again in Princess Anne County with his corps, he has severely mistreated the inhabitants who had renewed their oath of allegiance under Arnold. He threatened to burn the

English hospital at Norfolk, which could very easily be done because some twenty captured officers and several hundred privates were lodged there for safekeeping.

The commanding officer at that place seemed to be very uneasy, and consequently Colonel Fuchs came to me today with several English officers and requested me, on behalf of our friendship, to take over this post if my wound permitted it. I accepted this opportunity with open arms in order to further distinguish myself, and departed for my station the same day. I found, however, that it was asking rather too much of myself, since I was scarcely half-recovered from my wound. But on the other hand, the trust of these people flattered me just as much as I felt it to be my duty.

When a man chooses a calling, he must do everything that can be done in that calling, so that he can never suffer reproach for having done only half of his duty. On this account I keep among the mottoes in my portfolio, to serve at times as a reminder, the following from Boileau:

Honor is like an island,
Steep and without shore:
They who once leave,
Can never return.[41]

This post consists of a burnt-out church[42] which is surrounded by a brick wall. The interior of the ruins and the inner part of the wall have been provided with a kind of scaffolding, so that the occupiers can fire over the ruins and wall of the church. In addition, both entrances of the wall and the church have been covered by double traverses of sod, which, however, are so weak that a cannonball from a 3-pounder would blow them into a heap. The church lay rather open, and covered the two roads from Norfolk to Lynnhaven Bay and Kemp's Landing.

Colonel Fuchs could not spare more than sixty men for the occupation of this post, hence I added to this with sixty-five convalescents drawn from the hospital, among whom were nine jägers whose wounds had scarcely healed. But since they saw that I was hardly half-cured myself, they voluntarily offered their services to me. Because I lacked some cavalry and the little at Portsmouth could not be spared, twelve Negroes were mounted and armed. I trained them as well as possible and they gave me thoroughly good service, for I sought to win them by good treatment, to which they were not accustomed.

Mr. Weeks appeared several times in the area. Once he sent word to me through a wench that he hoped to square accounts with me again in Norfolk. But since he always found that I was ready for his reception and awaited his service, he let well enough alone with nightly alarms. His supporters, the war prisoners, who were very noisy during the first days when I got there, were taken on board a ship.

On the 21st a packet boat arrived from New York. I received the following letter from General Knyphausen, which I read with no small amount of feeling.

> Honorable Sir,
> Especially Most Esteemed Captain:
>
> Your letters of the 23d of January and 31st of March, together with the enclosed journal and reports, have just been received.
>
> It is with sincere sympathy and sorrow that I have been obliged to learn from your last letter of your unfortunate wounding, which, I hope, will not be of long duration or have bad consequences.
>
> At the same time, however, I cannot fail to take pleasure in mentioning the very special trust which I have always placed in your well-known ability and bravery, which has been justified by the laudable example that you gave of it in your conduct of the affair on the 19th of March. Such an example by you and your detachment redounds to the greatest honor and has received the complete satisfaction of the Commanding General and the army.
>
> Colonel Simcoe has given me the news of it in the most favorable terms.[43] Therefore, I have taken the opportunity of enclosing his letter with a report respecting it to His Serene Highness, recommending that it be received most favorably with his highest grace.
>
> With wishes for a quick and complete recovery, be assured that I am yours very faithfully,
>
> Your most
> obedient servant
> Knyphausen.[44]
>
> New York, April 30, 1781

Today we received the sad news that General Phillips had died at Petersburg of an inflammation of the ear.[45] By the death of this man England lost a good general, who had shown his courage and talents as an artillery captain at the battle of Minden in the Seven Years' War.[46] Every honest officer must grieve in his heart for the loss of this excellent man.

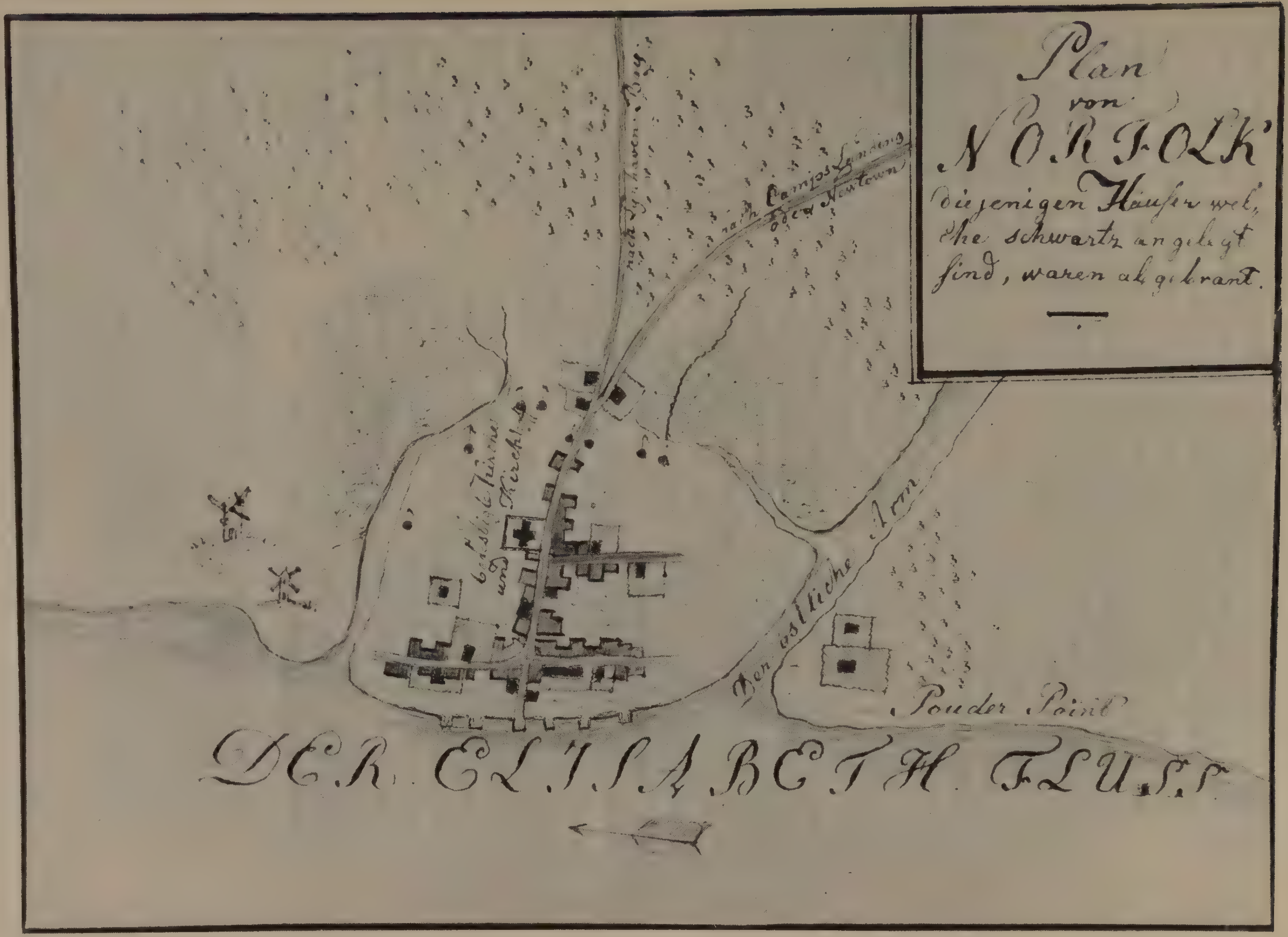
Hence, General Arnold had assumed the command again. He let Colonel Fuchs know that he wanted all the expected auxiliary troops from New York sent up the James River to him as soon as they arrived in Chesapeake Bay. The commodore was instructed to anchor at City Point and await further orders.

On the 22d we received the news that Lord Cornwallis and his corps had joined Arnold's corps on the 17th, and on the 23d the troop reinforcements arrived in Chesapeake Bay and sailed to City Point.

What use to us are the victories and the defeats of the enemy at Cam-

PLAN OF NORFOLK

In box: "Those houses which are outlined in black were burnt out." In town: "Fortified church and churchyard." Roads above: "To Lynnhaven Bay" and "To Kemp's Landing or New Town." The round, flagged markers in the town represent jäger sentries.


Plan von NORFOLK
diejenigen Häuser welche schwartz angelegt sind, waren abgebrant.
nach Lynhaven Bay
nach Camps Landing oder Newtown
beschädigte Thürme und Kirch
Der östliche Arm
Pouder Point
DER ELISABETH FLUSS

den and Guilford? We now occupy nothing more in the two Carolina provinces than Charlestown, Wilmington, and Ninety-Six.[47] In these areas, we hold no more ground than our cannon can reach.—Why not operate out of one point and use all our force there to be the master of at least one province? What good are our victories which have been so dearly bought with our blood? We have made people miserable by our presence. So, too, have we constantly deceived the loyally-disposed subjects by our freebooting expeditions, and yet we still want to find friends in this country!

The 28th. An English privateer had intercepted a packet with dispatches from the Marquis de Lafayette at Head of Elk. Among the dispatches was the following confidential letter to the Congress, which presumably was alarmed over the quick march of Lord Cornwallis: "You can be entirely calm with regard to the rapid marches of Lord Cornwallis. Let him march from St. Augustine to Boston. What he wins in his front, he loses in his rear. His army will bury itself without requiring us to fight with him. He will reconquer this country by his marches as little as the French did by their marches from the Rhine to Hanover in their first campaign of 1757, where, to our regret, entire French armies lie buried."[48]

The 29th. Today General Leslie arrived at Portsmouth by water with the Anspach Brigade and the 17th Regiment from Lord Cornwallis's army. They were disembarked at once, and the general immediately took over the command of the city.[49]

Since I was fairly well recovered from my wound, I requested General Leslie to permit me to return to the army. As a privateer loaded with powder was departing for the army, I made use of this opportunity, since there was no communication with the army by land from Portsmouth. I sailed on this same evening, and arrived on the evening of the 30th at Flower [Flowerdew] Hundred in the James River. The privateer anchored here alongside the provisions ships and large boats. I had twelve convalescent jägers on board, and the privateer carried twelve guns and equipment for sixty men. The captain appeared to be a stouthearted man, at least he swore as horribly as any of this type of sailor that I have ever heard.

To my displeasure I learned here that Lord Cornwallis had crossed the James River to Westover with the army the day before and approached Monsieur Lafayette with heavy steps. I obtained a faithful Negro from the fleet, who for two guineas undertook to carry a letter from me to Lord Cornwallis. I informed him that I was here and longed to get back to my jägers.[50]

Month of June. The 8th. Up to now I have led the most unpleasant life in this world. One cannot go far from shore because of the uncertainty. I have no books with me. I have arranged my diary in fairly good order, hence there is nothing to do. This crude privateer is my sole company. Under me I have powder, and in the evenings from six to ten o'clock daily there are the most frightful thunderstorms. Each bolt of lightning threatens to blow us up. My only consolation in this disagreeable situation is that the worst that can happen to us through such misfortune is death. I have now learned, through so many examples in this world, that everything is determined by a Higher Being, and that he who God will preserve, shall be saved.

On the 9th Colonel Yorke and Lord Chewton[51] arrived with dispatches from England, in addition to one other ship with convalescent rangers. These two gentlemen were courteous enough to take me on board their ship, where I spent my time quite pleasantly.

The 16th. This morning we caught sight of cavalry on the left bank of the James River. Now, since we could not tell whether they were friend or foe, I threw myself into a boat and approached the shore. To my joy, I saw that it was my friend Simcoe. I hurried to him and immediately sent the boat back to pass on the good news to my ship comrades. Preparations were made at once to put ashore the convalescents we had with us, and everything was accomplished within several hours.

Now, since I had to dispose of my horses in Portsmouth to go by ship to the army, my friend was kind enough to present me with five of the twelve completely equipped mounts he had brought with him, whereby I was made ready for service at once. The colonel's task was as follows:

Since Lord Cornwallis had arrived with the army at Richmond yesterday, Colonel Simcoe marched to Malvern Hill[52] with his corps and half of the jäger detachment to reestablish the communications between the provisions and depot ships and the army. The long boats were quickly loaded with uniforms, munitions, and provisions to run up the James River to Richmond, since the army was in the greatest need of shoes and clothing due to the constant marching. I had to protect the boats from the land side.

Upon my arrival, I found the greater part of the jägers had pieces of cowhide around their feet in place of shoes, which they showed me with laughter.—Here again is proof that the German soldier—and I should like to say, the Hessian—despite his strict discipline, never grumbles when he is alone and makes the best of everything. In the evening we set out toward the Four Mile Creek.

On the morning of the 17th the colonel ordered me to reconnoiter the crossing and the terrain on both banks of Four Mile Creek. I was to look around for a suitable landing place, since we wanted to embark near the mouth of this creek. This I found.

On the morning of the 18th a number of boats arrived here, with which we crossed the James River. We marched along the right bank of the river to protect the boats against any interference by patrolling parties of the enemy on this side. The river in this vicinity is scarcely the width of a rifle shot.

At daybreak I rode with the colonel to Manchester, where we left behind our horses and escort. We crossed the James River in a canoe to Richmond, where the headquarters were situated, and paid our respects to Lord Cornwallis. We learned here that Generals Morgan and Wayne with their troops had joined Lafayette, and that this army was advancing toward Westham, one hour from Richmond, in order to follow Lord Cornwallis on his retreat.[53] Hence, Colonel Simcoe received orders to cross the James River with his troops as soon as possible and join the army. We went back at once to Manchester, where we awaited the arrival of the corps at Mr. Black's plantation, the colonel having sent the necessary orders for the march.

Here, quite unexpectedly, we found a number of fleeing beauties, with all their finery and valuables. On our approach they had taken refuge at this plantation, since Mr. Black was an honorable loyalist. Among these beautiful women was a Mrs. Goode,[54] whose husband was a colonel. She, as well as the others, suppressed her talk when we walked into the house, since her husband had been captured a few hours before by a ranger patrol on reconnaissance. He had been picked clean. Of this we still knew nothing. News of it was sent to us at once, which arrived just as we had paid our compliments to the ladies. Madam Goode seemed to be very upset, but when she was quickly assured that her husband would get back his belongings, she was relieved, and we passed the time quite well in this pleasant company (which we seldom met with) until toward evening.

In the evening, at seven o'clock, the corps arrived. During the night we crossed the James River in boats above Richmond, passed the town, and took post at daybreak at Neon's [?] plantation on the left bank of the James River to cover the rear and right flank of the army.

PART FOUR

From my arrival at the army until it had recrossed the James River.

On the 21st the entire army departed from Richmond, crossed the Chickahominy River over the Bottoms Bridge, and encamped so that the swamps from the springs of Black Creek covered the right and the Chickahominy the left. Here my jäger detachment joined up again. Colonel Simcoe was ordered to station himself with the jägers and rangers at Wilson's plantation, in front of the army's right, in order to protect the highway to New Castle. Colonel Tarleton covered the Bottoms Bridge with the Legion.

Remarks concerning the army's baggage.

I cannot deny that the extremely numerous baggage of the army set me to wondering, for I was not yet used to such a cavalcade. The army appeared similar to a wandering Arabian or Tartar horde. Since this army had been fighting continuously across the country for ten months, Lord Cornwallis had permitted each subaltern to keep two horses and one Negro, each captain, four horses and two Negroes, and so on, according to rank. But since this order was not strictly carried out, the greatest abuse arose from this arrangement; and the Phillips Corps, which I had been away from for three full months, had followed this fine example, which had crept in among the jäger detachment and the rangers.

Every officer had four to six horses and three or four Negroes, as well as one or two Negresses for cook and maid. Every soldier's woman was mounted and also had a Negro and Negress on horseback for her servants. Each squad had one or two horses and Negroes, and every noncommissioned officer had two horses and one Negro.

Yes, indeed, I can testify that every soldier had his Negro, who carried his provisions and bundles. This multitude always hunted at a gallop, and behind the baggage followed well over four thousand Negroes of both sexes and all ages. Any place this horde approached was eaten clean, like an acre invaded by a swarm of locusts. Where all these people lived was a riddle to me. Fortunately, the army seldom stayed in one place longer than a day or a night. In the jäger detachment alone, I found over twenty horses on my arrival, and almost every jäger had his Negro. But within twenty-four hours, I brought everything back on the track again.

What made this strange baggage train so comical was the motley clothing of the black people, most of whom looked rather like monkeys. These people were given their freedom by the army because it was actually thought this would punish the rich, rebellious-minded inhabitants of Carolina and Virginia. They had plundered the wardrobes of their masters and mistresses, divided the loot, and clothed themselves piecemeal with it.

For example, a completely naked Negro wore a pair of silk breeches, another a finely colored coat, a third a silk vest without sleeves, a fourth an elegant shirt, a fifth a fine churchman's hat, and a sixth a wig.—All the rest of the body was bare! The one Negress wore a silk skirt, another a lounging robe with a long train, the third a jacket, the fourth a silk-laced bodice, the fifth a silk corset, the seventh, eighth, and ninth—all different styles of hats and coiffures.

If one imagines all these variegated creatures on thousands of horses, then one has the complete picture. When I first beheld this train I could not grasp it, and I wondered as much about the indulgent character of Lord Cornwallis as I admired him for his military abilities. I wished that I could reconcile these qualities.

On the 22d at daybreak the army marched to New Kent Court House, where it encamped in the afternoon. The right was covered by a swampy wood and the left by Diascund Creek.[55] One hour before daylight, Colonel Simcoe was ordered to march (to the rear) toward New Castle with the jägers and rangers to mask the march of the army from the Marquis de Lafayette. He was also to collect intelligence about Lafayette's movements, since the latter was said to have moved from Richmond toward New Castle in order to fall on the right flank of Lord Cornwallis. The colonel ordered me to station myself with the infantry on the right bank of Matadequin Creek, in order to lie in ambuscade there and to cover his retreat.

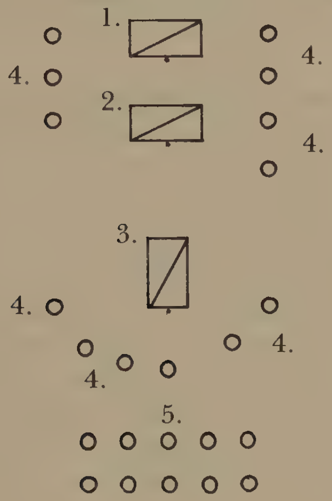
On the afternoon of the 23d the colonel and I received orders to report to headquarters, where we received instructions to set out from the army in two detachments as soon as night fell. We were to take our route between the Chickahominy River and Diascund Creek, round up all the slaughter cattle and drive them to the army, burn all the military and commercial storehouses, and then march to Williamsburg, where we would find Lord Cornwallis. He would arrange his own march so that he remained on our flank, and would constantly keep Colonel Tarleton and his corps near us so that we could not be cut off from the army. If possible we were to arrange our raiding parties so that we would rendezvous with him in the vicinity of Williamsburg on the fourth day.

The army departed at sunset. We set out at the same time. I crossed Diascund Creek and took post on the height of Colonel Dexter's plantation, and the colonel stayed on the other side. During the night I had reconnoitering patrols rummage through the terrain around me.

It was not long before the day broke, whereupon I set out on the road along the right bank of Diascund Creek and took post at Captain Maxwell's plantation.[56] The colonel took his route on the road along the left bank of the Chickahominy River toward Soane's Bridge.[57] Through these two positions, both detachments were only a good half hour away from each other. We had rounded up many cattle, laid waste to various flour and tobacco storehouses, and burned several vessels in both rivers.

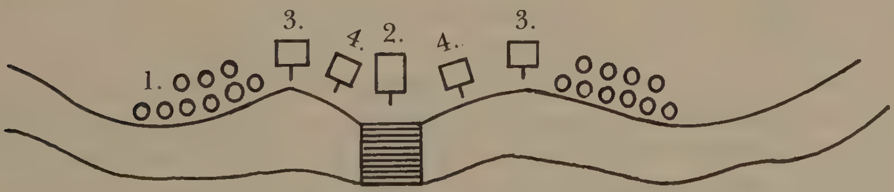
Early on the morning of the 25th the colonel went toward the Diascund Bridge[58] with the ranger battalion, the cavalry, and all the cattle. With the help of materials from several demolished buildings in the vicinity, the bridge was repaired within two hours, and the cattle as well as the cavalry and the ranger battalion crossed over. I received orders to form the rear guard and follow the colonel to Cooper's Mill,[59] but to burn down the bridge after I had crossed it.

Since I had a constant presentiment of nothing good, I formed my withdrawal in the following order. The countryside was cut through with woods and fences.



1. The grenadier company; 2. the light infantry company; 3. an officer with 30 horse; 4. the jägers; 5. 10 jägers.

I halted three hundred paces away from the bridge. Hereupon I ordered the jägers to run across first and deploy on both sides to protect the crossing in case of necessity. Then I had the cavalry follow, the light infantry afterward, and the grenadier company and I formed the rear guard. I drew up in the following order on the other side of Diascund Creek, set the bridge on fire with straw, waited until it was burned down, and set out in the foregoing order to Cooper's Mill, where I joined the colonel in the afternoon.[60]



1. Jägers; 2. cavalry; 3. light infantry; 4. grenadiers.

The colonel had taken post on the steep heights at Cooper's plantation, which formed a strong pass. Patrols were sent out but discovered nothing of the enemy. They brought us the news that Lord Cornwallis had been encamped at Bird's Ordinary[61] during the past night, and early today had marched toward Williamsburg, twelve English miles from there. Colonel Tarleton, who formed the rear guard of the army, had remained at Bird's Ordinary to cover our right and to collect intelligence about the enemy's march.

A good hour before daybreak, the colonel ordered me to march toward Williamsburg with the jägers, the light infantry, and the grenadier company. Major Armstrong (a very good man, and nothing more) was to follow me with the ranger battalion. We were to rest at Spencer's plantation on the highway to Williamsburg, where the road from Jamestown crossed, and wait for him there. Then the amusettes were to follow, with the refugees driving the cattle. The colonel would form the rear guard with the cavalry, which the Scottish company was to cover.

It could have been about six or seven o'clock in the morning when I arrived at Spencer's plantation, where we camped in platoons on the highway, breakfasted, and rested. I spoke with Major Armstrong and wished to be able to march, since otherwise the awful heat would oppress us again very much. But since I was very tired, I laid down on my mantle and slept.

I had hardly closed my eyes, when several shots were fired in front on the left. I jumped up and asked where the shooting was, whereupon several officers shouted that the farmers had fired on the refugees who were driving the cattle. The colonel arrived and asked for me, but rode off saying they should let me sleep for the present. I had scarcely fallen asleep for the second time, when I was awakened by a number of shots. I jumped up, mounted my horse, called the men to take up arms, and rode with my orderly and a ranger dragoon into Spencer's orchard, behind which I crouched.

I had hardly ridden fifty paces into the apple orchard, when I discovered a man in a blue uniform a short distance away. I was aware of him before he saw me and I sprang upon him. The man was more frightened than I, and after he was in my hands I saw that he was an officer of the Armand Legion and a Frenchman.—"Where did you come from?"—"From the army."—"Where is your army?"—"Very near, sir!" I handed him over to my orderly, sprang back without saying one word more, and shouted "Up, up, forward march!" Everyone followed. But to my astonishment, when I was barely across the orchard I found a long line deployed behind a fence, two or three hundred paces away, just on the point of moving forward.

God be praised that I did not lose my head! At this moment, I discovered that the enemy line extended to his right, but that the line which I had brought up on my right was longer than the enemy's left. I called to Lieutenant Bickell to halt on the right, in order to reach the small hill and fall upon the enemy's left flank and rear with all the jägers. At that instant, I jumped off my horse and placed myself in front of the center of the grenadiers and light infantry company. I asked them not to fire a shot, but to attack with the bayonet; the enemy would certainly be startled by our resolution.

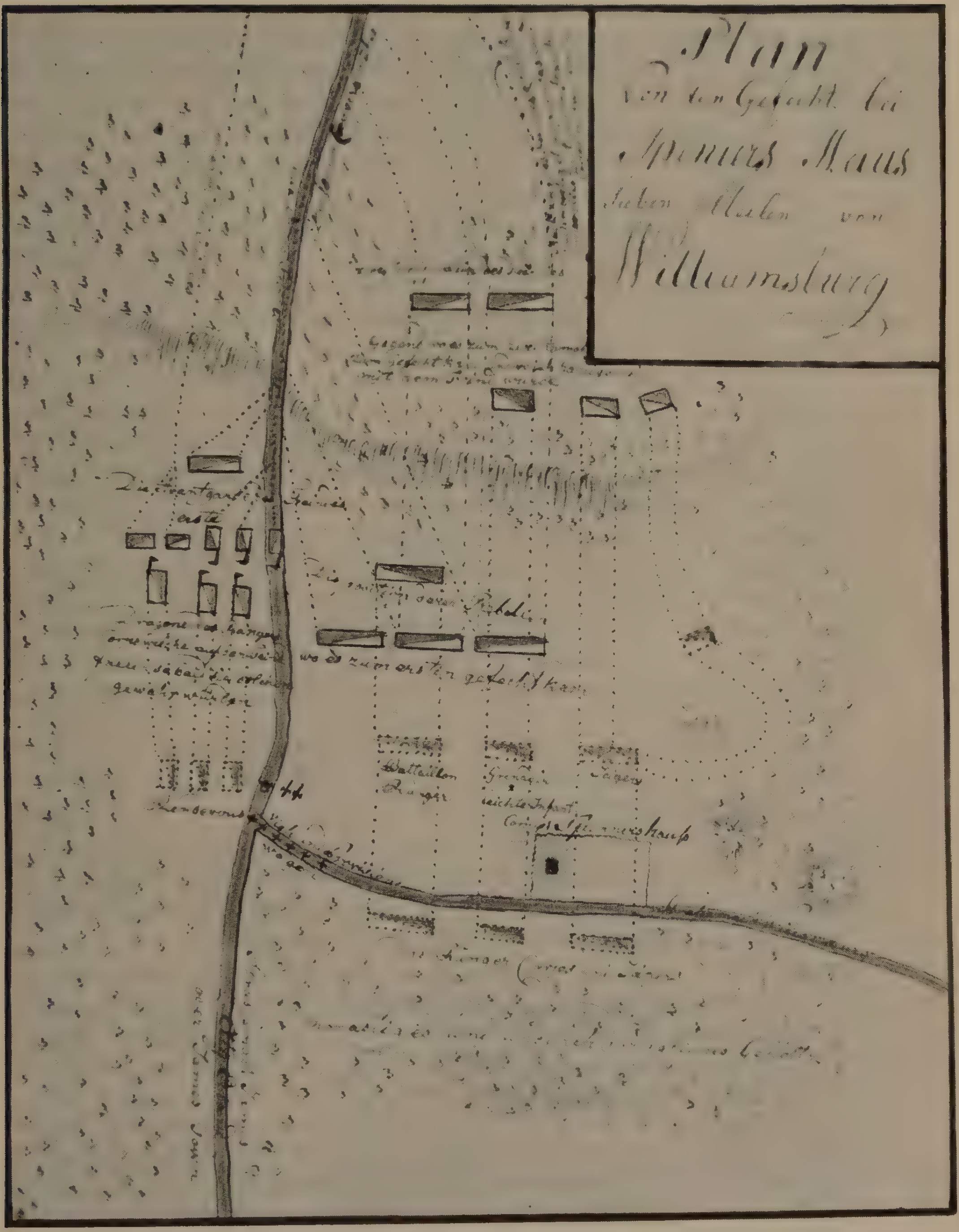
The enemy, who had moved forward, was taken aback by our advance. He waited for us up to forty paces, fired a volley, killed two-thirds of the grenadiers, and withdrew from his position. Everyone who had not been wounded by this volley followed me like obedient children follow their father. We came among them and engaged them hand to hand. The enemy now came under rifle fire from the jägers on his flank and rear, and hurried to escape. We captured a French officer, a captain of riflemen, and twenty-two men, partly from the so-called Wild Irish Riflemen and partly from the light infantry. I followed the enemy over two fences into the wood, where they formed themselves anew and I killed several men. A company from the ranger battalion, which the major had sent after me, joined me in the wood. He, however, had remained behind with the rest of the battalion—like a White God.

After I had advanced several hundred paces into the wood, I halted and reformed the remainder of the three ranger companies, which did not number sixty men. We fell in on a footpath which ran through a thick brushwood. Here Lieutenant Bickell came to me with ten or twelve jägers and asked me to sound the call to assemble the jägers, for they had dispersed so widely in attempting to outflank the enemy that he feared a part of them would fall into enemy hands. I informed him that we did not dare to disclose ourselves by sounding the half-moon, and if half of them were lost, I still would not allow it blown; he might see if he could assemble the men by whistling or signaling. He was gone scarcely a minute, when he came running back and whispered softly in my ear that an entire column of the enemy was approaching at quick step. I went several paces ahead on the path and suddenly ran into people. I could not help myself and cried, "Fire! Fire!" The rangers fired, and a running fire broke out from the enemy's side for several minutes. Then it was quiet again. I now observed that it was time to fall back and signaled to the jägers and rangers. I left the wood during the lull and took post on both small hills in the plain, which Bickell and the jägers had gone around at the beginning of the action. Here I could look all around, and here I had assembly sounded in order to give the jägers in the wood the signal to withdraw.[62]

At this moment the colonel came to me and assured me that he expected help from the army at any time, and that Captain Shank and his

PLAN OF THE ACTION AT SPENCER'S HOUSE, SEVEN MILES FROM WILLIAMSBURG

Inscriptions read, from bottom to top: Below road to right: "Marshy and impenetrable wood"; "The Ranger Corps and jägers." Along lower vertical road: "Road to James City Island or Jamestown." Along road to right: "Cattle and provisions wagons"; "Road to Williamsburg." Left of vertical road: "Rendezvous"; "Dragoons of the Ranger Corps which fell upon the enemy as soon as they were sighted"; "The advanced guard of the enemy"; "March of the enemy." Right of vertical road: "Spencer's house"; "Ranger battalion—Grenadiers and Light Infantry Company—Jägers"; "Where the first action occurred"; "First disposition of the rebels"; "Area where the second action occurred and where I came to close quarters with the enemy"; "Second disposition of the enemy"; "Retreat of the enemy as soon as they were informed that Lord Cornwallis was advancing with a strong corps." Along upper vertical road: "Road from Cooper's Mill."


Plan
von den Gefecht bei
Spencers Haus
sieben Meilen von
Williamsburg
Die Avantgarde
erste
Dragoner
wo es zum ersten gefecht kam
Bataillon
Ranger
Grenadi
leichte Infant.
Compagnie
Jäger
Spencers haus
Rendevous
44
Ranger Corps

cavalry had struck the enemy's right and driven him back with great loss, just at the time when I had attacked the enemy's left. Hereupon I requested the colonel to withdraw us as quickly as possible, since we still had a defile in our rear and our support was uncertain, while the enemy would surely be reinforced. The colonel followed my advice, and we arrived at the defile without being followed by the enemy. There we met Lord Cornwallis with all the dragoons, grenadiers, and the light infantry and we moved forward again.[63]

We dragged away our dead and wounded, which we had left behind, without being hindered by the enemy. The number amounted to three officers and fifty-four noncommissioned officers and privates, among whom were the brave Corporal Sipple, who had behaved so splendidly on his patrol at Portsmouth, and eight jägers.

Judging from what I could count of the dead, the loss of the enemy was greater. Five officers and sixty-two men were captured. A jäger corporal named Meister, a very bold and brave man, fell into enemy hands.[64]

The lucky thought of moving against the enemy saved us, since he was in full attack and superior to us in men by over half. For the enemy, who was certain of his prey, was startled because he was attacked quite unexpectedly. But had we taken one backward step, the courage of the enemy would have redoubled, while that of the soldiers on our side would have forsaken them. Disorder would have arisen because the attack came unexpectedly, and thus all would have been lost. It is a principle in war that the party which attacks when the issue is doubtful has already won half of the battle.[65]

Toward evening on the 27th, we joined the army and received our post behind it on the Queen's Creek to rest up a little. On the evening of the 27th the following order was issued:

> Headquarters, June the 27th, 1781
>
> Lord Cornwallis desires that Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe will accept of his warmest Acknowledgment for his judicious and spirited Conduct in the action of the 26th instant, when he repulsed and defeated so superior a force of the Enemy. He likewise desires that Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe will communicate his best thanks to Captain Ewald, to the Detachment of the Yagers and to the Officers and Soldiers of the Queen's Rangers.[66]

Toward evening I received a letter from the captured Frenchman Captain Griffauld, who requested me to work out his parole to Petersburg with Lord Cornwallis. I immediately rode to headquarters, and after I had arranged for the parole I delivered the news to him personally.

There I met the rest of the captured officers, who told me the following when we discussed the action.

The corps with which we had fought had consisted of the elite of the army and was commanded by Colonel Butler. All their general officers had been present, and the army was coming up. It was 1,500 men strong, with volunteers, riflemen, light infantry, and 150 horse under Major McPherson.[67] This man was actually responsible for their misfortune. He had showed himself too early, and had been unhorsed by our cavalry. In order to support him, Colonel Butler had to order the infantry to march up. Otherwise, the orders of the Marquis de Lafayette had been to draw still farther to their left through the wood up to the road from Williamsburg. We would have been outflanked on our right and taken in our rear there. Their design had been to bring about a skirmish with the rear guard of the army. But since the Marquis de Lafayette had received intelligence that we were detached from the army, he had aimed at us in order to cut us off or defeat us. The officer assured me that our fire at Cooper's Mill was still burning when they had arrived there the same morning. They were marching in divisions, of which one was following us and the other was to have gone around Diascund Creek to take us in the rear. However, their infantry had become so fatigued by their forced marches that they had been obliged to rest for several hours before the action. Thus, we had arrived at Spencer's plantation before them, but this place had also been the rendezvous for the division which had intended to go around Diascund Creek.—Luck decided everything! We were happy that we had gotten off with our skins and our good name.[68]

Concerning the area of Williamsburg.

Williamsburg is the capital of Virginia,[69] lies between the Archer's Hope and Queen creeks, and is surrounded by hills between the sources of these two creeks. This area is enclosed by deep ravines, which make up a kind of fortified encampment. Because of their marshy banks, both creeks can be crossed only by way of two bridges at Williamsburg, which makes this area a very good position for an army; but it must also be master of the Chesapeake Bay, so that no one can land in its rear. This was the situation with us, where we were enclosed by the splendid and excellently cultivated country between the York and James rivers. In this area, a strong army could subsist for an entire year.

On the morning of the 30th, about three o'clock, I had to march with the jäger detachment and three companies of rangers toward York to cover Lord Cornwallis, who wanted to reconnoiter the area on the other side of this place. I found an enemy party there, which I drove out. I took post toward Hampton on the heights situated on the other side of a deep ravine which surrounds this place. The Americans, who had several works at Gloucester on the left bank of the York River, directly across from this position, saluted me with a number of heavy pieces, but did not injure me.

Lord Cornwallis arrived at ten o'clock in the morning, and I could remark from my reconnaissance that this place was suitable for a fortified post in Virginia. It appeared to me that he did not like this place at all for such a purpose, but that Williamsburg seemed to him to be better.[70]

This place, which is a very important trading center, is built like an amphitheater along the right bank of the York River. On the side toward Williamsburg it is surrounded by heights at a distance of five to six hundred paces that are cut through with swamps and ravines, which can be controlled by the opposite heights. On the Hampton side the terrain is level, and several ravines lie at such a distance that a small army such as the one under Lord Cornwallis could prove quite dangerous by fortifying them across a semicircle. The reason why this position was chosen for a fortified post lies therein, in order to provide a secure anchorage for the West Indies fleet during the hurricane season there, for the heaviest warships can anchor close to the shore of this place.[71]

Toward one o'clock Lord Cornwallis left the place and went back to Williamsburg. He was very gracious, and left me the choice of marching back at once or waiting until the great heat ended and going during the nighttime. But since I could expect that an enemy party from Gloucester would probably see us, and when I left York would hurry there to gather information about us, I left the place at once. I placed myself in ambuscade behind a brook in the neighboring wood, and after the lapse of an hour I sent Lieutenant Bickell with a party of thirty men back to York by a roundabout way. They pulled their shirts over their coats, the leather straps and belts over that, and wore their hats pulled down like the Americans, in order to look like the American militia, who were dressed in linen in this warm region. It happened as we thought. They discovered a party of thirty to forty men, welcomed them from a distance, killed and wounded the greater part, and brought back the officer and nine men as prisoners. Toward six o'clock I set out and arrived at my post after midnight.

Of the climate and pests.

For six weeks the heat has been so unbearable that many men have been lost by sunstroke or their reason has been impaired. Everything that one has on his body is soaked as with water from the constant perspiration. The nights are especially terrible, when there is so little air that one can scarcely breathe. The torment of several billions of insects, which plagued us day and night, appears to be over now for certain.

Month of July, the 2d. At daybreak an enemy party attacked the pickets of the light infantry on both sides of the road from Richmond. After a short skirmish the enemy withdrew.

The 4th. At daybreak the army left its camp at Williamsburg and arrived at midday at Jamestown, where it encamped between Powhatan Creek, which covered the army's right, and the James River. I learned that Lord Cornwallis would march back to Portsmouth, and that the army must go on the defensive. The demonstrations of the American and French armies under Washington and Rochambeau, which had united at White Plains and threatened New York, were the cause of this swift change from the offensive to the defensive. General Clinton had asked for the return of the light infantry, the rangers, the Anspach Brigade, and the 43d and 76th regiments for his reinforcement.

Thus Lord Cornwallis was faced with the necessity of quitting the field and retiring into the works at Portsmouth, because of the superiority of the enemy.[72] For one could withdraw from Portsmouth to Carolina over the pass from Northwest Landing despite enemy superiority, or in case the French became master of the sea. In this event, one could load all the officers' horses, and generally, all the creatures which burdened the army, with provisions and ammunition. Then the ships could be burned and the unneeded guns blown up. By this means the army could be saved. If a fleet made the sea unsafe, but still was not master of the Chesapeake Bay, one could also leave Portsmouth for the Currituck Sound with the aid of small vessels and boats and follow the inlet to Wilmington. With a north or east wind, one could be there in several days.

The army had hardly encamped before Jamestown when Colonel Simcoe was ordered to march at once to James City Island with the jägers, the rangers, and the Althouse sharpshooters, where we immediately crossed the James River in boats. We disembarked at Cobham on the right bank of the river and took post on the heights in the form of a crescent, in order to cover the crossing of the army.

On the 5th at daybreak we went out with a small party toward Smithfield and Southampton to collect information about the enemy in this area. We learned that General Baker stood at Smithfield with two thousand Americans to observe the English army from this side.

Toward evening a report came in that a detachment of two hundred Americans had taken up a position at Wilson's plantation, four English miles to the right of Cobham. Now, since I had reconnoitered in this area with the colonel in the morning and was acquainted with the terrain, he gave me sixty horse and three companies of rangers to surprise or attack this position. I arrived at Wilson's house at dusk, but the enemy had gotten wind of us. I pursued him for half an hour, but caught only a few stragglers of the rear guard, among whom was a lieutenant.

On the whole, I must say in praise of this worthy man [Simcoe] that he is truly my friend, that he strives to make me happy, and that at all times he gladly gives me the opportunity at hand to distinguish myself. Right there at Cobham, he said he wished that I would accept the major's berth in the Ranger Corps, since Major Armstrong would be placed on half-pay at once, as soon as I said the word. I would draw my pay immediately when I received my discharge from Hesse. But I am Hessian, body and soul, and it seems to me that I could not be happy outside this splendid corps in which I serve. It is impossible that any evil can await me in my native land, for I can say in all conscience that I have served as an upright man. If I have not yet been given preference by my sovereign, neither has he done me any wrong; and after all, he has awarded me the order *pour le mérite.*—I will not be ungrateful, but serve my master until he does me an injustice.

The 6th. At daybreak the baggage and artillery began to cross the river, and toward four o'clock in the afternoon the greater part was on the right bank. During this time, the Marquis de Lafayette received the news that most of the troops had already crossed the river. He then approached and attacked the pickets of the army about four o'clock. Lord Cornwallis, who perceived the mistake of the Marquis de Lafayette, allowed him to play with the outposts, ordered them reinforced, and withdrew them a little. Monsieur the Marquis became somewhat hasty and surely expected to make a successful attack on the rear guard. At this time, Lord Cornwallis took the light infantry, the 43d, 76th, and 80th regiments, and the Hessian Regiment Bose under Lieutenant Colonel du Puy and struck the Marquis with such violence that he was driven back with a great loss of men and two 6-pounders. Lord Cornwallis remained overnight on the battlefield. Since he found on the morning of the 7th that the Americans showed no inclination to swallow the bait again, he withdrew to James City Island and crossed the river peacefully.[73]

PART FIVE

After the army had crossed the James River up to its arrival at York and Gloucester.

Toward evening Colonel Simcoe marched with the rangers to the defile of Crawford's Mill to occupy it. This pass lies eight English miles from Cobham and fourteen from Smithfield.

On the 8th I marched toward Smithfield with two hundred jägers and English light infantry with forty horse, where I gathered the information that General Baker and his corps had left Smithfield and withdrawn behind the Blackwater River.

On the 9th the army left Cobham and encamped at Nelson's Tavern on the left bank of Lawnes Creek.[74] Colonel Simcoe proceeded with the jägers, rangers, and Althouse sharpshooters to Burwell Bay, eight miles from Smithfield, in order to take post in case the Baker Corps should advance and harass the march of the army.

On the 10th the army crossed Pagan Creek at Mackie's Mill, where it camped in the form of a circle, half on one side and half on the other, which Pagan Creek intersected. On this march, Colonel Simcoe formed the rear guard with the jägers and rangers and stayed four miles from the army to cover the rear and the left toward Smithfield.

On the 11th after midnight we departed and joined the army at Mackie's Mill, where we arrived at daybreak. We received orders here to follow the road toward Suffolk past the Chuckatuck Mill, Everets's Mill, and Scott's Mill and wait for the army at the latter pass.

Since it was presumed that the enemy could have occupied the pass of Chuckatuck Mill, the colonel and the cavalry took the footpath through the wood to cross Chuckatuck Creek above the bridge, while I took the road straight ahead with the infantry and both 2-pounders. I was to attack this position in the front, and amuse the enemy until the colonel was in the rear. But the enemy had abandoned all three passes and withdrawn yesterday.

The army had taken its route by way of Everets's Mill and encamped behind the left bank of the Southern Branch of the Nansemond River. Colonel Simcoe passed the defile at Scott's Mill and took post at Roberts's plantation to cover the road from Blackwater River Bridge.

N.B. Everets's Mill lies on the left bank of the Western Branch of the Nansemond. None of these passes, especially at Scott's Mill, can be flanked easily because of the marshy banks of the rivers. The enemy had uncovered all the bridges at these passes, but the damage could easily be repaired by using the fences in the countryside.

On the 12th at daybreak the army marched toward Suffolk. The colonel conducted a party of jägers and rangers to Neuby's Mill toward the Blackwater, in order to fall upon one or another of the parties from the Baker Corps, which had gone out to observe the army's march. The colonel ordered me to lay three ambuscades, one of cavalry and two of infantry, around Wilkson Gadder's [?] plantation. On this occasion, Mr. Gadder, a justice of the peace and a very zealous rebel, fell into my hands. But since the enemy did not appear, I left this area toward evening and took my route to the right, to Cahoon Mill toward Suffolk. At the *patte d'oie,*[75] where the roads from Scott's Mill, Suffolk, and the Blackwater come together, I lay in ambuscade over an hour during the night. But since nothing came of it, I followed the road to Cahoon Mill, which lies on the Nansemond River, where the colonel was waiting for me, and we spent the night there.

On the 13th at daybreak we marched to Cooper's Mill, which is a good position on the Northern Branch of the Nansemond River.

On the morning of the 14th, about two o'clock, Colonel Simcoe left the army at Suffolk and marched with the rangers, the light infantry, and the 43d and 76th regiments to Portsmouth, where this corps and the Anspach Brigade were to embark for New York. Since the army was greatly weakened by the departure of these troops, the army's right, which was covered by the defile at Suffolk, withdrew closer to Riddick's.[76] Toward evening I received orders to leave the post at Cooper's Mill, to place myself in front of Suffolk, and to cover the roads to Blackwater and Edenton.[77]

On the 15th I went with the jägers and Althouse sharpshooters to Everets's Mill, partly to collect information about the enemy and partly to cover this pass toward the Blackwater, since Colonel Dundas had to undertake a foraging in the area of Neuby's Mill along the Southern Branch of the Nansemond. Several small parties from the Baker Corps appeared, with whom I exchanged a few shots. I lured one bold fellow into the net and captured him. I found out by threatening him that the Marquis de Lafayette had withdrawn from Jamestown behind Four Mile Creek, where he awaited assistance from the north.

For eight days we were the most tormented people in this world. Ever since the billions of sand- and biting-flies left us, a small kind of insect has appeared which is completely round and no larger than a pinhead.[78] It feeds in the skin and multiplies by the hundreds in one night, making small clear boils and causing such irritation with itching that one has no rest day or night. Nothing can be done about it until the skin is broken and bleeding from scratching. A number of our men are very sick from it; their entire bodies look like people who are seized with smallpox. The inhabitants console us by saying that the insects will last only until the end of this month.

Added to this is the unbearable heat, which increases all the time. It is often so intense that one can hardly breathe, especially after a terrible thunderstorm, when all the air seems to vanish. Moreover, the worst thunderstorms come with each evening and last through half the night. With each thunderbolt a brilliant zigzag flashes around our heads, combined with the most violent downpour.

The 21st. At daybreak the army left the area of Suffolk, marched back toward Portsmouth, and encamped behind the left bank of the Western Branch of the Elizabeth River on the heights of Dr. Hall's plantation, thirteen English miles from Suffolk and twelve from Portsmouth.

On the 22d at daybreak the army marched to Portsmouth and encamped on the plain. The newly appointed Quartermaster General England[79] designated my post for me, so that I had a wood in the front and the defile of Scott's Creek in the rear, but both flanks were left unprotected. But since I knew the terrain better than he did, I placed myself behind Scott's Creek. Toward evening the good man came to me, and it seemed to me as if he did not quite know whether or not this was the place that he had assigned me.

On the 23d an express boat arrived at Portsmouth from New York, which brought countermanding orders to those troops that had embarked at Portsmouth for New York. Since the Allied army had left its camp near Kings Bridge and had crossed the Hudson River, General Clinton supposed that the enemy had something in mind against Virginia, and that the advance toward New York had been nothing more than a demonstration, either to force him to recall the troops from Virginia or to prevent him from detaching more troops for this place.[80]

Remarks.

That the French are ready to undertake something important against Virginia, either with a fleet from the West Indies or with that under Admiral Ternay, is a fact long known. Since General Clinton deduced so correctly, it is astonishing that he did not cross the Hudson River with a corps from New York to Paulus Hook, just at the time when the enemy crossed the river, in order to remain on the flank of the French toward the Delaware. If he could not prevent their entire undertaking because of the weakness of his army, at least he could make it more difficult as long as possible.[81]

At the same time, we learned that the English and French fleets had left the West Indies waters and approached the coast of North America. We also knew that the French fleet had taken on board a corps of land forces. Consequently, our fate depends on the success of the English fleet, for as long as the English remain rulers of the sea, a door stays open for us.

Early on the 29th I received orders to embark at Portsmouth at midday. Toward nine o'clock General O'Hara of the Guards arrived. I delivered up my post, which he occupied with a detachment of English Guards. I then marched back to Portsmouth with the jägers and Althouse sharpshooters, where I boarded the long boats with the 80th Regiment and twenty horse under Brigadier Dundas at four o'clock in the afternoon. We sailed to Hampton Roads in the mouth of the Elizabeth River, where we anchored at midnight. Here we found at anchor the embarked troops which had been bound for New York.

On the 30th at daybreak the transport ships and boats weighed anchor and set sail under escort of the sloops of war *Hope* and *Bonetta,* doubled around Point Comfort,[82] and cast anchor toward midday in Chesapeake Bay, since the wind became very strong. However, the boats could not hold on their small anchors because of the strong wind and high waves, and were taken in tow by the sloops of war and transport ships. But since the boats were tossed about violently by the force of the waves, they had to be untied again, and had to depend on their own luck to maintain themselves. It was apparent that they would sink if the wind increased or continued much longer with such force.

Meanwhile, fortunately for us, a calm arose toward midnight, which I had steadily counted on. One must not think that these boats were properly manned by sailors. There was only a single sailor and a midshipman in each boat, who sat at the helm. All the others, especially the soldiers, had to do the rowing, which our men learned so well that they were completely safe on the water. The most unpleasant thing during this shipment was that the men were so closely packed in the boats, one against the other, that no one could move. In addition to this, the terrible heat of the sun and the lack of water worked a double hardship on us, because from dire necessity we had to drink water that was mixed with salt water.

On the 31st at daybreak the fleet set sail again, but owing to a calm had to anchor at ten o'clock in the morning not far from the mouth of the York River. There we heard the alarm shots of the state militia on both sides of the York River.

Month of August, the 1st. In the afternoon, about one o'clock, all the boats in the York River got under sail and anchored at eight o'clock in the evening before the mouth of the Severn. The jägers, sharpshooters, the 80th Regiment, and the twenty horsemen ran their boats into Sarah Creek and landed on the right bank a good half hour below Gloucester during a violent whirlwind and thunderstorm. Colonel Dundas with the 80th Regiment and the twenty horsemen took his route up to the town on the York River, while I had to go around it and try to come in by the headland. We had no guides. Meanwhile, we found and took possession of the place and a battery of two 18-pounders abandoned by the enemy.

Since this landing had occurred so late in the evening and came completely unexpectedly, we came across several families in the place who were about to take flight. Among them was Colonel Whiting,[83] a close relative of General Washington and a great adherent of the Revolution. He soon showed his sentiments toward me, just at the moment when I gave him a jäger as a *sauvegarde* for the protection of his property. He then admitted that he would give notice of leaving the town early in the morning with bag and baggage. Hereupon I took post in a wood close by the town.

This place lies in a plain on a neck of land on the left bank of the York River, directly across from the town of York.[84] It is protected by the

Severn on the right and by the sharp bend of the York River. There are several crevices and ravines on this side, which present a small front on the side toward the land and consequently form a good position. The place consists of some thirty houses, which, however, belong generally to wealthy people who have great plantations in the country.

CHAPTER 3

From the arrival of the army at York and Gloucester until the surrender of the same.

PART ONE

From the arrival of the army at York and Gloucester up to the concentration of the French and Americans.

On the morning of the 2d I went eight to ten miles into the country with twenty horsemen and fifty jägers to collect information about the enemy, to look around for forage in the vicinity, and if possible to bring back slaughter cattle for the army. I arrived at Abingdon Church[1] just as the inhabitants had driven together five to six hundred head of horned cattle from the countryside to save them from our hands. I felt sorry for these poor people and wished that they had escaped from me, but the army was nearby. I had to obey the orders and let the cattle be driven off. I ordered them led to Gloucester by the cavalry, and approached Gloucester Court House[2] through the woods, where I ran into a patrol of six militiamen, two of whom fell into my hands. I learned through these men that the militia had orders to assemble at King and Queen Court House. The entire tract of land through which I roamed here consists of an exceedingly well-cultivated and fertile plain. Toward evening I returned.

In the afternoon the light infantry, the 43d and 76th regiments, Simcoe's Corps, and the Anspach Brigade, under Lord Cornwallis, landed at York on the right bank of the York River and encamped on the heights around the town. It was on this day that the plan for the fortification of York and Gloucester was settled by Lord Cornwallis.[3] For the latter place, work was begun toward evening on three redoubts on the front and on a battery on the river. Colonel Dundas was designated the commandant of Gloucester.

On the 4th Lieutenant Bickell had to undertake a little foraging with thirty jägers at Colonel Whiting's plantation, but he was prevented from it by an enemy party and driven back.

On the 6th the Erb Prinz Regiment and the remainder of the 71st Regiment arrived at Gloucester from Portsmouth. They are shipping all the magazines there and will abandon the post at Portsmouth.—How will this look to the loyal subjects there? Have we not made enough people unhappy already?

Early on the morning of the 7th, I was sent out with forty jägers, twenty horse, and one hundred men of the Erb Prinz Regiment to collect information about the enemy, and at the same time to protect a foraging at Whiting's plantation. In the vicinity of Seawell's Ordinary,[4] six English miles from Gloucester, I ran into an enemy party on the plain of Seawell's plantation, which, however, withdrew after a few shots.

On the 12th I went out toward Abingdon Church with one hundred men and sixteen horse to learn with certainty whether an enemy corps of one thousand men had occupied this position, and whether an American corps under the Marquis de Lafayette had crossed the York River at Cappahosack, opposite the Gloucester side. I had barely reached the vicinity of Seawell's plantation when a loyal Negro informed me that one thousand Americans were lying in ambuscade not far from this plantation. Hereupon I withdrew to Whiting's plantation and ambuscaded myself, since it was to be expected that the enemy would pursue me. I sent back Lieutenant Bickell with ten men to probe the area of the ambuscade, who were welcomed with shots from all directions as soon as the enemy perceived that he was betrayed. But Bickell, like a sensible officer, withdrew through a field of Indian corn to my ambuscade, and the enemy did not follow him very far.

The 16th. We have evacuated Portsmouth completely, and the troops have joined Lord Cornwallis at York. Today Colonel Simcoe and his corps arrived at Gloucester from York and took their post to the left of the town.

On the 18th Colonel Simcoe went out with the jägers and rangers to conduct a foraging on the plantation of Colonel Lewis.[5] Toward eleven o'clock in the morning a Negro came running to me at top speed, who assured me that if I would give him two gold guineas he would reveal something valuable to me. I quickly opened my purse and handed him the money, whereupon he told me that Major Weeks with five hundred riflemen and one hundred horsemen had just taken post at Turas [?] plantation, four English miles from Lewis's house.

I took this news to the colonel, who quite impulsively took fifty horse to surprise this party, and I followed him with two hundred rangers at quick step. One English mile from the enemy position the colonel ran into an enemy patrol of two men, who ran back. But the colonel, and I with most of the men who could run swiftly, arrived at the same time as the patrol in the camp of the enemy, who had no time to get their arms and tried to save themselves. I tried to create still greater confusion by continuous haphazard firing, and we became masters of the whole enemy camp. We took one lieutenant and twenty-two men prisoner, captured forty-three horses and all the baggage, and smashed all the saddles and weapons. We returned in the evening, by which time the foraging was successfully accomplished.[6]

On the 23d Colonel Simcoe conducted a foraging with the Ranger Corps in the parish and vicinity of Abingdon Church. I had to ambuscade myself with the jägers and one hundred men of the Erb Prinz Regiment to protect him, two English miles toward Gloucester Court House. At midday a party of the enemy appeared, but they did not come near enough so that I could harm them. Captain Murray, who also lay ambuscaded with fifty rangers at a defile to the right of Abingdon Church, would have caught a party of American dragoons had he not been betrayed by a servant of a thoughtless officer, who had sent him out to pillage.

One perceives from this that a leader of light infantry cannot be severe enough in establishing a strict discipline, since otherwise the best planned strokes will miscarry.—For how many well-devised strokes have been spoiled by a marauder? And yet, I have never seen such a bad mistake punished severely. There are situations in war where indulgence, indeed sympathy itself, is an offense.

From the 26th to the 29th the plantations on both banks of the Severn River were foraged continuously. Small skirmishes usually took place, and a magazine of forage was set up at Gloucester.

A rumor came to hand that a French fleet had been seen in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay. But many indulgent persons maintained with authority that it was English, since the West Indies fleet was expected daily in the York River. We also had news that the Allied army under Washington and Rochambeau was advancing toward Virginia. But one hears, "That cannot be! By God, Sir Henry Clinton will be here, too, with his whole army! And Sir George Rodney will beat the French fleet before they come here."[7] (He had long since returned in safety to England with his plunder from St. Eustatius.)—We shall doubtless soon see![8]

On the morning of the 30th, about ten o'clock, I perceived from my post, whence I could look out into Chesapeake Bay, the distant smoke of a cannonading which seemed to be drawing ever nearer. Toward noon the frigate *Guadeloupe* appeared along with the sloop *Bonettà* and several small vessels which had sailed from here toward Charlestown yesterday. In less than a half an hour I could detect three heavy vessels in the distance, which cast anchor in the mouth of the York River about two o'clock and ran up a white flag.[9] I had this reported in town at once. Colonels Dundas and Simcoe came to me at full gallop and made long faces. Toward three o'clock we had positive news that the three vessels which lay before our noses were a French 74, a 64-gun ship, and a frigate;[10] and that the French fleet of thirty-three sail under Comte de Grasse[11] lay at anchor in Lynnhaven Bay. Wind and weather were favorable to the French fleet, and I could foresee nothing else but that these three vessels would draw near with the incoming tide toward evening, drive me from my post on the Severn River, and bombard York and Gloucester. This would be quite easy, because we still could not place cannon opposite them on the water side, where both places were open.

Now head banged against head in York and Gloucester. Now they hastily began to unload all the magazines and guns which had been brought from Portsmouth, but which—through negligence and laziness—were still of board the ships lying at anchor in the York River between the two towns. Now, if the French had been in better readiness, or perhaps had had better intelligence, the ships could be shot to pieces.

The same evening a line was laid out in an arc around York, which was to protect the town and behind which a siege could be sustained. Half of the army was put to work, and now for the first time it was found that tools were lacking, just as they had been at Portsmouth under Arnold, which no one had thought about again in all that time.[12] The sailors, who numbered about one thousand, were put ashore so that a part of them could be used as gunners.

Fortunately, for all our negligence the French admiral did not attack as I had feared, probably because his intelligence was faulty and he had formed too good an opinion of our situation. However, he should have learned something, since the sloop *Loyalist*, which had sailed from York the day before yesterday, had fallen into his hands. During the night everything was recovered from the ships, and we safely reached the morning of the 1st of September.[13]

Here again the remark "that cannot be" had turned out hideously.—Comte de Grasse had played a gigantic hoax on Sir Samuel Hood. As soon as he had left West Indies waters, de Grasse divided his fleet into two divisions. One took to the high seas in order to join the Rhode Island fleet under Ternay,[14] and the other took a direct course toward the Virginia coast. Unfortunately for us, the English admiral had followed the former, missed the combined fleet, too, and arrived before New York where Admiral Graves lay, while both divisions of the French fleet concentrated safely in Chesapeake Bay.[15]

On the 3d of September the news arrived that the Americans under Lafayette were advancing to Williamsburg, and that a French corps under General Saint-Simon[16] had landed at James City Island and joined the Americans under Lafayette.

The 4th. Last night toward twelve o'clock Colonel Simcoe conducted a foraging at the wharves on the left bank of the Severn River. During this time I occupied the churchyard of Abingdon Church with 150 men to cover the left and rear of the foragers. The church, which lies ten miles from Gloucester on the main highway to Baltimore, is a very good position. It is built of brick in the form of a cross, and the churchyard is enclosed by a wall of the same kind of bricks.[17] Thirty horsemen were ambuscaded on this side of the defile, along the second road which ran past this church to the left beyond Burwell's and Lewis's sawmills, in order to fall upon any party which should pass between this road and Abingdon Church. For my own security, since the church was surrounded by thick woods for a distance of five to six hundred paces toward Baltimore, I placed sixty jägers in six parties in a circle to intercept enemy parties. Several appeared, but luckily for them all turned around at the right spot.

The 6th. Colonel Dundas, who went to York with the 80th Regiment, had thought of nothing else during the fortification of Gloucester but merely throwing up great heaps of sand. Colonel Fuchs, who had relieved him, discovered all the mistakes quite easily. Indeed, we just now became fully aware that it lacked everything necessary for a good defense. Not a single thought had been given to where the planks and boards for the platforms were to come from. Accordingly, Colonel Simcoe with a detachment of two hundred men and I with just as strong a body were sent out on this same day to search for lumber on the plantations. Luckily, we found and safely collected it on the right bank of Timber Creek, without being disturbed at our task by the enemy.

On the 7th at daybreak we foraged again along the Severn River, where we gathered the information that General Weedon[18] and his corps had advanced twelve miles nearer us from Hudibres [?] Mill. I must admit that I cannot understand why the enemy lets us constantly forage so peacefully, since we would have had to slaughter our horses long ago for want of forage, or buy every bundle of forage with blood. The reason for this poorly designed policy of the enemy can only be that he does not want to dispirit his soldiers by a few small defeats.[19] But he does not need to risk much; he can disrupt our foraging by using ambuscades, which would cost us several men each time. This surely would result in heavy desertion among us, for our soldiers must realize by now that everyone will be captured with bag and baggage in the end.

The 8th. Reliable information has been received that the Allied army under Washington and Rochambeau has passed Head of Elk to join the army under Saint-Simon and Lafayette.[20] Also, today a whaleboat arrived from New York which had safely sneaked through the French fleet and brought us the news that the English admiral would do everything in his power to relieve us. This evening Major Maxwell[21] and 150 men arrived at Gloucester from York to reinforce the garrison.

Since the water was now up to our necks, work was begun to palisade and dress the works at York and Gloucester. For the English Vauban (Captain Sutherland) laid more stress upon repairing the work afterward than on constructing it well in the beginning, or following all the rules of fortification for laying out works. Instead of that, any sensible engineer thinks in advance of palisades, assault stakes, fascines, palings, and saucissons before he starts to break ground; but here, one thinks about these things for the first time only after the work is constructed.—But what is the reason? The engineer gets a daily allowance of one pound sterling as long as his work lasts; hence, it is to his advantage if it drags on.

On the 9th during the night all of our outposts were alarmed several times by the enemy.

The 12th. Yesterday we heard a heavy cannonade, and we flattered ourselves with thoughts of the fortunate result of a naval engagement.

On the 14th the English guard ship came in again to us, since the French ships had left the mouth of the York River. Shortly afterward the same three enemy ships reappeared and cast anchor again at their station.

Toward evening bad news arrived, informing us that Admiral Graves and Sir Samuel Hood had fought with the French fleet but had had to put to sea because of the superiority of the enemy and the loss of the two frigates *Isis* and *Richmond.*[22]

The 15th. Yesterday the Allied army was moved in transports from Head of Elk into the James River. The army has joined the troops under Lafayette at Williamsburg, where General Washington has assumed the command over the entire army.[23]

PART TWO

From the concentration of the army under Washington, Rochambeau, Saint-Simon, and Lafayette up to the surrender of both places, York and Gloucester.

On the 16th we began to sink ten transport ships between York and Gloucester to obstruct the entrance. The fire ship *Vulcan* lay at anchor below the town to move against the approaching enemy fleet.

Today the jägers and rangers undertook a foraging on Whiting's plantation, where we learned through a Negro that one hundred horse and just as many foot had ambuscaded themselves at Seawell's Ordinary. Colonel Simcoe ordered me to go at once toward the place of the ambuscade with fifty horse and fifty jägers to search for it, and he followed me with the same number of men to support me. I divided the body into five groups of ten horsemen and ten jägers, which were arranged in a circle of two thousand paces, in order to attack the ambuscade from all directions.

After a small skirmish the enemy withdrew through the wood to Burwell's Mill.

On the 17th toward evening the outposts were alarmed by several strong parties of the enemy, which withdrew.

The 18th. Since the day before yesterday the southern land fever has suddenly attacked me from ten until two o'clock daily, whereby I suffered extremely from the terrible heat in my brush hut. Fortunately, I withstood it today while on horseback, but the attack was so severe that I thought it would throw me from my horse. In general this virulent malady has gotten the upper hand very much for several days, since the cold nights set in now amidst the great heat of the day.

The 23d, 33d, and 43d regiments and the remainder of the 71st Regiment, along with the English Guards, number scarcely five hundred men fit for duty. The jäger detachment consists of only twenty-nine men who are still half-well; the rangers do not number one hundred effective men. Simcoe and most of the officers of the jäger detachment are dangerously ill. I consider it fortunate that I have the fever only once a day and can still do my duty.

This illness results from the great heat, which has decomposed our blood too much, and from the continued and frequent drinking of bad water. To this must be added that all medicines are lacking, and that we have already resorted to using earth mixed with sugar to deceive the poor invalids, which is given to them as an emetic. When they are bled, the blood of everyone is vermillion, and it does not take long before the land fever turns into putrid fever.

I cannot deny that my confidence in an attack on the French fleet is gone. It lies in three divisions behind sandbanks, between which wind two narrow channels where only one ship can sail at a time, and this lies under point-blank range of the guns. To be sure, one has some hope in the fire ships, which are expected to move against the fleet. But the enemy will not put his hands in his pockets in the presence of the fire ships, which can be grounded easily in the narrow channels, and then they are in the way of their own fleet.

Toward evening on the 22d a good friend of mine, a naval officer, came to me and disclosed that three fire ships were to sail during the night with the high tide against the three French ships which blocked the York River to burn them. Thereupon I boarded a boat with him to follow the fire ships, and to observe this business which I had never seen in my life. Captain Palmer led the fire ships. The sight was worth the trouble to see! The ships were set on fire and illuminated the area so brightly that we could easily detect the French ships at anchor in the very dark night. But since the fire ships had been set on fire too soon, the enemy ships cut their cables and sailed away. Moreover, the fire ships ran aground.—Hence, nothing came of it.

On the 28th the French general officers undertook a reconnaissance against the works at York, during which a sharp skirmish occurred.[24]

The 30th. Before daylight, after Lord Cornwallis had burned the three advanced redoubts in front of his encampment, the army withdrew behind the works.[25] But the redoubt which lay before the right of the works, on the right bank of the York River behind a swamp and ravine, was retained and occupied by the remainder of the 23d Regiment under Captain Apthorpe,[26] and mounted with two 12-pounders and three coehorns. It consists of a quadrangle and is surrounded with an abatis of pointed apple or peach trees.[27]

In the morning toward ten o'clock the Allied army invested the works of York. Since it found the advanced redoubts abandoned by the army, the enemy presumed that he would get possession of the redoubt on the right cheaply, because it could not be supported by the main works and appeared to be left to itself. For this reason the French did not pay any compliments, but attacked the redoubt right before our eyes with a detachment of Lauzun's unmounted hussars and grenadiers with sword in hand.[28] With the inborn courage and ardor of the French, a part of them pushed through the abatis up to the edge of the ditches. But they were so warmly received there by the English, who did not fire a shot until the French were in the abatis, that they gave up the business and had to fall back with a loss of five officers and some sixty men killed and wounded.[29]

Month of October, the 1st. Last night the Allied army began to throw up two redoubts between the ravines which encircle York to form their points of support for attack. They made use of two abandoned English redoubts to cover their front.

General Choisy,[30] who commanded fifteen hundred men from the fleet, together with the Legion under the Duc de Lauzun, had joined the American corps under General Weedon, who had advanced to Burwell's Mill. Since yesterday Choisy had pushed forward to Gloucester Court House and sent his patrols up to our outposts, whereupon a continual crackling noise arose.

In the evening of the 2d an American galley blew up in the mouth of the York River. At about the same time a guard boat arrived from New York, which brought us the assurance again that Admiral Graves and General Clinton would do everything in their power to relieve us.[31]

The 3d. Last night Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton arrived at Gloucester with the cavalry of the Legion, numbering 250 horse, since there was no forage or room for the horses at York and they were useless there. Colonel Dundas also came over with a part of the 80th Regiment, and the Erb Prinz Regiment under Colonel Fuchs went to York to replace it.

At daybreak I was sent out with one hundred horse of Simcoe's and the remainder of the jägers and rangers, which amounted to only sixty men, in order to take a position between Seawell's plantation and Seawell's

Ordinary. I was to form a chain there to protect a foraging of Indian corn between Seawell's and Whiting's plantations, which was to be undertaken for the benefit of the cavalry. Colonel Dundas had gone out with the Legion and the remaining cavalry to support me in case of an attack.

I had hardly taken post when a party of French hussars and Virginia volunteers appeared, with whom I skirmished. I tried to lure them into the fire of my infantry, which I had thrown into a ditch to the right of the road on the plain, but they would not swallow the bait. Toward midday the foraging was finished. Colonel Dundas came to me on horseback and ordered me to withdraw slowly. As soon as the enemy was about to fall upon me, he would rush out with the Legion. In a word, we intended to lure the enemy into an ambuscade, which would have succeeded if we had had patience.

At the moment when I took one step backward the enemy followed, but only with skirmishers and very cautiously. I had scarcely reached the Legion, during which only six Virginia volunteers followed my rear guard, when the ambuscade fell out and pursued these few people into the woods of Seawell's plantation.

Here, all of a sudden, the scene changed. This small body of horsemen, which was in the greatest disorder, suddenly ran into the entire corps under General Choisy. The Duc de Lauzun, who at this instant should have fallen on the head of these disorganized horsemen with a single troop, formed himself into two lines with eight troops of his lancers and hussars, which amounted to three hundred horsemen without the Virginia cavalry. This gave Dundas and Tarleton enough time to bring off their cavalry in orderly fashion to resist and withdraw toward Gloucester.

I hurried to their support with the one hundred horse of the rangers, which Captain Shank commanded. He held up the enemy, to be sure, but could not improve the situation. The slowness, or the great caution, of the French had saved us and we reached Gloucester safely. On our side, one officer and four men were killed and nine men wounded by the lances of the French hussars. Of the French, Comte Dillon,[32] lieutenant colonel with the hussars, was wounded and twelve to fourteen men were killed and wounded.[33]

From this moment the enemy invested the works of Gloucester. The corps under General Choisy took post at Seawell's plantation, placing its right on the York River and its left on Sarah Creek. Their sentries posted themselves within rifle shot of us. One perceives from this action how disorder and delay can spoil the game.

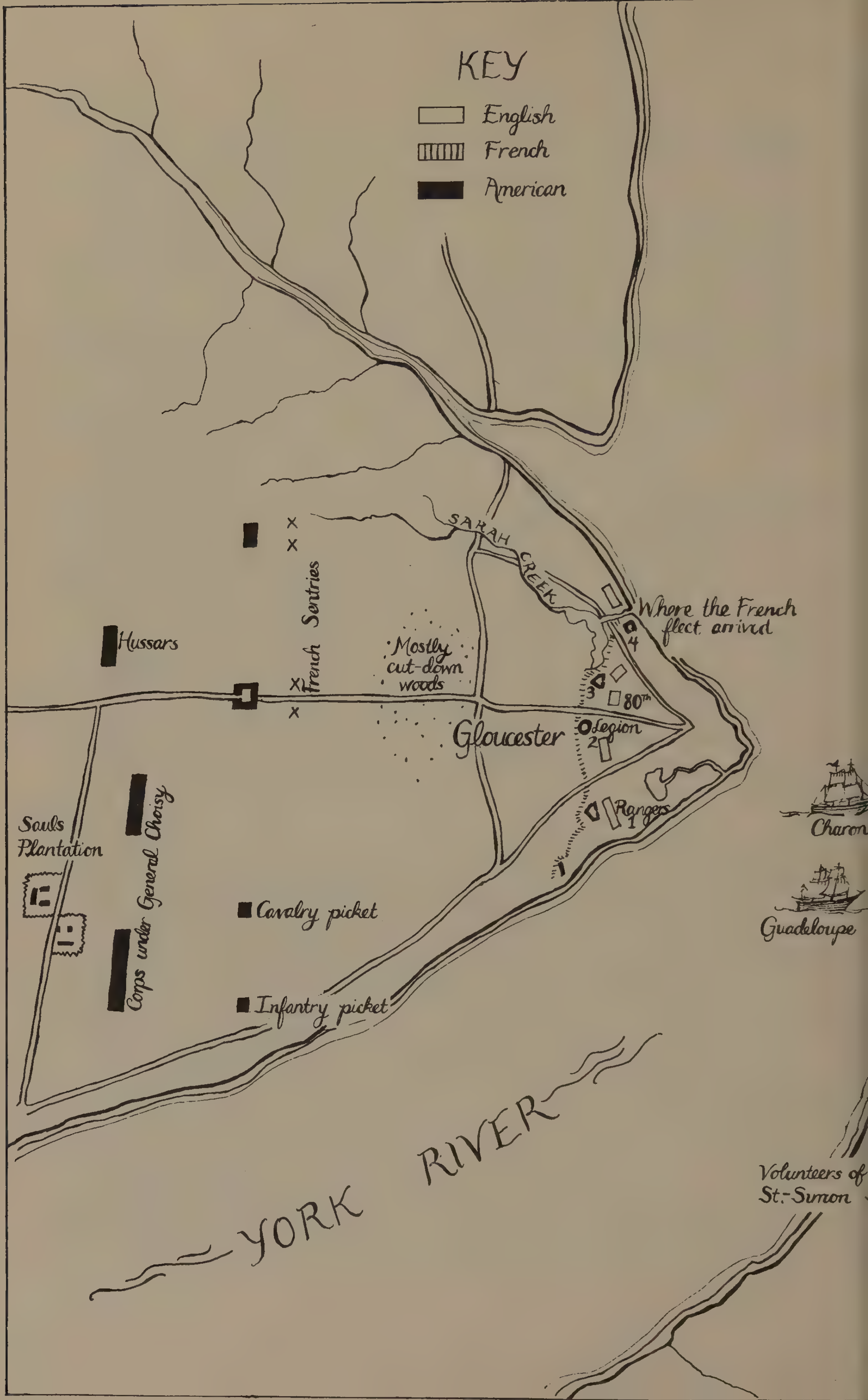
The 6th. Last night the Allied army opened their trenches at a distance of six to seven hundred paces from the works of York, and three batteries were laid out opposite the hornwork. At midday a strong enemy party

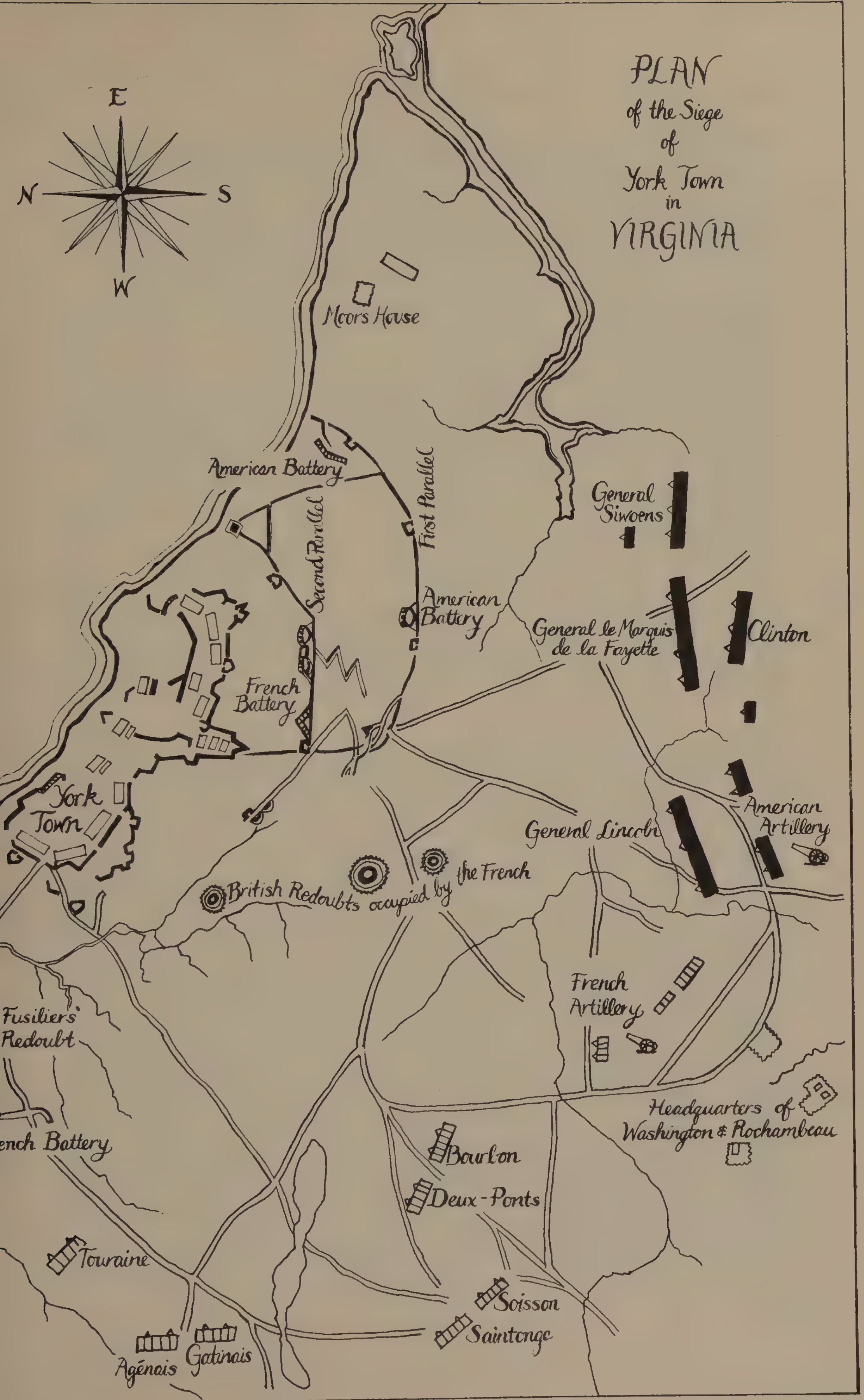
OVERLEAF: PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF YORK TOWN IN VIRGINIA

Ewald's plan appears to be based on a plan of the same title published in London on March 1, 1787 and used by Tarleton in his *History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781.* Ewald, however, extended his plan into Gloucester County and added his own remarks.

At bottom right on the Yorktown side are shown the headquarters of Washington and Rochambeau and the American artillery. Above and to the left are French artillery, General Lincoln, General le Marquis de la Fayette, General Siwoens (Steuben), and Clinton. To the left are the French regiments Saintonge, Soisson[nais], Deux-Ponts, and Bourbon[nais]. The remark at the center reads: "British redoubts occupied by the French." At the top are shown the first and second parallels, "Moors" [Moore's] House, and American and French batteries. At lower left are the French regiments Agénais, Gatinais, Touraine; the Volunteers of Saint-Simon; and a French battery. Below Yorktown is the Fusiliers' Redoubt, "Which during the entire siege was maintained." Also shown are the numbered regiments in Yorktown itself and the sunken ships *Guadeloupe* and *Charon* in the York River.

On the Gloucester side, numbered redoubts are visible in the town itself: No. 1, Rangers; No. 2, Legion; No. 3, 80th Regiment; No. 4, unassigned. At the mouth of Sarah Creek Ewald noted, "Place where I stood when the French fleet arrived before the mouth of the York River." The area above the town is labeled "Mostly cut-down woods." In front of the work on the road leading out of Gloucester are stationed French sentries. Toward the bottom are "Infantry picket," "Cavalry picket," "Corps under General Choisy," and "Hussars." At the left of the plan is "Sauls" [Seawell's] Plantation. The headquarters are shown at Seawell's Ordinary.


KEY
English
French
American
SARAH CREEK
Where the French fleet arrived
Hussars
French Sentries
Mostly cut-down woods
Gloucester
4
3
80th
Legion
2
Rangers
1
Souls Plantation
Corps under General Choisy
Cavalry picket
Infantry picket
YORK RIVER
Charon
Guadeloupe
Volunteers of St.-Simon


PLAN
of the Siege
of
York Town
in
VIRGINIA
E
N
S
W
Moors House
American Battery
Second Parallel
First Parallel
General Siwoens
American Battery
General le Marquis de la Fayette
Clinton
French Battery
York Town
American Artillery
General Lincoln
British Redoubts occupied by the French
Fusiliers' Redoubt
French Artillery
Headquarters of Washington & Rochambeau
ench Battery
Bourbon
Deux-Ponts
Touraine
Soisson
Saintonge
Agénais
Gatinais

appeared in the small wood in front of the works of Gloucester of which we were master. However, the enemy withdrew after firing a dozen cannon and rifle shots.

On the morning of the 8th it was discovered that the enemy had extended his trenches on both sides toward the York River in the form of a full crescent. Two batteries had been set up at both extremities of the crescent.

At Gloucester the French hussars and light infantry drove our outposts back several times.

The 9th. Since one could expect nothing else from the enemy's side at Gloucester but that they would attempt a *coup de main* to take these works, which were occupied only by light troops, we continually laid ambuscades each night to the left along the York River. Last night a French party fell into the trap. In the confusion they must have fired upon each other. At daybreak I found seven hats and five grenadier caps, as well as traces of much blood.

In the afternoon of the 10th, about three o'clock, the enemy opened their batteries on both of their wings.[34] The frigate *Guadeloupe* and the sloop *Formidable*, which covered the advanced redoubt from the right on the York River, were driven back and did not dare to appear again. A short time before I had crossed from Gloucester to York to observe the works there and to call upon Lord Cornwallis. Everyone was seated at table.

By the first cannon shot of the besiegers, Commissary Perkins[35] was killed at table and Lieutenant Robertson[36] of the 76th Regiment lost his left leg. The lady of the good commissary general sat between the two at table during this misadventure.

Toward evening the three batteries were opened on the besiegers' front, and the firing was sustained on both sides during the entire night.

In the evening of the 11th the battery on the besiegers' left wing began to fire red-hot shot into the vessels stationed between the two places. As a result, toward ten o'clock the 44-gun *Charon* and three transport vessels caught fire and disappeared in smoke.[37] In addition, the enemy had opened his second parallel at a distance of three hundred paces from the fortifications of York, in which three batteries were erected. It is reckoned that the besiegers have seventy-six pieces in their works.

The 12th. Since yesterday the besiegers have fired bombshells incessantly, so that the entire assault resembles a bombardment. The greater part of the town lies in ashes, and two batteries of the besieged have already been completely dismantled. The besiegers have also attempted to take the advanced redoubt by a *coup de main* during the night, but were driven back with bloody heads.

Toward midday Lieutenant Colonel Cochrane[38] arrived here in a guard boat from New York with dispatches from General Clinton, despite the most violent cannonade of the entire French fleet. The dispatches gave the warmest assurance that Admiral Digby had arrived, that General Clinton had gone on board the English fleet with five thousand men, and that Admirals Graves, Hood, and Digby would employ all their means to bring a fleet superior to the enemy for our relief.

In the afternoon, about four o'clock, Major Gordon and 150 men of the 80th Regiment crossed over to York as reinforcements, because the English Colonel Johnson and the 17th Regiment were to relieve the 23d under Captain Apthorpe in the advanced redoubt. Further, Lieutenant Colonel McPherson[39] was assigned to command the redoubt on the left wing[40] and Captain Campbell[41] the redoubt lying next to it. These posts are the foremost places, for if the enemy holds them the remaining works can be taken in the flank and rear. Without bragging about my limited perception, I have told everyone that as soon as one of these redoubts is taken the business is at an end, and Washington has us in his pocket. Yet one still hears, "But our fleet will come before that time and raise the siege."

The 13th. Since powder and iron are already scarce with the besieged, the besiegers are having the best of the gun play. The loss of the besieged already amounts to three hundred men. The artillery, especially, has suffered very much, since the works are merely heaps of sand and badly fascined.

Toward evening on the 15th [14th], an hour before sunset, the besiegers redoubled their fire, and at seven o'clock in the evening a false attack was made on the redoubt on the right. About eight o'clock General Baron de Viomenil[42] attacked the detached redoubt on the left with French troops, and the Marquis de Lafayette attacked the adjacent one with the Americans.[43] Both redoubts were taken with the bayonet after a fight of an hour. The Hessian Lieutenant Anderson[44] of the Erb Prinz Regiment and the English Captain Tailor were seized with swords in hand by the enemy. Both officers were wounded by bayonets or swords and won the praise of the enemy. Most of the garrison is said to have saved itself too soon.

Now people make long faces and say, "Who would have thought of this stroke?"—I have heard these words so often from a soldier that I would have gladly sent the faithful sleeper to "Doctor Schwift's Little House"[45] to cure him of his complaint.

I would just as soon forget to record a cruel happening. On the same day of the enemy assault, we drove back to the enemy all of our black friends, whom we had taken along to despoil the countryside. We had used them to good advantage and set them free, and now, with fear and trembling, they had to face the reward of their cruel masters. Last night I had to make a sneak patrol, during which I came across a great number of these unfortunates. In their hunger, these unhappy people would have soon devoured what I had; and since they lay between two fires, they had to be driven on by force. This harsh act had to be carried out, however, because of the scarcity of provisions; but we should have thought more about their deliverance at this time.

Moreover, all the artillery and baggage horses, for which there was no forage, were killed and dragged into the York River.[46] Several days after their death these poor animals came back in heaps with the tide, nearly up to the sunken ships. It seemed as if they wanted to cry out against their murder after their death. The sight of these horses was saddening to a person of feeling. But what should we have done if we did not want the enemy to have them? Voltaire says, "La raison de guerre, c'est la raison de guère."[47]

The 16th. An hour before daylight, Lord Cornwallis ordered Colonel Abercromby to make a sortie with 350 men against the captured redoubts, in which the enemy had mounted two breach batteries and eleven heavy pieces. Colonel Abercromby did all that a daring and resolute officer could do with his detachment of light infantry. He took the works with the bayonet without firing a shot, and killed, wounded, or captured the entire garrison. He spiked all the pieces and withdrew behind the lines with only a small loss.[48]

Meanwhile, since the accomplishment of a plan is seldom completely successful in this war, the English artillerists, who had been ordered to spike the guns, had brought along wheel nails to serve for spiking, which were too large, instead of the proper steel spikes. For that reason the English soldiers had to stick their bayonet points in the vents and break them off to spike the guns.[49] Now, it was thought, the guns had been made useless, and there was rejoicing over the stroke. A great many fops assured me: "This stroke will save us. This will take a great amount of time until the enemy can repair this loss. By God, eleven cannons is a fine thing!"[50]

In their joy, the poor benighted devils forgot that such a loss is easily replaced through the reserve train, and that all this merely amounts to a respite for the besieged.

It was about ten o'clock in the morning, when I was standing near the water with my eyes turned toward the redoubts. I had listened to this foolish talk with annoyance, for everything irritated me now, since I had to endure daily the most severe attacks of fever, during which my nerves suffered extremely.—Suddenly the spiked guns began to play frightfully. Within an hour they battered our works so badly in the flank and rear that all our batteries were silenced within a few hours. Thereupon Lord Cornwallis thought of nothing else but to cut his way through on the

Gloucester side, because he had to fear being taken by storm with each passing hour. As soon as night fell, a number of boats were brought to the shore in which a part of the best men who were still healthy were to be passed over to Gloucester. But such a violent storm arose that several boats capsized, whereupon the entire praiseworthy plan came to a standstill.

On the 17th at daybreak this worthy man was indeed in the greatest predicament, for the majority of his troops floated on the water, or had reached Gloucester and could not get back to the York shore because of the terrible weather. To our great luck, the weather was so frightful that the enemy could not discover anything of all this; and when the high wind died down, everyone was brought back to his place about nine o'clock in the morning.[51]

I will not forget this past night in all my life. Choisy threatened to seize us with sword in hand. I had to command two redoubts and a battery for which I was responsible.[52] It was as dark as a sack, and one could neither see nor hear anything because of the awful downpour and heavy gale. Moreover, there was a most severe thunderstorm, but the violent flashes of lightning benefited us, since we could at least see around us for an instant. And to make me really feel the harshness of my wretched life, the fever suddenly attacked me at midnight in the most horrible manner.[53] I was driven to take the most dreadful remedy in the world: two tablespoons full of China powder[54] mixed with the strongest rum. In this desperate situation, I asked for nothing more from nature than to keep my head up during this night—or death. It helped. The fever subsided, and I was quite lively afterward. I thanked God and left everything in His Hands.

Remarks on the break out to the north.

As much as this plan to do all that is possible and to save something when everything is at stake does honor to Lord Cornwallis, this attempt was the greatest impossibility, although worthy of admiration by posterity. I venture to say that if Lord Cornwallis had had the luck to make an unexpected attack on the part of the army under General Choisy, the enemy would nevertheless have had an opportunity to defend himself again, because the defiles of Burwell's and Hudibres's mills could not be outflanked, and would have delayed Lord Cornwallis until the main army had crossed the York River and hung on his neck while Choisy opposed his vanguard.

To this must be added that three navigable rivers had to be crossed, and that the militia of the provinces of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey would increase with each day when General Clinton advanced into the latter province and joined hands with Lord Cornwallis.

And where would the provisions come from, for a march which would take two months, by an army surrounded on all sides by the enemy? And how far could one march with these men, who are nearly all plagued with fever? Their strength is exhausted through want and hardships, and they are so tired of living that they would really rather face captivity than die a slow death from starvation and misery in the wilderness. One must consider mankind as it is: every man is not a hero, and the rank and file does not think like an officer, who is spurred on to his utmost to win honor.

I knew the straits the army was in. Colonel Abercromby, who had safely reached the shore at Gloucester with the light infantry during the night, came to me in the redoubt at the moment when I was struggling with the fever and had just swallowed my "desperation remedy." I went with him out of the redoubt to his men, and found them stretched out on the ground like half-dead people. He asked me how many men could be assembled here. He was startled when I told him that Simcoe, the majority of the ranger officers, and all my jäger officers were dangerously ill, and that I no longer had twelve men who could march a day.

Such an undertaking is practical, perhaps, by a Belle-Isle in Bohemia and a Schulenburg in Poland, who required only eight days' time to escape from the hands of the enemy, since they needed to make only a few orderly forced marches. However, they did not have to look forward to marches of entire months and to fighting with armed farmers. But had we employed our force at Gloucester upon occupying these two posts, and made only one small post out of the York Church,[55] then the position of Lord Cornwallis would have been reversed.

Thus I am firmly of the opinion that this plan to cut our way through could have been carried out ten times sooner to the south than to the north. We could have taken a number of boats in wagons with us to cross the James River, which is the only navigable river on this side toward Carolina that one has to cross. Instead of that, to the north one must cross the Rappahannock, the Potomac, the Susquehanna, and the Delaware.

There still remained an expedient which gave to this undertaking the possibility of a successful outcome. In this case, however, one had to act in concert with General Clinton beforehand. General Clinton, who had no enemy against him now,[56] could make a diversion with his rested troops through the Jerseys to Pennsylvania, in order to draw the militia of the provinces in his direction and to try to gain the banks of the Susquehanna by forced marches. Thus, we would have had to overcome only the obstacles of the Rappahannock and Potomac. But how to get there from both directions? Moreover, these marches would require months. In a word, the whole thing seemed to me like a delusion which misleads people for a moment.[57]

Now that all the batteries were dismantled, the works destroyed, munitions and provisions wanting, the wounded and sick lying helpless without medicine, and the army melted away from 7,000 to 3,200, among whom not a thousand men could be called healthy, Lord Cornwallis decided to call for a parley on the afternoon of the 17th. An officer was sent to General Washington to make a proposal for a capitulation on favorable terms, which insisted upon a free departure. However, Washington and Rochambeau sent this officer about his business quickly, giving him to understand that it was now their turn to grant surrender terms, and that they would consider none but those which we had granted to the garrison of Charlestown. The English officer had scarcely reached the barrier when the fire of the besiegers was redoubled, whereupon a parley was sounded for a second time. General O'Hara was sent to the besiegers to conclude as favorable a capitulation as could be made.[58]

On the afternoon of the 19th toward two o'clock the Allies cleared away a barrier at each post, and at four o'clock the melancholy parade took place and the arms were grounded.[59] It was made known here by General Washington that a staff officer from each nation and a captain or an officer with each fifty men were to march to the designated place of captivity. All the other officers could receive permission to go on their parole of honor to Europe or to English possessions. The number of men, including the sailors and baggage, which fell into enemy hands was something over six thousand.[60] The loss in killed and wounded during the blockade and siege amounted to 653 men, among whom were fifteen officers.[61] Reckoning the entire loss we have suffered in the armies since the beginning of the year 1780 up to this moment, one can easily figure twenty thousand men.

Remarks on the French and Americans.

Of the French I do not think it necessary to write much, for everyone knows that when these soldiers are properly led, everything goes well with them. The regiments have fine men, in very good order, clean, and well uniformed. The men look healthy, and this climate affects them about as it does us.

But I can assert with much truth that the American officer, like his soldier, hates his foes more than we do. They admit this openly, and claim as the reason that they want more freedom than we, on our side, wish to give them. I think, too, that it is as much a kind of policy as a strategem of General Washington to prevent quarrels that he separated the armies of the French and Americans so far apart during the winter quarters. Had this not been done, I surely believe that many a French grenadier's saber would have been plunged into American blood during their rest periods. For one continually hears, "Fripons, ces Américains!"[62] when one merely takes a walk in the town. And how many quarrels have I seen between officers and sentries of these nations, in spite of the strict discipline which exists with the French. Yet one cannot properly remedy this evil, which certainly results from national enmity.

Concerning the American army, one should not think that it can be compared to a motley crowd of farmers. The so-called Continental, or standing, regiments are under good discipline and drill in the English style as well as the English themselves.[63] I have seen the Rhode Island Regiment[64] march and perform several mountings of the guard which left nothing to criticize. The men were complete masters of their legs, carried their weapons well, held their heads straight, faced right without moving an eye, and wheeled so excellently without their officers having to shout much, that the regiment looked like it was dressed in line with a string. I was greatly surprised that the men were not in close formation, arm to arm, but had consistently left a place for a man between every two men, which is a very good thing in penetrating a thick wood or underbrush with entire battalions. But to constantly maintain this maneuver is faulty, because one meets with small plains here as in other countries, where such battalions can be easily overthrown by a tightly closed one. The English have adopted this method in their infantry and cavalry and still retain it. Should this war against the French, who have kept the close formation, continue much longer here, the English could come out dirty in the first affair, for when such an open battalion comes through a wood into a plain, it looks just like the troops are advancing in the greatest confusion.[65]

Since the American nation consists of slender and well-formed people, it is an easily recognizable fact that the regiments of this army consist of handsome, and for the soldier's profession, well-built men whose appearance suffers very much indeed from a lack of clothing, hats, and shoes. For I have seen many soldiers of this army without shoes, with tattered breeches and uniforms patched with all sorts of colored cloth, without neckband and only the lid of a hat, who marched and stood their guard as proudly as the best uniformed soldier in the world, despite the raw weather and hard rain in October. But he keeps his piece clean and shining, and powders his hair as white as possible with provisions flour when on grand parades.

On the other hand, the officers are bound to wear constantly a style of uniform which is usually blue with red or white facing. For the red color is so detested by these people, that if one can obtain any other color of cloth for a coat, he will not wear red. Now and then a number of uniforms arrive safely from France for the Americans, which are given to those who go around almost naked, without much regard for uniformity.

With what soldiers in the world could one do what was done by these men, who go about nearly naked and in the greatest privation? Deny the best-disciplined soldiers of Europe what is due them and they will run away in droves, and the general will soon be alone. But from this one can perceive what an enthusiasm—which these poor fellows call "Liberty"—can do!

Nevertheless, they are true slaves of the Congress, and let themselves be led like blind men on a string by these fine heads. For in no monarchy in the world is levying done more forcibly than in this country, where it is said without distinction of position, "Serve or provide your man, else you lose your goods and chattels." Should an officer or soldier receive his release, he is still bound to go out into the field again with the militia of the province in which he lives as soon as that province is threatened by an enemy attack. What affairs can sly and cunning heads begin in this world! Who would have thought a hundred years ago that out of this multitude of rabble would arise a people who could defy kings and enter into a close alliance with crowned heads?

Just as the Continental officer scorns his former calling completely, putting it aside to devote himself to the soldier's profession by reading military books (from which he can learn but little) and proudly wears his uniform, so does he greatly despise the militia. Few militia officers have uniforms, for they serve as volunteers and receive nothing but provisions from their province as long as they defend it. But once the enemy has departed from their borders, everyone hurries back to his home and often spreads tales among the people, from which they all soon imagine that the captain, in return for a threat, got back a good box on the ears from his subordinates.

As for the mountaineer, or the wild Scotch-Irish, this is a species of poor folk gathered from all the nations in the world. They dwell in miserable log cabins in the mountains three to four hundred miles from the seacoast, and live from the chase. Since these people usually maintain relations with the Indians, who are their neighbors, they take pains to assume a wild appearance, which results naturally from their rough manner of living. They are excellent and dangerous shots, and can easily bring a folded bayonet off their leg. They choose their own leaders and pay no attention to discipline. He who falls into their hands as prisoner seldom keeps anything more than what nature gave him at birth.

There are many Germans among these people, especially from the area of the Main and Rhine.[66] We took several of these people prisoner near Spencer's Ordinary, all of whom had served in the Free Corps in the last German war.[67] During the present war these people lived at their happiest, since the tyranny of Congress has not yet been able to penetrate beyond a distance of a hundred miles into the mountains. Should one demand a certain number of these people to bear arms, only as many would come as have a mind to procure booty or to derive profit from the wretched evils of war, which means plundering the loyalists. But since there are not many of the latter kind of people in this part of the country, many a rifleman returns to his cabin as poor as ever.

PART THREE

From the surrender of York and Gloucester up to the end of this year.

After the troops were surrendered into captivity, every officer was greeted by the French generals and officers with the greatest courtesy. I had the pleasure and honor of being invited to dine with the general officers, Washington, Comte de Rochambeau, Marquis de Lafayette, Duc de Lauzun, Choisy, the Princes of Deux-Ponts, and General Comte Custine.

I greatly enjoyed the friendship of many other officers, especially the Baron von Ésebeck, who commanded the Deux-Ponts Regiment, Colonel Comte Fersen, Colonel Hugo, Colonel Angely, Major Broderesky, and Major Klocker.[68] One scarcely knew whether he was among his friends or foes. Indeed, I had found on more than one occasion that the French officers preferred the company of the English, Anspach, and Hessian officers to that of their own allies.

Such a jealousy came over General Washington that he cast stern expressions toward the French generals over the too-friendly relations between the French and our officers. He ordered the French guards relieved by Americans at both posts. We still enjoyed much courtesy from our opponent's side, but a cool conduct began to prevail among the two diverse nations which, in good fortune, had formed only one.[69]

Our poor sick and wounded lay without medicine and provisions in such pitiable circumstances that the hardest heart had to be moved. Their food consisted of stinking salted meat and some flour or worm-eaten biscuit. These unfortunates died like flies from want, and the amputated arms and legs lay around in every corner and were eaten by the dogs. The hearts of those who could not help them bled, and those who could have helped by a kind word would not. All hearts had turned to stone. A few hundred guineas could have relieved the misery of these unfortunates, since fresh provisions were brought to market after the surrender. I received thirty guineas on a bill of exchange and gave half to these forsaken men.

There was neither consolation nor money to be found, and everyone was left to his own fate. Lord Cornwallis, who had constantly overwhelmed me with special favors, was in ill humor and not disposed to speak for anything for his friends. I requested an early pass because of my sickly condition, which daily grew worse, since the fever weakened me so much that I was out of my mind for hours. Since I could not obtain anything through my old friends, I had appealed to General Washington through my new friends to grant me a land pass. But I let myself be persuaded to go to the ships with the others to avoid offending Lord Cornwallis.

On the morning of the 27th the English fleet appeared before the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, which had on board General Clinton with five thousand troops. But after receiving the positive news of the surrender of York and Gloucester, the fleet sailed back to New York.[70]

November. On the 2d the order was given to all the officers, who numbered 213, that they could travel wherever they wished on their parole aboard three vessels which the Comte de Grasse had provided to transport us to New York.

On the 3d all the unlucky heroes climbed on board their ships. The one which was designated for the German officers was called the *Andrew.* Our traveling companions consisted of thirty-six Anspach and Hessian officers and sixty-three English officers, chaplains, and surgeons. In addition, there were 143 officers' servants and camp followers, among whom twenty-two had their wives and children—or their stinking amazons—with them, as well as eight ships' captains and one hundred exchanged sailors. There were some fifty various white and black two-footed creatures of both sexes. I could not see their faces because they hid them; they probably were contraband. There were also thirty-one dogs and pigs, the latter belonging to the sailors for their provisions.

Toward midday this whole mixed and motley company was on board the ship. The cabin had been combined with the sailors' quarters and on both sides three bunks had been built, one over the other, as large as could be made. These bunks, each of a width of two feet, were occupied according to seniority by the two brigadiers on down. The remaining gentlemen, as well as the entire ship's crew and the servants, had permission to look for a place wherever one could be found. It was agreed that those who wanted to cook on the morning of one day should cook again in the afternoon of the next day. It was also proposed to form in groups of six or twelve, because of the confined area of the galley. Meanwhile, this order was quickly violated, since our brigadiers Dundas and Eyb acted contrary to the agreement from the first, and so all subordination to them while aboard had to be ended.

Fires were kindled without asking permission and kept up day and night, so that I did not know how it happened that the ship was not burned up. Those who had something, cooked when they wanted to, which did not last long, since the entire company had to resort to stinking salted meat and worm-filled biscuit.

In this situation we set sail on the 6th, and on the 7th it was discovered that there was a shortage of water. On account of this, it was unanimously decided that each man could have no more than one tin cup of water daily for both cooking and drinking. If one used up his share of water for cooking, only one full wine glass was left to quench his thirst for the remaining twenty-four hours.

During this time I asked each man who had suffered from want, or spoke of need, whether he had had enough bread and water. Had he this, then I did not accommodate him, for he had not suffered. I once had the good luck to get a bottle of water in exchange for two Spanish dollars. In an instant I was the luckiest person on board! No one any longer thought of wine, tea, and coffee. Everyone cried, "Water! Water!"

In these wretched circumstances, we floated this way and that way on the ocean until the 23d. Moreover, the sailors became insubordinate to the ship's captain. If they were weary of the helm, the sails were reefed and we were left floating to chance, so that one often did not know where he was. The Anspach Lieutenant Foeder,[71] a very brave and worthy man, whose nervous system could not stand the shocks of this sorrowful life, took his real fate to be unreal, and jumped into the water and drowned. An English doctor caught the high fever due to vexation and died. But to my good fortune, what cheered me up was that my fever left me, and I was fresh and lively after I had been several days at sea.

On the 23d we reached Sandy Hook safely. It was high time, for our supply of water stood at only a half a foot, enough for two or three days longer at sea. Then one would have had to resolve to jump into the water. For who will die of thirst and torture himself with this miserable death?

On the 24th fishermen in the mouth of the Hudson River led us to water, bread, and rum, with which we revived ourselves. At midday on the 26th we reached New York, where I was received by General Knyphausen in a most polite and friendly manner and was refreshed at his table with everything.—And so all the misfortune was forgotten.

Month of December. On the morning of the 1st, I left New York and traveled to the Jäger Corps, which was cantoned on Long Island to protect the shore against the New Englanders. Here I was welcomed by my good friends with courtesy and friendship, and here I took up my quarters as a prisoner of war and lived in peace.—Now I drank once more from the River of Forgetfulness, banished all grief and sorrow, and looked with longing toward my exchange.

On the 10th I received the following note with an enclosure from General Knyphausen, which gave me inexpressible pleasure and caused genuine delight.

Honorable Sir,
Especially Most Esteemed Captain:

The attached extract of the favorable letter from His Serene Highness of the 13th of September this year is communicated to you with genuine interest and pleasure.

With complete esteem,

Your most
obedient servant
Knyphausen.

New York, December 8, 1781

Extract of the favorable letter from his Serene Highness, the Landgrave, dated at Weissenstein, the 13th of September, 1781.

Among the reports reaching me is that of the good conduct of the Regiment von Bose, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel du Puy, and that of the equally fine conduct of Captain Ewald of the Jäger Corps, which is altogether extremely pleasing to learn.

The Lieutenant General,[72] therefore, desires to declare to the regiment mentioned, as well as to Lieutenant Colonel du Puy and Captain Ewald, my extraordinary satisfaction and the assurance of my entirely special favor and grace.—This is also proclaimed with the distribution of the parole.

Extracted at New York, the 8th of December, 1781.

The French under Rochambeau had taken up their winter quarters in and around Williamsburg in Virginia. The French fleet, which had taken the corps of General Saint-Simon on board, sailed back to the West Indies with all the supplies of fascines, gabions, and other siege matériel. General Washington and his army moved to the banks of the Delaware River. Among us, no one spoke of anything but the evacuation of the places still occupied in Carolina and Virginia in order to cope with the impending campaign of our enemies here at New York.

This disaster, the capture of the army under Lord Cornwallis, will give the Opposition Party in England enough impetus to carry through its plan to give up the dominions in North America.[73] This is the result of the absurd rules established during a war in which no plan was followed. The enemy was only pulled in all directions and nowhere driven by force, whereby all was lost, when it was desired to preserve all. It is terrible, when one considers that the finest and most valiant army—after six campaigns—was brought completely back to the point from which it started with the most auspicious prospects six years ago. And this, indeed, against a people who were no soldiers, and who could have been stamped to the ground in the first year.

Such a calamity must be incurred by every state in which there are no soldiers among the ministers who draw up the plans for campaigns. Under these circumstances, it would have taken a miracle for the rotten business to have succeeded. But now every sensible man will readily realize that these thirteen provinces have to be given up.

Due to this, all the great expectations of the many who have served honorably during this war are now lost. For a part of the plan, if these provinces were preserved for England, was that a strong army was to be formed for North America from those troops, especially from among the foreigners, who would remain in the country voluntarily. All the officers who had served with zeal during the entire war, and with excellent conduct, were to get assignments with considerable emolument and be rewarded with the most lucrative plantations which were vacated by the rebellious-minded inhabitants.

But under the present circumstances, all that is past, and he can call himself fortunate who, with the conviction of having done his duty, with a good reputation, and with his health, has lived to see the end of the war.—Thus, men on the one side make plans, which then—quite unexpectedly—are turned to the other side by a Higher Hand.

End of the sixth campaign.

SUPPLEMENT

From the beginning of the year 1782 up to the arrival in Hesse in 1784.

The army under General Clinton was weakened so much by the loss of Lord Cornwallis's army that it could scarcely protect its possessions in New York. Due to this, the army under Lord Rawdon was also placed on the defensive in South Carolina, and had the burden of maintaining the posts of Charlestown and Wilmington. During this year blow upon blow now followed in the West Indies.

On the 15th of January, the unpleasant news arrived from the West Indies that the French had recaptured the Dutch island of Saint Eustatius, which Admiral Rodney had conquered earlier, by a *coup de main.* It appears as if Fortune has completely turned her back on this nation.

Month of February. On the 14th an express vessel arrived from England which brought the speech of the King to Parliament, from which it is to be concluded that the army will be reinforced by ten thousand men, and the war continued with renewed vigor. This news gave every honest soldier fresh courage.

The 23d. We have received information that the Allied army is ready to make an attack on New York.

Month of March. On the 10th the packet *Sandwich* brought the news that Admiral Sir George Rodney had arrived in the West Indies with twelve ships of the line and a number of frigates to reinforce the English fleet in the waters there. The fleet now consists of forty ships of the line. Should the fleet be able to prevent the concentration of the French and Spanish, who are now exerting all their strength, and have the luck to defeat one of these two fleets, then our fortunes could take another turn.

Month of April. On the 9th Lieutenant Wolff[1] of the Jäger Corps was sent out with fifty jägers toward Matinecock,[2] where the American corsairs from New England often land and plunder. The lieutenant had scarcely arrived at his post when he received the intelligence that a party of Americans had landed with three whaleboats on Butler's Island. He marched against them at once, fell in with the enemy, killed several, took four prisoners, and captured a whaleboat.

The 19th. Early today the Jäger Corps had to march to Flushing. The two English regiments, the 38th and 54th, together with Robinson's provincial regiment, moved to Bedford and Brooklyn to work on the new Brooklyn lines. No thought had been given to improving and strengthening them during the entire war.

On the 30th a packet arrived at New York from England, which brought the news that General Clinton, who is charged with the blame for the loss of the army under Lord Cornwallis, is said to have been relieved by General Sir Guy Carleton.[3]

It is quite true that this worthy man is not without fault, for he had to be aware of the demonstration that the Allied army made against him before Kings Bridge, because a fleet was necessary for the Yorktown undertaking. Moreover, he should not have let the Allied army go so peacefully across the Hudson River, march through Jersey, and cross the Delaware. But to lay the entire blame on him is too severe, because the chief mistake lay with the commander in chief of the fleet, who let himself be hoaxed by the Comte de Grasse when the latter entered the Chesapeake contrary to expectations.

Month of May. On the 6th Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York and took over the command of the army. He is said to be provided by the Ministry with full powers to enter into peace negotiations with the Congress.

Month of July. On the 22d I had to pay a part of my tribute to nature. Toward evening one of the most severe nerve, putrid, and bilious fevers suddenly seized me and attacked me so violently that by the evening of the 23d I knew nothing more and lay out of my mind, without hope. Now, since I was not yet exchanged and could take up my quarters where I wished, I had chosen a pleasant area along the sound on Long Island. But while the army had moved nearer, I was unable to look for a doctor during the first two days. At the first attack, I believed that it was putrid fever and I resorted to perspiring, which I thought to bring about with a half a quart of milk. But my remedy came to nothing, and I lay in bed as if dead for two days, when the regimental surgeon of the Jäger Corps arrived. During the crisis, nature took effect and gave me its own remedy. I passed over five months with this sickness, and at the end of the year I caught the country fever until spring, which I considered lucky, because my constitution was cleansed by it.

During my sickness I was exchanged, but it had caused too great a gap in my diary. Moreover, the Commanding General, Sir Henry Clinton, whose confidence I had the honor to enjoy, had departed, as had all my friends in the headquarters, from whom I learned everything which had or could have any interest for my diary. Besides, the duty in this area was one of unvarying monotony on the defensive, although it still involved dangers enough. Thus I lost all my desire to write down further entries, and I conclude my diary quite shortly with the departure of the army from America and my arrival in Cassel, because the sickness had left such a lack of feeling in my body that I was unable to enjoy any pleasure under the sun.

By the beginning of the year 1783, Savannah and Charlestown had been evacuated, and Generals Wayne and Greene had taken possession at once in the name of the United States.

January, 1783. The peace is concluded, and the United States have been declared independent. Adjutant General Stapleton[4] was sent to the Congress to bring about as soon as possible the return of the prisoners of war, who are scattered around the entire country. The American prisoners of war are to be set free at once.

Month of May. According to a recent report, the loss of the Hessian Corps up to the end of 1782 consists of 119 officers, 41 field officers, 420 noncommissioned officers, 155 musicians, and 5,166 privates. The loss of the Lossberg Regiment, of which two companies were drowned, as well as the loss of the Erb Prinz Regiment, the Bose Regiment, and the jäger detachment, which served under Lord Cornwallis and were captured, are not yet reckoned, which one can easily figure at six hundred men.

Month of June. Over ten thousand refugees are going to the newly established colonies of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Moreover, all the light corps and provincial regiments are being sent there, where land is allotted to them for cultivation. It is a very pathetic sight to see so many thousands of honest loyalists depart to that wilderness. Most of them had lived with dignity in this country, and now they must begin again there where their ancestors began.

The 10th. Several days ago, after the greater part of the prisoners had already arrived, two officers and fifty men of the Brunswickers came to New York quite unexpectedly. Since their captivity over five years ago they had heard nothing at all. They had been shut up in the mountains and employed in ironworks. They were not half clad, and misery and hunger could be read in their faces. On the whole, the Brunswick troops have endured the most misfortune of all the Germans. They were captured early in the first campaign, were not clothed again by their masters, and not a single officer was advanced since that time. There are many captains among them who were already captains in 1760.[5]

Month of July. The 14th. The Waldeck and Zerbst regiments and the Hanau Free Battalion were embarked at New York for Europe.

The 17th. News was received that 150 Hessian prisoners had been hired out for work by the Congress to the inhabitants in return for hard money, and that the inhabitants now demand thirty dollars for each man. Major Faesch,[6] a German by birth, has thirty of them working in his iron mines. General Lossberg, who has commanded the Hessians since General Knyphausen returned to Hesse, has ordered those men redeemed who could be induced to return in exchange for the thirty dollars. Meanwhile, it is presumed that many a German soldier will remain hidden.[7]

On the 30th all the Anspachers were embarked at New York.

Month of August. The 8th. Today I again lost one of my good old friends. Captain Hartert[8] of the Prinz Carl Regiment went for a walk not far from his quarters in Bloomingdale at New York, in the course of which he was knocked down quite unexpectedly by a horse which had bolted with its rider, and died on the spot.—How diverse is the manner of death for mankind!

The 13th. Since yesterday the Hessian regiments Erb Prinz, Vacant, Knyphausen, Bose, Dittfurth, Bünau, d'Angelelli, Knoblauch, and Benning have been embarked at New York under the command of General Kospoth.[9]

On the 17th all the guns from the fortifications along with five companies of English artillery were embarked at New York for Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.

The 25th. Because the New Englanders often appear on Long Island since the peace, many atrocities are perpetrated on the inhabitants, who have lived there under English protection during the war. Hence the Jäger Corps and a detachment of English infantry of seven hundred men had to march immediately to the eastern end of this island to drive away these evil guests.

All the German troops have departed from Canada for Europe.

The 10th of September. Since peace is concluded and everyone on both sides has free passage, robberies and murders are committed so frequently that one is compelled to ride on the open highway with bare saber or with drawn pistols as soon as night falls. Indeed, one has reason to remain constantly in his quarters in a good state of defense during the night, because quarters at all places are robbed and looted.—This is another kind of war to wage!

The 16th. Several days ago two American loyalists who had plundered and killed a rebel sympathizer were arrested. They were sentenced to be hanged. The government of New York sent a clergyman to them, but they advised him to go home and have not the slightest concern for them, because they would like to die in the belief that it was no sin at all to plunder and kill any rebel opposed to the King. They were hanged today, and faced the place of execution with a serene countenance. They climbed on the wagon, fastened the ropes around each other's necks with complete composure, pulled the caps over their eyes, shoved off the wagon, and hanged.—Thus this civil war can change one's mind about mankind!

Month of October. On the 7th the sad news arrived that a vessel with two hundred emigrants, mostly officers and soldiers from DeLancey's provincial battalion, had foundered in the Bay of Fundy.

On the 8th the 4th, 17th, 37th, 38th, and 54th regiments embarked at Brooklyn for Europe and put to sea at once.

Journey to West Point.

Since this post, because of its natural position, is one of the most important that the Americans held during the war, I decided to travel there,[10] taking along Lieutenant von Gerresheim[11] for company.

On the 21st of this month at seven o'clock in the morning I left my quarters and arrived about noon in Tarrytown, which lies twenty-three miles from my quarters and thirty miles from New York. Since this place was a scene of action for both combatants during the entire war which sometimes we and sometimes the Americans had occupied, it frequently had happened that I occupied this town with a party. As the inhabitants of the place and the surrounding area were all on the side of the Congress, our people were not usually received in the friendliest manner.

The first fellow I met in town, in front of the door of the tavern where I desired to stop for lunch, was one of the most fiery ringleaders, whom I had caught on a patrol and who had been put in chains and fetters. As soon as I recognized him, I asked him in quite friendly fashion how he felt, whereupon he replied indifferently with a look distorted by spite. I asked him if I could have something to eat and fodder for my horses for money. He answered with a short "Yes!" but his face brightened somewhat, since he expected to gain some money from me.

While I was dismounting and walking into the house, a number of residents of the town assembled. At the mention of my name they whispered a "God damn!" in each other's ears, whereby I noticed that they had not yet forgotten the punches in the ribs which they had received from the jägers during their imprisonment. Why! The womenfolk inside the house could scarcely stand the sight of me! I certainly expected an unpleasant reception and finished my lunch as quickly as possible. But what can money not do? As soon as I asked what my bill came to, and paid seven piasters into the woman's hand for a poor meal, without any argument and without showing that it was too expensive, all the faces in the entire house brightened. They wished me a pleasant journey and asked me not to pass up their house on my return trip.

Since we could not use the old bridge across the Croton River, we had to take our route over the new bridge and travel several miles along the new road toward Peekskill which the American army had built during the war. Because the road had to be constructed for miles on the slopes of a steep and rocky mountain range along the right bank of the Croton River, much honor is due the man who designed it.

Toward eight o'clock in the evening we arrived at Peekskill, a small town of about eighty houses, only average buildings among them, which lies close to a deep valley on the left bank of the Hudson River and is surrounded by rocky hills. Since there is not a single good tavern in this place, several private individuals are keeping public houses to accommodate strangers or travelers. My address was directed to Madam Bourges,[12] who is one of the finest women in this town. However, the entire house was full of strangers, and we were refused with much politeness and referred to another house, where we did not fare any better. Hence we went to a third one. Here we at last found accommodations for ourselves and our horses. It was quite lucky for us that we were very tired and craved lodgings more than a good dinner, for the latter was so poor that none of it could be consumed. Meanwhile, our host, who had served with the Americans during the entire war, was very courteous. Since I was not recognized here, and we were taken for French officers, everyone was exceptionally polite, for I took great care not to show that I had ever been here before, and had burned the barracks and several magazines two miles away.[13]

Early on the 22d we breakfasted as soon as possible, badly and filthy, and after I had paid a guinea for all the blessings received we continued our journey. In this area begins the mountain range called the Highlands by the inhabitants, which is some twenty miles deep and cuts across America. The roads across these mountains are so steep that one is compelled to ride foot by foot, with the greatest caution. Because of the rocky ground, the area is so sparsely inhabited that for a distance of nine miles we did not see over ten miserable cabins, whose occupants lived from the chase and who did not make the best company.

When one observes the narrow and unfinished roads which cross these mountains, it is amazing that the Americans permitted us to penetrate into this region without interference four or five years ago, when two or three determined officers with a hundred men could have stopped at each step the best and strongest armies for several days, and where each step of the attacking party would have had to have been bought with blood. Due to the bad roads there are few vehicles in this area, and all travelers of both sexes whom we met on the way were on horseback.

Toward midday we arrived at Nelson's Ferry,[14] where a well-built country house of medium size lies on a small plain on the left bank of the North River. This plain is commanded by two redoubts, called North and South redoubts, which are constructed on steep and rocky heights.

Even this house, which is occupied by a well-to-do man named Nelson,[15] is another residence where one finds lodging as a "favor" and for a stiff price. In front of the door we found a middle-aged woman whom I asked to accommodate us, and who quite politely consented, after making it clear to us that her house was no tavern.

Here in this house I soon found an American officer who related to me that his brother had been shot by the jägers at Elizabethtown in the Jerseys. I regretted this and steered the conversation to the question of whom I should turn to for permission to see the fortifications at West Point. We were informed that a General McDougall[16] resided scarcely a mile from here, but he did not have the command of the fortifications. Nevertheless, we considered it our duty to pay a visit to this gentleman. We were scarcely halfway to the general's residence when he met us, and as soon as we had identified ourselves he offered us the hospitality of his house with all politeness for as long as we intended to stay. But since we could not accept this, out of courtesy, we asked him for a pass to cross the North River. He accompanied us to the plantation where we were to descend, furnished us with a pass, ordered his boat, and himself accompanied us to the opposite shore. When we thanked him, he invited us to his table the following day.

As soon as we arrived at West Point we found a battery of four guns which commanded the narrow channel of the river between this place and Point Constitution. This point is a complete peninsula, which is attached to the left bank of the North River by a marshy isthmus. It extends into the river so close to the opposite point that the river, which makes a sharp bend here, is only four hundred paces wide but fifty to sixty fathoms deep. This peninsula forms a steep cliff on all sides, on which three redoubts had been constructed to sweep the river and the side where it connects with the left bank by a marshy tongue of land. On this side there is a barracks for three hundred men, which, however, is not protected from the water side.

The duty officer of the battery at West Point received us very politely, and immediately provided us with a noncommissioned officer who led us to the quarters of the commandant, who is General Knox. As soon as we climbed up the steep bank several hundred fathoms from the battery situated at the end of the promontory, we found ourselves on a natural *place d'armes* about one and a half German miles long and a good half mile wide. It is surrounded by a chain of steep and rocky mountains six to seven German miles deep, which form a semicircle of which the North River is the diameter and across which only footpaths lead.

We were received very courteously by General Knox, whose figure is quite distinguished and venerable.[17] He consented at once to our request to inspect the fortifications. Since I strengthened his conviction that it was a formidable and impregnable position, he asked us to his table and provided us with his adjutant, Captain Lillie,[18] as an escort, who probably was instructed to what extent he should show us the fortifications.

We then went to Fort Clinton,[19] which is situated on the point above the water battery mentioned. It is quadrangular, with broken flanks, and commands the river from all directions. Afterward we inspected the barracks, which are secure against all armed vessels, since the right bank of the river is very high and the rocks at most places rise perpendicularly.

On this walk the captain took us to the artillery park, which consists of approximately eighty pieces, all of which had been captured from the English during the war, and on which the place and occasion of capture were engraved in big letters. What touched me most strongly and profoundly, and led me into deep reflection for several minutes, were three light 3-pounders which looked as simple as a Quaker. They had been cast at Philadelphia, were the first cannon in the American army, and had comprised their entire field artillery in the first and second campaigns.[20]

I became totally lost in my meditations as I tried to imagine the American army in its wretched condition, such as we had often encountered it during the year 1776 and chased it from hill to hill. On the other side I tried to envisage the splendid and formidable army of the English, consisting mostly of veterans who despite all dangers had swum across nearly a half of the earth's diameter. But they were put to such poor use that eight campaigns were lost, followed by the loss of thirteen provinces, which, in a word, had torn down the Crown of England from its loftiest peak. How ashamed must a man like General Grant now feel, who at the outbreak of the war declared in Parliament that he would make America obedient again with six thousand men, since according to his reports most people were loyalists.[21]

Since the hour of three had passed during the course of this walk, and it was time to return to the general, Captain Lillie offered to show us the rest of the fortifications after dinner or early in the morning. Once more we were courteously received by the general and by Madam Knox,[22] and introduced to some twenty American staff and other officers, whose names I have completely forgotten except that of a Colonel Vose,[23] a distinguished and talkative gentleman. After a short time we went to the table, where I had the good fortune of being seated between madam and the general. Madam Knox had a quite pleasant face and very lively brown eyes, but I heard no other sound from her than those words I could extract. The general, who had been a bookdealer in Boston before the war, appeared to be a reasonable and well-read man, considering all the books he had studied in his business, which he showed especially when the conversation turned to finance and accounting.[24] One could see the fancied happiness of this company from the look in everyone's eyes as soon as the conversation turned to free trade, with which they complimented themselves to a great extent. But when one talked to them as soldiers, they made it known at once that they would be happy to disband as soon as the order was issued for the remainder of the army, which still consisted of five thousand men. Then that object for which they had drawn their swords would have been obtained, and they considered themselves fortunate enough to be independent and at peace, and now able to reap their flax.

Toward half-past five we arose from the table and strolled to the parade ground, where the entire garrison, consisting of about 3,200 men, was drawn up in battalion formation and accounted for and inspected as usual. The shortest men formed the first rank, which was introduced by General Baron von Steuben, the Inspector General, who has his usefulness in the field but who makes a very poor figure on parade.[25]

The men looked haggard and pallid and were poorly dressed. Indeed, very many stood quite proudly under arms without shoes and stockings. Although I shuddered at the distress of these men, it filled me with awe for them, for I did not think there was an army in the world which could be maintained as cheaply as the American army. It was not even permitted to requisition straw during the campaigns, since the country could not have borne the expense. The barracks at West Point as well as those at all permanent places had to be built by the soldiers with their own hands, without compensation. Shoemakers and tailors who are assigned to regiments must work for nothing for their officers and regiments; their only benefit being exemption from guard duty.—What army could be maintained in this manner? None, certainly, for the whole army would gradually run away.—This, too, is a part of that "Liberty and Independence" for which these poor fellows had to have their arms and legs smashed.—But to what cannot enthusiasm lead a people!

Although the general was so polite as to offer us a bed in his quarters, we thanked him for this kind offer, and asked his adjutant to direct us to a house or tavern where we could stay overnight. To procure good lodgings here was a difficult matter, for even the general's residence was a makeshift house made of boards. Meanwhile, since there are always people everywhere who will undertake anything for money, there was a discharged sergeant here, who with his loving better half owned a frame house which he had named a "coffeehouse."[26] Captain Lillie guided us to the place, where we were welcome guests for our money.

Here we found Captain Hinrichs from our Corps, Secretary Motz,[27] and Dr. Michaelis,[28] who had traveled several days ago through the Province of Jersey to Valley Kill[29] in order to excavate some bones of a monstrous beast which must have been bigger and stronger than an elephant, and of which Buffon[30] makes mention. This journey had turned out so successfully that I had hardly entered the house when Dr. Michaelis shouted to me in a loud voice: "My dear captain, our journey has resulted according to our wish. We have made a great discovery, and Buffon's entire system is overturned!" To my displeasure, none of the American officers spoke German, who otherwise would have taken me for a scholar because of the learned words of the doctor. Be that as it may, we were delighted to meet each other so unexpectedly here in this corner of the American world, and proposed to make our return journey together. We then begged Colonel Vose, through the Captains Lillie and Benson,[31] to give us the honor of passing the evening with us, and putting up with supper in this coffeehouse made of boards. They accepted and we spent the night quite pleasantly.

Since the North River in this area yields an abundance of oysters, and the port was of reasonable quality, we enjoyed quite an excellent supper. As we intended to open the hearts and mouths of the Americans, we passed around the bottle several times, and after a few quarter hours we became such good friends that no outsider would have believed how different our views were.

Among other things, our conversation turned to the pay of the troops, whereupon the American officers assured us that they still had five years' pay coming.—But on what did they live, since surely some of them had nothing at all to depend on?—Enough of them, who had nothing to add to their subsistence, had to live on the daily ration, which consisted of a pound of meat and a pound of bread. He who could not purchase a new coat wore his old one until it fell off his body in pieces. He who could not procure shoes made them himself from cowhide, or any other skin, or a piece of leather. Where the direst need arose and the officers complained too loudly, then a little money was paid out, with which each sought to clothe himself. "Would you believe it, gentlemen, that we had officers enough in the army who did not get on a horse during the entire war, who often marched without shoes, and who still did everything that was possible to live in this world as free men? But we had resolved to endure everything and to die in the end or throw off the yoke of tyranny."—But wouldn't you think that the Congress and their countrymen, who had them to thank for everything, would reward them for their toils?—"Many are against us, but we hope to receive at least half-pay. All the officers of the regular troops petitioned the Congress to grant us a piece of land of 130,000 acres between the Ohio and Mississippi, where we wanted to establish a colony, since it is against the Constitution of the country to maintain a standing army. We wanted to guard the frontier against the Indians, but be permitted to frame our own laws and be independent of the Congress. This, however, was denied us. They will give us land, but not all in one area. But once the English army leaves our soil, we will try to get by force what they will not give us amicably."[32]

This last remark clearly showed that if the English were willing to squander large sums of money among these people they could easily cause fresh unrest in this new state, by which it would be quite possible to turn a part of these provinces to the British side again.

Toward four o'clock in the morning the American gentlemen left us, whereupon our host brought his entire supply of bedding into our room to prepare a bed for us. But since there was only enough room in it for three of our party, two of us laid at either end. As the windows and doors in this palace were in poor condition and a strong, cold wind blew freely in and out of the room, our lodging was not the most pleasant, and each of us was glad to see the break of day.

The 23d. After we had had a very good breakfast in our cold room, we paid a visit to the general. I introduced the other three gentlemen, and at the same time we both took our leave. We were asked to the table again, but since Lieutenant von Gerresheim and I had an appointment with General McDougall on the New York shore, only the other three gentlemen accepted. Hereupon we inspected Fort Putnam, which is shaped like an irregular pentagon, dominating the entire plain and Fort Clinton. Then we looked at Fort Wyllys,[33] which lies close to the river bank and sweeps the approaches to the river as well as the area between these approaches and Fort Putnam. However, the latter is a regular pentagon and so narrow that if a bomb is placed in the right spot, the garrison could scarcely hold out for long. In front of the two forts, an English mile distant, four redoubts lay in a semicircle, which can clearly observe all approaches and the terrain for eight to ten English miles. But it seems to me that he who has possession of Redoubt Number 3 could easily control all the other redoubts. It would require some effort, to be sure, since the hills upon which the four redoubts are constructed are very steep and high and in many places surrounded by deep ravines.

In order to block the channel completely to armed vessels and warships, since the river is not controlled above and below the fortress, a chain[34] of a special construction has been placed between the western point and Constitution Island. Since the right bank of the river is perpendicularly steep and several hundred rods high at some places, the forts cannot be bombarded by warships, although they would have enough deep water. It may be that mortar galiots brought to bear could do much damage to Fort Wyllys, but they would not gain a foot of ground. Should an armed vessel attempt to pass the works on the water side, and try to break the chain by force, to which the tide and a favorable wind could greatly contribute, it could get only as far as the point, because the river here forms a deep and double bend where the wind becomes unfavorable. Besides, the men on deck could easily be killed by pistols from the steep bank. So much is certain, that determined men could make the conquest of this post sour and expensive to an enemy.— But are there not enough examples in ancient and modern history where the strongest and most impregnable posts have been betrayed by treachery or surprise?

In the afternoon we crossed the river again. The fortress appeared like a three-story amphitheater, and the many waterfalls tumbling down from the steep and rocky bank provided a majestic sight to the eye. Toward three o'clock we rode to General McDougall's residence, where we met a company of three ladies and about twenty officers. One of the ladies was a daughter of the general and was married to an American colonel. Of the others, one was the wife of a major, with her daughter. The major[35] was born in Frankfort-on-the-Main and seemed to me from beginning to end to be a military charlatan, but not without some knowledge.

Since we dined in the best English fashion, we did not go to the table until half-past four. At this time the conversation turned to General Arnold, who had been commandant at West Point, and was willing to play this post into the hands of General Clinton. But Madam Lawrance,[36] who did not like the military and political talk, took her lute from the wall, played it, and favored us with several first-rate English arias.

At the appointed hour we went to the table, and I had the good fortune to be seated between Madam Lawrance and Miss Bauman.[37] The former was a very pleasant and vivacious blonde with light-blue eyes which possessed much worldliness to entertain a stranger, and I do not deny that the company of this charming woman was so pleasant that I felt much regret when we rose from the table. As soon as the ladies had withdrawn and the glasses were more frequently filled, the general came closer to me. Heart and mouth were unbuttoned and I began to speak English very fluently. I discovered that the general must be a reasonable and excellent soldier, for which he was already noted in our army. He was a native Scotsman, had commanded a privateer at his own expense during the Seven Years' War, and, since the Americans took him for a courageous man, the Congress had appointed him a general at the beginning of the war.[38] In a word, I was so impressed by this man during this short acquaintance that I was very glad to have made it. Toward half-past seven, the ladies called us for tea. After I had enjoyed the company of the pleasant Madam Lawrance for another hour, we took our leave of these good people and rode back to Nelson's house, where we met our three traveling companions and clean rooms and beds, and rested our bones for the first time on this journey.

Since Captain Hinrichs wished to pay his respects to General McDougall on the morning of the 24th, and Dr. Michaelis wanted to call upon a famous rattlesnake doctor, we did not depart from Nelson's house until around midday. Toward seven o'clock in the evening we arrived at Tarrytown, thirty-nine English miles from our last lodgings, where we seemed to be quite welcome for our money.

Here we met an American councilman who was a zealous defender of the American cause and a great enemy of the English government. For the sake of independence he had abandoned all his possessions which lay in and around New York. At first this man appeared to be quite reasonable, but in the end he seemed nothing more than a fool and a pettifogger. As we did not contradict him due to courtesy and caution, he began to speak rather severely of the cruelty of the English army. But since our hostess feared that such talk might injure her trade, because she had recommended her house highly to us and our acquaintances traveling into this country, she became arbitrator and addressed the councilman, who had continually entertained us during supper with his reputation and dignity in his country, in the following fashion.—"Sir, I will not stand for such talk in my house. My house is open to everyone who spends his money, and I like most he who spends the most. I like the money of these gentlemen better than the money of all you councilmen, for they deposit it in the cashbox, and the others let it slide."

At this, we all began laughing, and "my dear senator" clasped his ears to his head and quietly retired to his sleeping place.

On the morning of the 25th, about nine o'clock, we left our amiable hostess and toward two o'clock arrived safely at our quarters at McGowan's Pass on York Island.

Month of November. On the 7th the Hessian regiments, Leib, Landgraf, Prinz Carl, and the three Hessian grenadier battalions, Linsing, Löwenstein, and Platte, along with General Lossberg, were embarked at New York and sailed at once for England to pass the winter there.

On the 9th the Jäger Corps, the Grenadier Battalion Lengerke, and the Donop and Lossberg regiments received orders to be ready for embarkation.

The 18th. Fortunate is he who has nothing further to do in New York! As lively as the city was formerly because of its trade, it is now just as dead, since all commerce is at a standstill. The remainder of the loyalists are occupied with nothing but packing up and leaving, and those who would dare to remain in New York look desperate with fear of dark prospects. On the other hand, the rebel sympathizers arrive in the city from all directions by land and water. With a triumphant air they take possession of their dwellings, on which they had turned their backs eight years ago. Every moment one sees people from all sides raising a commotion in the streets, and if one inquires after the cause one finds it is a duel between a Whig and a Tory. Since the former party is now the stronger, and the city has only a few regiments for a garrison, the troops are too weak to remedy the evil completely. These guests become so insolent that every honest man in the army risks being soundly beaten, unless he takes a sensible course and stays out of the way of every rebel. Even the American officers and soldiers, who now arrive in the city in greater numbers from the country, discard all their modesty in defiance of the garrison, and actually knock down anyone who doesn't get out of their way.

Early in the morning of the 21st the American General Knox and one thousand men took possession of York Island, whereupon the Jäger Corps, the Grenadier Battalion Lengerke, the Donop Regiment, that of Lossberg, and the 80th Regiment gave up this area, marched to New York, and were immediately embarked.[39]

On the 22d, 23d, 24th, and 25th all the guns, ammunition, and provisions and the 7th, 22d, 23d, and 40th regiments, along with the Commander in Chief, were embarked at New York. All the posts in and around New York were delivered up to the Americans.[40]

On all corners one saw the flag of thirteen stripes flying, cannon salutes were fired, and all the bells rang. The shores were crowded with people who threw their hats in the air, screaming and boisterous with joy, and wished us a pleasant voyage with white handkerchiefs. While on the ships, which lay at anchor with the troops, a deep stillness prevailed as if everyone were mourning the loss of the thirteen beautiful provinces.

It was on this same day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, that we set sail with a favorable wind. In the twilight, the fleet of perhaps sixty sail passed Sandy Hook, and on the morning of the 26th we had lost sight of the coast of America.

After many violent storms with ever-present dangers and heavy damage to the masts of our ship, called the *Mars,* we arrived quite alone at Deal in the Downs, where we anchored on the 15th of January, 1784, without seeing anything of the fleet for four weeks. Here we met with a number of ships from the fleet and for the first time revived ourselves with fresh provisions, wine, and water. The destination of all the Hessian troops was Portsmouth and Chatham. But since our ship was in such bad condition that it could not sail far, the two jäger companies on board were assigned their quarters at Sheerness on the west coast of England. We set sail again on the 22d, passed the Margate straits with the help of the tide, entered the Medway River, and anchored on the evening of the 27th near the Isle of Sheppey. On the 28th we disembarked and were quartered at once in the fortress of Sheerness.

Month of April. On the 4th all the Hessian troops here at Chatham and at Portsmouth which had wintered in England were embarked for Germany. On the 13th we set sail, and on the 15th we found all the troops at anchor at Harwich. On the 16th the entire fleet set sail again. On the morning of the 20th we arrived in the Weser after a severe storm of twelve hours between Techsel and Heligoland, and cast anchor at four o'clock in the afternoon at Bremerlehe.

On the morning of the 22d all the troops left the transports and were placed on Bremen boats during the most violent gale. Without troubling further about us they sent us to Bremen, where we arrived safely on the

25th despite all the wind and weather. Here we heard the pleasant news that the friendly Hanoverians, who had overwhelmed us with politeness on our march through their country to America, had now refused to permit us to march through, but that we were to be transported on boats down the Weser to our dear fatherland. Everything was ready for this purpose.

On the 26th we left the ships and climbed into the boats. We left Bremen on the 27th, after the honest Bremen peddlers had dealt quite sharply with all of us, whatever we bought, and made our purses lighter. After a snail-like journey of twenty-one days, which cost a great deal of money because we stayed over at the places where we stopped, without any choice in what we bought, we arrived on the 16th of May at Münden, two miles from Cassel.

On the 18th all the troops left the vessels, marched off, and arrived at Cassel at midday. After the regiments had been inspected by their sovereign, they marched to their permanent quarters. The Jäger Corps was reduced at once, despite its faithful and well-performed service.[41] His Serene Highness the Landgrave[42] and his entire suite did not bestow a single special, gracious glance on any officer. The subsidies[43] had expired. We had willingly suffered eight years in America for the selfsame money. All services performed were forgotten and we poor "Americans," who had flattered ourselves with the best reception, were deceived in our expectations in the most undeserved way.—Then envy stretched out its claws toward us.—We became agitated, muttered in our beards, cursed our fate, and bent our proud backs under everything, because it could not be otherwise.

Thus ended the American War,
and thus was the soldier
treated by his sovereign
in Hesse.

Amen!

APPENDIX 1

Publications of Johann von Ewald

Ewald, Johann. *Gedanken eines hessischen Officiers über das, was man bey Führung eines Detaschements im Felde zu thun hat* [Thoughts of a Hessian officer about what he has to do when leading a detachment in the field]. Cassel, 1774. 86 pages and 3 maps. This was Ewald's first military essay, dedicated to Frederick II, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

———. *Abhandlung über den kleinen Krieg* [Essay on partisan warfare]. Cassel, 1785. 158 pages. Published after Ewald's return from America. Carl von Ewald's biography states that this work was honored with the approbation of Frederick the Great, and that "Ewald joined the military writers of the American War."

———. *Abhandlung vom Dienst der leichten Truppen* [Treatise on the service of light troops]. Flensburg, Schleswig, and Leipzig, 1790. 308 pages. This work placed Ewald among the outstanding military writers of the day. It was translated into English, Danish, Dutch, and Swedish. Under the title *A Treatise Upon the Duties of Light Troops* it became a textbook in General Sir John Moore's training camp at Shorncliffe, England, in 1804–05, and helped prepare British troops for the Peninsular War in Spain, where they fought with Spanish and Portuguese troops against Napoleon.

———. *Gespräche eines Husaren-Corporals, eines Jägers und leichten Infanteristen über die Pflichten und den Dienst des leichten Soldaten* [Conversation of a corporal of hussars, a rifleman, and a light infantryman on the duties and service of light soldiers]. Altona, 1794. 154 pages. Translated into Danish.

———. *Belehrungen über den Krieg, besonders über den kleinen Krieg, durch Beispiele grösser Helden und kluger und tapferer Männer, mit Anmerkungen* [Instructions on war, especially partisan warfare, through examples of great heroes and wise and brave men, with annotations]. Schleswig, 1798. 514 pages.

———. *Folge der Belehrungen über den Krieg* [Continuation of the instructions on war]. Schleswig, 1800. 448 pages.

———. *Zweite und letzte Folge der Belehrungen über den Krieg* [Second and last continuation of the instructions on war]. Schleswig, 1803, 530 pages. This treatise in three parts was Ewald's most important work. It deals with selected extracts from the history of war; the annotations draw on events of the American War in which the author participated. A Danish edition was published in two volumes in 1809. The German edition has served as the principal source for historians interested in Ewald's part in the American Revolution, including George Bancroft, Max von Eelking, and Edward J. Lowell.

———. *Vom Dienst im Felde für Unterofficiere der Infanterie und auch Layen in der*

Kriegskunst, welche zum Schutze des Landes bei der Landwehre und Küsten-Militz angestellt werden könnten [On the service in the field, for noncommissioned officers of the infantry and novices in the art of war who might be drafted into the reserves and coast militia for the defense of the country]. Schleswig, 1802. 102 pages. Composed in the form of questions and answers, this booklet was twice translated into Danish and distributed among the army.

APPENDIX 2

Letters from Ewald to Jeannette Van Horne, January 30, 1777–August 7, 1778

These nine letters translated from the French reveal the romantic side of Ewald's nature, which contrasts sharply with his practical military character. Jeannette was the daughter of Philip Van Horne, who in about 1755 had moved from New York City to Somerset County, New Jersey, where he later became the judge of the Court of Common Pleas. His home at Middlebrook was called "Convivial Hill" or "Phil's Hill," and still stands in present-day Bound Brook. It is said that Van Horne had loyalist leanings; he was reportedly arrested and put on parole, but was permitted to remain at his home at Middlebrook. According to the addresses given in Ewald's letters, the Van Horne family lived at New Brunswick from January to early June of 1777, when they moved to the Clarkson's house in Flatbush. It is quite likely that the family moved to Flatbush, which was within British lines, because they knew the British would soon evacuate New Brunswick. Two of the daughters, Jeannette and Anne, were on good terms with Captains Ewald and von Stamford, and thus were consorting with enemy officers. As Ewald's last letter to Jeannette indicates, the family next moved to Philadelphia, ending Ewald's correspondence.

But what of Jeannette herself? What did she think of Ewald, and what was contained in her letters to him? Was she merely amused at the despairing expressions of a desperate and perhaps unrequited love? We shall never know, for nothing is known of Jeannette. Possibly the answer lies in her preservation of these letters, and her remembrance of a gallant but futile love. The letters are now in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. For further information on the Van Hornes see Francis M. Marvin, *The Van Horn Family History* (East Stroudsburg, Pa., 1929).

To Mademoiselle
Mademoiselle van Horen,
presently at
New Brunswick.

Mademoiselle
My very dear and very honored friend!

Hoping that you will pardon me the liberty, Mademoiselle, I am sending you sausages made in the German manner. They are a mere trifle, but deign to accept them for the sake of a change of menu.

Present, if you please, my very humble respects to Madame, your mother, and to the young ladies, your sisters. I hope soon to have the infinite pleasure of assuring you from my lips that I will be entirely to the end of my life,

Mademoiselle,
Your very humble
servant and sincere
friend,
Ewald.

Raritan Landing,
the 30th of January,
1777.

To Mademoiselle
Mademoiselle Jeannette von Horen
at New Brunswick.

Mademoiselle
My very dear and very honored friend!

I was hoping to have the honor and the infinite pleasure of paying you, Mademoiselle, my very humble compliments; but the trip of Mr. de Wreeden, who is remaining in the town a longer time than he promised, has deprived me of this most agreeable hour, which is a great loss for me. But what can I do?—I die of chagrin.—The only consolation for my troubles is that I can take the liberty of writing you these few lines. Perhaps you laugh at me—but I speak sincerely.

I hope to have the great pleasure tomorrow, Mademoiselle, of paying you my obedient respects. Receive and accept these poor birds, which were unable to escape the cruelty of my chasseurs, and please extend my very humble respects to Madame, your mother, to Madame Clarson [Clarkson], and to all the young ladies, your sisters. Permit me to dare to name myself with the most perfect consideration,

Mademoiselle,
your very humble servant
and sincere
J. Ewald

the 14th of May, 1777.

Mademoiselle
My very dear and very honored friend!

I hope, Mademoiselle, that you are more composed than I. Because consider, how can a man as unhappy as I am feel well? A ringlet of hair before my eyes, and half of my heart has been lost at New Brunswick, and perhaps—perhaps this has happened without winning a quarter of a certain heart. My greatest consolation consists of the common treasure of us poor mortals—of hope. And if this sweet feeling is not imprinted within the human heart, I do not want to live a moment longer.

It is you, Mademoiselle, it is you upon whom depends my great happiness, and since you are the cause of my remaining in America after the peace, you are the foundation of my bright fortune. But pardon, my dear! If I have written anything which offends your ears and which you would never expect to hear from me, then read and tear up this letter and believe that I will always be yours, true and sincere up to the tomb. But I appeal to the generosity of your heart.

To this letter, Mademoiselle, I add a request. At present, I have stored my equipment in the quarters of Captain von Stamford. But he has left for camp and my few things are without protection. Dare I ask you, Mademoiselle, to allow me to send my valet with my things to your house, and may I ask that you put them in a small corner? As soon as we march, I will forward them near York. Please pardon me, my dear, if my request discommodes you.

I recommend myself to your favor. Present, if you please, my very humble respects to Madame, your mother, and to the young ladies, your sisters; and permit me to dare call myself with the most perfect consideration and veneration to the end of my days,

Mademoiselle,
your very humble servant
and sincere
J. Ewald

the 17th of May,
1777.
at eight o'clock
in the morning.

To Mademoiselle
Mademoiselle Jannette de Horen
at New Brunswick.

Mademoiselle,
My very dear and very honored friend!

I beg a thousand times, Mademoiselle, that you excuse me for troubling you so much today. I repeat my desires once more, as I did yesterday. The hope of having the extreme pleasure of seeing you, with all your dear relations, places me at the summit of my happiness. I will pray all night to the Goddess Flora to improve nature so that your short stay in the wretched town of the chasseurs, where destruction by mankind has prevailed up to the moment, will give you much satisfaction. I certainly believe, Mademoiselle, that the birds will redouble their songs in view of the unexpected change in the camp of Mars which your agreeable presence will cause here.

Give, I pray, my very humble respects to Madame, your mother, to Madame Clarson, and to all the young ladies, your sisters. I commend myself to your kind remembrance. I have the honor to remain with the most perfect consideration up to the dark tomb,

Mademoiselle,
your very humble and
very obedient servant
J. Ewald

Sunday, the 4th [1777]

Mademoiselle
Mademoiselle Jeannette d'Horen
At home

My very dear,
My very honored Mademoiselle!

In wishing that you have rested well, Mademoiselle, I ask your pardon if I cause you any inconvenience. A vessel is leaving shortly for York with the equipage, and I intend to include my own, which you are keeping. But if I knew that you would not take it in bad part, my dear, and if it could be done without causing you the slightest inconvenience, I would ask you to take my things with your own to Flatbush. Have the kindness, Mademoiselle, to let me have some news on this question, frankly. Because I do not want to trouble you, whom I love more than my blood and my life.

Present, if you please, my very humble respects to Madame, your mother, to Madame Clarson, and to all the young ladies, your sisters. I hope to have the honor this afternoon of paying my respects personally, and assuring you that I will have the utmost consideration and an inviolable attachment until the end of my days.

Mademoiselle,
your very humble servant
and sincere
J. Ewald

the 7th of June,
1777.

To Mademoiselle
Mademoiselle Jeannette d'Horen
at Mr. David Clarkson's
Flatbush, Long Island.

My very dear,
My adorable friend!

I hope with all my heart, my dear, that you have finally finished your voyage, and that you have arrived healthy and happy at Flatbush. I anticipate this news with ardent feelings. Pardon if I wish for anything which would cause you any annoyance. But you, yes you yourself, my dear—your charms, your spirit, your extraordinary qualities, which surpass all others of all the women in the world, are solely the cause.

What a terrible desert this town has become for me, and what a lovely name Flatbush has become in my thoughts. But if I meet you there, then I shall have the greatest pleasure in the world in seeing you again. When I think about this, I do not believe I am in a state to resist the transports of my soul. What a contradiction to find one's self in my situation. I call myself the most happy man in the world to have the acquaintance of such an accomplished woman as yourself, my dear. But if I look at my other situation of being unsure in my desires and in my hopes, I am the most unhappy man in the world. Alas! my friend, do not forget me. If you are not indifferent to me, do the best you can, so that you do not make unhappy a man who adores you, who loves you, and who suffers more in this world than the unfortunates in hell. I force myself—it is necessary that I force myself—to find consolation. But where will I find it?—In your incomparable character.—Yes!—but—I remain silent, and I pour out my grief to my four walls.

You had the kindness to furnish a place in your house for my equipment. I take the great liberty of sending for it by the bearer of this. I beg a thousand pardons for this inconvenience. Pardon, my dear, if my letter is confused and if it is not in the state it should be. For the love of you, my mind finds itself in such a condition that if I wish to write three words, I have already forgotten two. I fear that my brain has turned around. Adieu, my dear—perhaps forever.—I kiss your hands a thousand times—your beautiful hands!

Present, if you please, my very humble respects to Madame, your mother, and to all the young ladies, your sisters, and ask them to remember me. I commend myself to your benevolence and kind remembrance, and beg once more that you will not forget me.—Oh no, do not! For my part, through everything, I will die with the most perfect veneration and an inviolable attachment.

My adorable friend,
as your very humble servant
and your fervent adorer,
J. Ewald.

Brunswick,
the 10th of June,
1777.

Miss Van Horne
at Mr. David Clarkson's
at Flat-bush
Long Island.

My adorable friend!

Before I leave the pleasant town where I found the most precious treasure in the world, whom I first met through fate and who has made me the most happy mortal in the world, I abandon myself within my four walls to sadness which causes the greatest unhappiness in my soul and which cannot be expressed. Thank God!—that it is necessary that I leave this town where I enjoyed the happiest hours, but which has been a desert for me since your departure, my dear.

Everywhere I look, I find traces of my adorable Nanny, and it is impossible to rejoin her here. Oh, my dear, what terrible days and nights I endure since our separation. I have already begun to count the hours and the days which I have yet to overcome until the most pleasant moment when I can throw myself at your feet. But, my God! They are the only ones for me, and who knows what adverse circumstance might rob me of this hope. I dare not abandon myself to such a thought, which would only increase my anguish and certainly cause my death. Nothing in this world can lessen my misery but your benevolence, which, my adorable friend, I beg you to save for me.

Give me and honor me with some news about yourself and all your dear family, as soon as the opportunity presents itself. Adieu! My charming and my adorable Nanny—this amiable name, imprinted in my heart and in my soul, I will never forget. Adieu! I kiss your beautiful hands a hundred thousand times. I beg of you, remember me, even if I do not deserve it. I commend myself to your benevolence, and I will die with the greatest veneration and an inviolable attachment.

To my adorable friend,
your very humble servant
and your true adorer
J. Ewald

Brunswick,
the 13th of June,
1777.
May destiny deprive me of life,
if Nanny is not my friend.
Present a thousand respects on
my part to all your dear family.

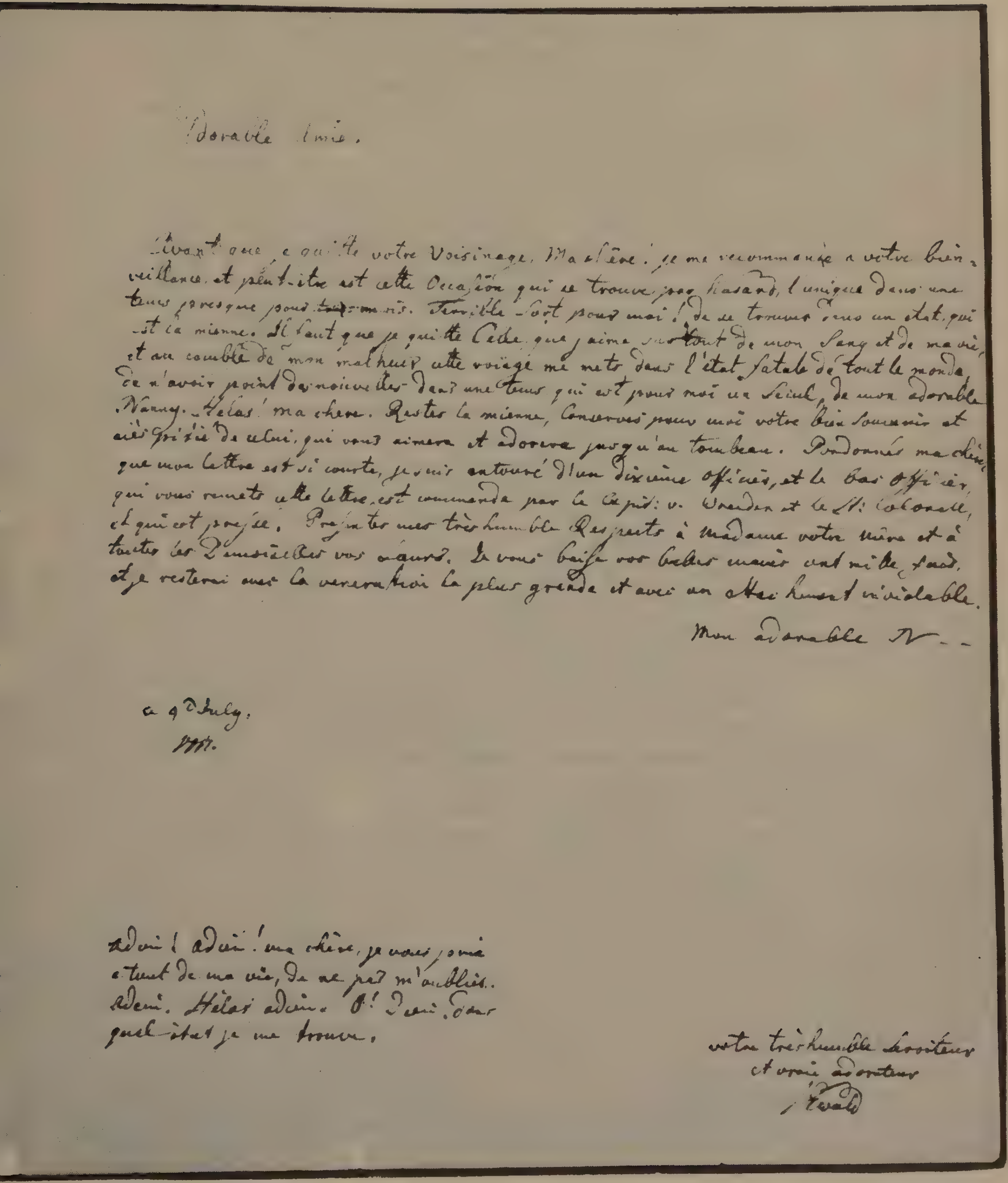
Adorable Friend!

Before I leave your neighborhood, my darling, I ask your good wishes, and perhaps this occasion is, by chance, the last one for a period of three months. A terrible fate to find myself in such a situation! It is necessary that I leave the One whom I love with all my life's blood, and at the summit of my unhappiness this departure puts me in the fatal state of not having news from my one and only adorable Nanny. Alas! My dear. Remain mine, keep me in your good remembrance, and have pity for the one who will love and adore you to the tomb. Pardon, my darling, that my letter is so short. I am surrounded by ten officers, and the noncommissioned officer who will deliver this letter is commanded by Captain von Wreden and the Lt. Colonel [Wurmb], who is in a hurry. Present my very humble respects to Madame, your mother, and to all the young ladies, your sisters. I kiss your beautiful hands a hundred thousand times, and I will remain, with the greatest veneration and with an inviolable attachment,

My adorable N——
Your very humble servant
and true adorer,
J. Ewald

Adieu! adieu! my darling, I
beseech you all my life, do not
forget me. Adieu! Alas, adieu.
O! Lord, what a state I am in!

Letter from Ewald to Jeannette Van Horne, July 9, 1777. By permission of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.



Adorable Amie.

Avant que je quitte votre Voisinage, Ma chère! je me recommande a votre bien-veillance. et peut-être est cette Occasion qui se trouve par hasard, l'unique dans une tems presque pour ~~tr~~ mois. Terrible Sort pour moi! de se trouver dans un état qui est la mienne. Il faut que je quitte Celle, que j'aime surtout de mon Sang et de ma vie, et au comble de mon malheur cette voiage me mets dans l'état fatale de tout le monde, de n'avoir point de nouvelles dans une tems qui est pour moi un Siecle, de mon adorable Nanny. Helas! ma chere. Restes la mienne, Conservés pour moi votre bon souvenir et aiés pitié de celui, qui vous aimera et adorera jusqu'au tombeau. Pardonnés ma chère, que mon lettre est si courte, je suis entouré d'un dixaine Officiers, et le bas Officier, qui vous remets cette lettre, est commandé par le Capit: v. Wreden et le Lt Colonelle, et qui est pressé. Presentes mes très humble Respects à Madame votre Mère et à toutes les Demoiselles vos soeurs. Je vous baise vos belles mains cent mille fois, et je resterai avec la veneration la plus grande et avec un attachement inviolable.

Mon adorable N--

a 4d July.
1777.

Adieu! adieu! ma chère, je vous jure a tout de ma vie, de ne pas m'oublier. Adieu. Helas adieu. O! Dieu, dans quel état je me trouve.

votre très humble serviteur
et vrai adorateur
Ewald

Mademoiselle,
Very honored and adorable friend!

Three times I have been on the way to Flatbush to render my duty and my very humble respects to the six beautiful and amiable sisters, and three times the service at New York has prevented me from going further. This is the reason why I take the liberty to present to you, my adorable friend, my compliments with these few lines. The day I received from Mr. Heinrichs the news, very important for me, of your prosperity was a festive day for me. I also obtained from Monsieur de Wurmb the news that your family was leaving Flatbush to live comfortably in Philadelphia. As much as I wish with all my heart to find you in our neighborhood, so much do I take the part of a true friend in all that concerns your true interest, which I hold dearer than my own. I will always find the moment very happy if I learn of your prosperity and well-being, and I will believe myself at the summit of happiness if you remain my friend.

His Serene Highness, the Landgrave of Hesse, has sent me the Cross of the Order of Military Virtue. Since I know your noble heart, which in so many ways takes an interest in that which concerns your friends, my darling, I give you this news, very important for a soldier.

In case Fortune, who is a woman, turns her back on me and you leave before I can do my duty, I hope I will have your best wishes and a favorable remembrance. I believe a mortal is extremely happy in having found a true friend who has honored me with her friendship and shown so much politeness in a part of the world so far from our country, which I will never forget.

Present, my adorable and amiable friend, my very humble and very obedient respects to Madame, your mother, and to all the young ladies, your amiable sisters. At the same time, I owe you a thousand and a hundred thousand obligations for the graciousness you have shown me. I pray you to believe that I will remain, in kissing your hand again a thousand times in thought, with all the veneration in the world, and with the most perfect esteem up to the last moment of my life,

Mademoiselle
very honored and adorable friend!
Your very humble and very obedient
servant and true friend
and adorer
J. Ewald.

Cortlandt House
the 7th of August, 1778

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Translated from the French as quoted in Friedrich Kapp, *Der Soldatenhandel deutscher Fürsten nach Amerika,* 2d edn. (Berlin, 1874), p. 259.

2. Mrs. LeRoy Sanders, "Hessian and Brunswick Ancestry," *The Historical Review of Berks County* 16, no. 4 (July–Sept. 1951): 113.

3. *The Writings of George Washington,* ed. Jared Sparks, 12 vols. (Boston, 1858), IV, 309.

4. Joseph G. Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1886), p. 23; Edward J. Lowell, *The Hessians and the Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War* (New York, 1884), pp. 300–01.

5. "Feldzug der Hessen nach Amerika von Ewald," p. 46, Hessian MSS., no. 5, George Bancroft Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

6. The smoothbore musket had a battle range of one hundred yards, but only a forty percent expectancy of hits without counting misfires. The American rifle accounted for fifty percent of hits at three hundred yards, but at two hundred yards the marksman aimed with deadly accuracy. Ewald states at Charleston in 1780 that his jäger rifles, using a one and a half powder charge, fired a distance of about "five hundred paces." Normally the jägers fired at distances of one to two hundred yards (Lynn Montross, *War Through the Ages* [New York and London, 1946], p. 427).

7. Carl Preser, *Der Soldatenhandel in Hessen* (Marburg, 1900), p. 69.

8.. Johann von Ewald, *Belehrungen über den Krieg, besonders über den kleinen Krieg, durch Beispiele grösser Helden und kluger und tapferer Männer. Mit Anmerkungen* (Schleswig, 1798), followed by *Folge der Belehrungen über den Krieg,* (Schleswig, 1800) and *Zweite und letzte Folge der Belehrungen über den Krieg* (Schleswig, 1803). An annotated list of Ewald's publications appears as an appendix.

9. Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, *Decisive Battles of the U.S.A.* (New York, 1942), p. 33.

10. Max von Eelking, *Die deutschen Hülfstruppen im nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege, 1776 bis 1783*, 2 vols. in 1 (Hannover, 1863), II, 264–65; translated and abridged by Joseph G. Rosengarten as *The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence, 1776–1783* (Albany, 1893), hereafter cited as *German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten.

11. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1877), VI, 443–44; *Dansk biografisk Leksikon* (Copenhagen, 1935), VI, 479–81.

12. "Biographie des Königliche Dänischen Generallieutenants Johann von Ewald," *Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgschen Provinzialberichten der Jahre 1822 und 1823* (Schleswig, 1823), parts 1 and 2, pp. 2–22; part 4, pp. 1–24; written in Danish by Ewald's son, Captain General and Aide-de-Camp Carl von Ewald, and translated into German by Baron Andreas von Liliencron. The Danish edition, *Generallieutenant Johann von Ewalds Levnetsløb,* was published at Copenhagen in 1838 by Carl von Ewald, then lieutenant colonel in the Royal Danish Army.

13. This account of Ewald's life before and after the American Revolution was taken from the biographies cited above. The earlier form of "Cassel" is retained here and throughout the diary.

14. His son remarks: "The saber cut by which he lost his left eye and the black ribbon

he always wore after the American War suited him well, augmenting his soldier-like appearance" (*Generallieutenant Johann von Ewalds Levnetsløb*, p. 91).

15. *Neuen Schleswig-Holsteinischen Provinzialberichten des Jahres 1814* (Schleswig, 1814), part 2, pp. 138–41.

VOLUME I

EWALD'S FOREWORD

1. A pencil notation at the bottom of the page in a handwriting resembling that of Ewald's son Carl states: "One died as a 7–8 year-old boy."

2. At the time Ewald signed the foreword he was a lieutenant colonel and chief of the Schleswig Jäger Corps stationed at Eckernförde.

NOTE TO DUMOURIEZ' LETTER

1. Charles François Dumouriez (1739–1823) was a celebrated French general, a minister to King Louis XVI, and minister of war in the French revolutionary government. He helped win the French victory over the Prussians at Valmy in 1792, but fled to the Austrians in 1793 after his defeat at Neerwinden, Belgium, because of pending treason charges. Dumouriez wandered through Europe and finally settled in England. A note inserted here by Carl von Ewald reads: "General Dumouriez lived as an émigré for one year, perhaps a little longer, in Eckernförde, where my father, as Colonel and Chief of the Jäger Corps that he raised himself, was garrisoned. Dumouriez, whom I very well remember as a 9–10-year-old boy, understood the German language perfectly. C v E." This undated note must have been written before 1864, the year that Carl von Ewald gave his father's diary to Major Gustav Ferdinand von Pfister, retired Hessian general staff officer. At that time Carl von Ewald was a retired Danish major general, seventy-five years old; he died in 1866.

CHAPTER 1

1. Lieutenant General Wilhelm, Freiherr von Knyphausen.

2. The 2d Jäger Company, commanded by Captain Johann Ewald.

3. Hessian regiments and battalions were named after their titular chiefs, their commanding officers, or the princes, except for the Leib Regiment.

4. Colonel William Faucitt of the Guards, the British minister plenipotentiary, who negotiated the treaties for the use of the German troops in America.

5. The *Two Brothers* was a Dutch schooner. Due to a lack of British transport vessels, Dutch ships were hired at high rates but often in bad condition (*German Allied Troops*, trans. Rosengarten, p. 47).

6. Shortly after midnight on September 20, 1776, a disastrous fire broke out in New York, allegedly caused by Americans concealed in the city. Lieutenant Mackenzie reports that "about 600 houses" were burned (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie, Giving a Daily Narrative of His Military Service as an Officer of the Regiment of Royal Welch Fusiliers During the Years 1775–1781 in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York*, 2 vols. [Cambridge, Mass., 1930], I, 58–60; *Heath's Memoirs of the American War*, ed. Rufus R. Wilson [New York, 1904], p. 409).

7. General von Knyphausen's Second Division of Hessian auxiliaries landed at Myers's Point, now Davenport's Neck, near New Rochelle; the main body of Hessians landed on Bauffet's Point, on the east side of Davenport's Neck ("Journal des Infanterie Regiment Prinz Carl," p. 4, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, Marburg, Federal Republic of Germany; Benjamin J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; Or, Illustrations, by Pen*

and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence, 2 vols. [New York, 1855], II, 614).

8. Captain Ben. Charnock Payne, Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General (Worthington C. Ford, *British Officers Serving in the American Revolution, 1774–1783* [Brooklyn, 1897], p. 142).

9. Brigadier General Sir William Erskine.

10. Colonel Carl Emil Ulrich von Donop.

11. Lieutenant General Leopold Philipp, Freiherr von Heister, commander in chief of the Hessian forces in America.

12. The strength of the First Division was 8,647; Second, 3,056. Other figures given are: First Division, 8,397; Second, 3,997 (File 4h.410, 33, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg; Wilhelm Has, *Geschichte des 1. Kurhessischen Feldartillerie-Regiments Nr. 11 und seiner Stammtruppen* [Marburg, 1913], pp. 161, 163).

13. Captain Carl August von Wreden.

14. Mile Square is now a part of Yonkers, New York. The name was derived from a tract of land one mile square which was sold in 1670 by Elias Doughty of Flushing to Francis French, Ebenezer Jones, and John Westcott. The location is shown on the *Map of 1785* in Frank L. Walton, *The Pillars of Yonkers* (New York, 1951), p. 54; see also pp. 110–11.

15. Rosengarten states that each jäger company consisted of 4 officers, 1 noncombatant officer, 12 noncommissioned officers, 3 musicians, and 105 privates, totaling 125 men. Ewald does not mention having a noncombatant officer or any musicians except for his hornblower. The two jäger companies had no artillery until their arrival in America, when each company received two light English 1-pounders called *amusettes* (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 22; Has, *Geschichte des 1. Kurhessischen Feldartillerie-Regiments Nr. 11,* p. 162).

16. The jäger officers were: First Lieutenant (later Captain) Johann Friedrich Jacob Trautvetter, Second Lieutenant (later Captain) Carl von Rau, and First Lieutenant Friedrich Wilhelm von Grothausen. The name, grade, unit, year of birth, and place of origin of the Hessian grenadier and garrison officers and men are listed in *Hessische Truppen im Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg*, Index nach Familiennamen, I, comp. Eckhart G. Franz and Otto Frölich (Marburg, 1972); hereafter cited as HETRINA.

17. I.e., gained some relief. Military terms such as this used by Ewald are retained in the text.

18. Von Donop's rebuke probably implied that Ewald did not follow his own instructions for a detachment commander in the field as set forth in his first published treatise on military tactics, *Gedanken eines hessischen Officiers über das, was man bey Führung eines Detaschements im Felde zu thun hat* (Cassel, 1774).

19. Ewald met Colonel Edward Hand's riflemen of Major General Charles Lee's division. Other accounts and the losses reported differ slightly (*Archibald Robertson Lieutenant-General Royal Engineers His Diaries and Sketches in America 1762–1780*, ed. Harry M. Lydenberg [New York, 1930], pp. 104–05; *Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals 1776–1784 of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces*, trans. and ed. Bernard A. Uhlendorf [New Brunswick, N.J., 1957], p. 62; Lowell, *The Hessians,* pp. 75–76).

20. Throg's Neck, a low peninsula jutting from the Bronx into the East River at the entrance to Long Island Sound. Called also Frog's Neck, but properly Throck's Neck, from Throckmorton, the name of the original proprietor.

21. Lieutenant Colonel Robert Rogers, a renowned partisan during the French and Indian War, had raised and commanded a corps of American loyalists called the Queen's

American Rangers, which was surprised and defeated at Mamaroneck on October 21 (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie*, I, 84).

22. Colonel Robert Magaw, 5th Pennsylvania Regiment.

23. The 1st Jäger Company.

24. A picket consisted of an unfixed number of men, usually accompanied by an officer.

25. Ewald usually measures distances in hours marched. The German word "hour" is often used to measure the distance covered in one hour, i.e., about two and a half English miles. An English, or statute, mile is 1,760 yards or 5,280 feet.

26. Lieutenant Colonel Robert Abercromby.

27. Major, the Honorable John Maitland.

28. The Bronx River.

29. An American force of five to six hundred men, mixed militia and Continentals, had been sent out to delay the British advance and to collect information (Douglas S. Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography,* 7 vols. [New York, 1948–57], IV, 229).

30. Clinton explains: "But I was certain, the instant they discovered my column, they would retire; and I therefore halted the head of it and detached Lord Cornwallis from its rear with some battalions and cannon, with a view of getting round them" (*The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775–1782, with an Appendix of Original Documents*, ed. William B. Willcox [New Haven, 1954], p. 51).

31. Chatterton's Hill, a commanding eminence which was defended by Major General Alexander McDougall's brigade, aided by troops from Delaware, Maryland, and Massachusetts, with two guns under Captain Alexander Hamilton (Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 229–31).

32. Colonel Johann Gottlieb Rall, who crossed the Bronx River and occupied a hill flanking the Americans. General Howe, who had ordered General Leslie to occupy this hill, was surprised and exclaimed, "What? Is that the enemy?" ("Feldzug der Hessen nach Amerika von Ewald," p. 10, Hessian MSS, no. 5, Bancroft Collection, New York Public Library).

33. I have been unable to verify Ewald's surprising estimate of the number of dead. Howe's deputy adjutant general states that the British-Hessian losses were "several officers and 180 killed and wounded," but Captain von der Malsburg says the loss was "about 286 dead and wounded." The next day the American losses were reported "from conjecture, between 400 and 500"; however, three weeks later Washington believed the British losses to be about 300 and the American "little more than half" that number ("Journals of Lieut.-Col. Stephen Kemble," in *The Kemble Papers,* 2 vols., Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Years 1883–84, vols. XVI–XVII [New York, 1883–84], I, 96; "Tagebuch des Friedrich Wilhelm von der Malsburg, Regiment von Dittfurth," p. 64, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg; The George Washington Papers, The Library of Congress, VI, 243).

34. An abatis was a defense formed by placing felled trees lengthwise, one over the other, with their branches toward the enemy.

35. Brigadier General (later Major General) James Agnew.

36. Brigadier General (later Major General) Alexander Leslie.

37. The seat of Brigadier General Oliver DeLancey, a prominent loyalist, which was situated on the eastern side of the Bronx River opposite the heights of Fordham.

38. Captain (later Major) Georg Henrich Pauli of the Hessian Artillery Corps, whose biography appears in Has, *Geschichte des 1. Kurhessischen Feldartillerie-Regiments Nr. 11,* p. 728.

39. Fort Washington was situated on the highest eminence on Manhattan Island, above

the steep and rocky slopes overlooking the Hudson River; the site was between present 181st and 186th streets in New York City. The fort was an irregular pentagon with a small outwork in front of the entrance. It was an earthwork with a good abatis but lacked a palisade. There was hardly any ditch, since the fort rested on rocky ground. The outwork was weak and one of the main redoubts was unfinished. The armament is reported variously as between thirty-two and forty-five guns, with two mortars and two howitzers (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie*, I, 109; Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 243–48; Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* II, 610n.).

40. Lieutenant Colonel (later Major General) James Paterson.

41. Captain Friedrich Heinrich Lorey, who had served as a lieutenant in Ewald's jäger company in 1774 in Hesse-Cassel.

42. Major Friedrich Ludwig von Dechow, Land Grenadier Regiment Rall.

43. Major General Martin Conrad Schmidt of the Hessian forces.

44. First Lieutenant (later Captain) Johann Hinrichs (Heinrichs), assigned to Captain Wreden's 1st Jäger Company. In April 1777 he served in Ewald's 2d Jäger Company.

45. Brigadier General (later Major General) Edward Mathew.

46. The Morris House is now the Morris-Jumel Mansion, located at West 106th Street and Edgecombe Avenue in Washington Heights, New York City.

47. Lieutenant General Hugh, Earl Percy.

48. I.e., "in gentle slope."

49. For Lieutenant Andreas Wiederhold's account of the attack see "The Capture of Fort Washington," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 23, no. 1 (1899): 95–97. The Morristown National Historical Park Library has transcripts and translations of various Hessian military journals.

50. Freeman states: "So far as is known, there is no record of the exact armament of the fort itself" (*George Washington,* IV, 245, n. 86).

51. Howe reported 2,818 Americans captured, with 53 killed and wounded. British losses were 19 killed, 102 wounded, and 7 missing. German losses were 6 officers, 1 noncommissioned officer, and 49 privates killed and 9 officers, 17 noncommissioned officers, and 247 privates wounded (*ibid.,* IV, 252, n. 134; *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie,* I, 110; "Journal des hochlöblichen Fuselier-Regiments von Alt Lossberg vom 10ten Merz 1776, bis dem 5ten October, 1783," p. 71, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg).

52. The work on Jeffery's Hook, a fortified promontory overlooking the Hudson River near Fort Washington, which covered the chevaux-de-frise in the river there.

53. Mackenzie (*Diary,* I, 110) says the Hessians "were extremely irritated at having lost a good many men" and wanted to take the fort by assault.

54. Washington had crossed the river on November 14 and encamped at Hackensack to the rear of Fort Lee; he observed the capture of Fort Washington from Fort Lee. His army numbered between 2,000 and 3,000, exclusive of Heath's 4,000 and Lee's 7,700 left in New York. Washington withdrew to New Brunswick on November 29 (The George Washington Papers, VI, 314; Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 257, 260, 267).

55. Philipsburgh was the present Philipse Manor Hall at 29 Warburton Avenue in Yonkers, built in 1682. The invasion force is reported variously: Kemble gives 4,000; Serle, 6,000; and Hinrichs, 8,000 (*The Kemble Papers,* I, 101; *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe, 1776–1778*, ed. Edward H. Tatum, Jr. [San Marino, Cal., 1940], p. 144; [Julius F. Sachse], "Extracts from the Letter-Book of Captain Johann Heinrichs of the Hessian Jäger Corps, 1778–1780," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 22, no. 2 [1898]: 139).

56. At this point atop the Palisades the British were about five miles from the fort; one hour's marching equaled two and a half miles. Ewald often spells names and places

phonetically, using the capital letters "D" and "T," and "B" and "P," interchangeably. Here he wrote "Dunnefledt" for "Tenafly," which agrees exactly with the distance he gives from the Tenafly area to Fort Lee. Further, Ewald could not possibly have seen and skirmished with the American troops retreating from the fort if the British had landed at the Closter Dock Landing at present Alpine, which is a distance of six to seven miles from the fort. Ewald's testimony supports the recent theory that the landing place was the Lower Closter Landing (later Huyler's Landing) and not the Closter Dock Landing (Erskine-DeWitt maps, American Revolution, no. 26, part 3, and no. 36, part 1, Aug. 1778, New-York Historical Society; Wayne to Washington, July 19, 1780, Wayne Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; John Spring, "The British Landing at Closter," *Bergen County History* (1975 Annual): 26–41.

57. New Bridge is located on the Hackensack River.

58. English Neighborhood comprised approximately the area of present-day Englewood and Leonia in Bergen County.

59. The bridge at New Bridge, about six miles northwest of Fort Lee, where most of Washington's army crossed the Hackensack River. The only other escape route was across Overpeck Creek, a tributary of the Hackensack, less than two miles back of the fort, where a small number of American troops crossed the creek (Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution: The War for Independence in New Jersey* [Princeton, 1940], p. 140).

60. Ewald may have seen the "several hundred stragglers" collected by General Greene, who rode back to the fort two hours after its evacuation (Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 257, n. 156).

61. Cornwallis's reply seems clear, but it is equivocal if Lieutenant Hinrichs's remarks are credible: "We crossed with a corps of 8000 men to New Jersey, under the command of my Lord Cornwallis, who had orders to capture Fort Lee, and to take up his winter quarters in that part of the Jerseys situated between Elizabethtown and Amboy . . . at the same time Cornwallis had orders to follow the enemy, until they should make a stand, when he was to retire and not molest them, except in so far as the above districts were concerned" (Hinrichs to Herr H., Counselor of the Court, June 14, 1778, quoted in [Sachse], "Extracts from the Letter-Book of Captain Johann Heinrichs," p. 139).

62. An unidentified American soldier writes: "There Was a Great many Was taken that Got Drunk With they Sutlers Liquir and nocked they heads ought of the hogsheads." Freeman says the British "took no more than 105 prisoners," but a Hessian report states, "We took a great quantity of cannon and made prisoners of over 200 men" ("Journal of a Pennsylvania Soldier, July–December 1776," *The Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 8, no. 11 [Nov. 1904]: 549; Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 258; "Journal des Grenadier-bataillons Block, nacher von Lengerke während des Feldzuges in Amerika von 1776–1784," Nov. 20, 1776, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg).

63. The following order had been issued on November 20, apparently with little effect: "As the inhabitants of this Country are in general well effected to Government, Lord Cornwallis expects the Commanding Officers of Brigades and Corps will exert themselves to prevent plundering amongst the Troops" (Thomas Glyn, "Ensign Glyns Journal on the American Service with the Detachment of 1,000 Men of the Guards Commanded by Brigadier General Mathew in 1776," p. 28, Princeton University Library).

64. I.e., the post lay exposed and unsupported.

65. American troops were sent to Tappan to bring off the provisions stored there. Colonel Benjamin Tupper was near Tappan until November 22, and Colonel John Tyler's regiment was ordered there from the Ramapo River on November 25 (*Heath's Memoirs,* ed. Wilson, p. 104).

66. See Adrian C. Leiby, *The Revolutionary War in the Hackensack Valley: The Jersey Dutch and the Neutral Ground, 1775–1783* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1962), p. 77.

67. The Passaic (Acquackanonck) River.

68. Now Passaic, renamed in 1873.

69. William Livingston, the first governor of independent New Jersey, whose manor house Liberty Hall was located about one mile north of Elizabethtown. It still stands, on the present Morris Avenue in Elizabeth. Livingston was a brigadier general of the New Jersey militia.

70. Connecticut Farms, now Union, was earlier known as "Wade's Farms." Before 1749 several families from Connecticut purchased a large tract of land there and divided it into farms (John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* [Newark, N.J., 1844], p. 196).

71. Mountain Society, Presbyterian Meeting House at modern Orange (Stephen Wickes, *History of the Oranges in Essex County, New Jersey* [Newark, N.J., 1892], pp. 118–20).

72. Lee was still in New York on November 30. A number of regiments of Major General Horatio Gates had moved into New Jersey to reinforce Washington, their van having reached Morristown by December 2 and 3, when Lee was passing the Hudson River (*Heath's Memoirs,* ed. Wilson, p. 107).

73. I have been unable to verify Daniel Morgan's presence in New Jersey on November 30, 1776. Morgan had been captured at Quebec in 1775. In September 1776 he arrived in New Jersey on parole, met Washington, and returned home to Virginia. If Morgan was in New Jersey on November 30 perhaps he tried to keep his presence secret, since his parole stipulations extended into December (James Graham, *The Life of General Daniel Morgan of the Virginia Line of the Army of the United States* [New York, 1856], pp. 115–18; Don Higginbotham, *Daniel Morgan, Revolutionary Rifleman* [Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961], pp. 55–57; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783* [Washington, 1914], p. 401). I am grateful to John M. Jennings, Director of the Virginia Historical Society, for his comments on this subject.

74. The Presbyterian church or meeting house at Connecticut Farms. Ewald's account of the terrain, church, and locality appears similar to the description of the place given in Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* pp. 196–98.

75. I can find no other record of this skirmish.

76. The bridge was located at Raritan Landing, about two miles above New Brunswick, which was usually called Brunswick at that time. Ewald's *Plan of the Area of Bound Brook, 20 April 1777* clearly delineates the bridge.

77. Robertson (*Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 114) says, "The Jagers prevented their destroying the Bridge over the Raritan." Howe's journal states: "December 1st. Lord Cornwallis moved on towards Brunswick landing, & prevented the Rebels from entirely destroying the Bridge. 2^{d}. The Bridge being repaired, Lord Cornwallis took Possession of Brunswick, & cantoned his Army" ("Journal of the Operations of the American Army under General Sir William Howe from the Evacuation of Boston to the end of the Campaign of 1776," Letters and Papers Relating to the War in America, 1771–1781, File Egerton 2135 [Farnbourough], Press 542.1, p. 8, British Museum, London).

78. Captain Friedrich Karl von Weitershausen, 2d Company, Grenadier Battalion Block, born 1734/35 (HETRINA, nos. 8302–03). Other accounts are given in *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 73–74, and in "Journal von dem hochlöblichen hessischen Grenadier-Bataillon olim von Minnigerode modo von Loewenstein vom 20. Januar 1776 bis den 17 Mai 1784," pp. 88–89, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg.

79. The Reverend Dr. Abraham Beach, who was rector of Christ Church at New Brunswick from 1767 to 1784 (Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* p. 313). His farmhouse or parsonage was located about four miles northwest of New

Brunswick on the right bank of the Raritan River. See Ewald's *Plan of the Area of Bound Brook* and *Plan of the Area between Raritan Landing and Bound Brook.*

80. Probably the van of General Gates's troops. Lee did not arrive at Morristown until December 8. He reported to Washington that he desired to hang on the British rear rather than combine forces (*Heath's Memoirs,* ed. Wilson, p. 107; *Diary of David How,* ed. G. W. Chase [Morrisania, N.Y., 1865], p. 40; Charles Lee, *The Lee Papers . . . 1754–1811,* 4 vols., Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1871 [–74], Vols. IV–VII [New York, 1872–75], II, 337).

81. Howe had ordered Cornwallis to halt at New Brunswick. Clinton states that Howe informed him of "his intention of running a chain of posts across east Jersey" to protect the loyalists in that area (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 56).

82. Washington had but 3,442 rank and file present and fit for duty when he crossed the Raritan to New Brunswick. Two thousand militiamen left the army on December 1 in the face of the enemy's advance because of expiration of their term of enlistment on the previous day (The George Washington Papers, VI, 320; *American Archives: Fifth Series, Containing a Documentary History of the English Colonies in North America from the King's Message to Parliament, of March 7, 1774, to the Declaration of Independence by the United States,* ed. Peter Force, 3 vols. (Washington, 1848–53), III, 822, 1035, 1071).

83. Joseph Galloway of Philadelphia, the most outspoken loyalist in America. He had been a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and the First Continental Congress, but he became an uncompromising Tory. Galloway left his country home at Trevose and made his way to the British army at New Brunswick in early December 1776 (Oliver C. Kuntzleman, *Joseph Galloway, Loyalist* [Philadelphia, 1941], p. 137; Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Loyalists of Pennsylvania* (Columbus, Ohio, 1905); Lorenzo F. Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution with a Historical Essay,* 2 vols. [Boston, 1864], I, 453–57).

84. The statements of Cornwallis's officers do not support testimony before the Parliament in 1779 that "the troops had been constantly marching, ever since their first entrance into the Jerseys." Both Ewald and Glyn report no army marches on November 22, 24, 26, or on the 27th, which Baurmeister says "was a day of rest." Captain George Harris writes, "We now pursued the enemy, much too slowly for our wishes." But on the last day of the march, December 1, Cornwallis asserts that he covered twenty miles, that the artillery and baggage horses were "quite tired," and that he had "to pay some attention" to Lee's corps, which was not yet in New Jersey. Cornwallis halted at New Brunswick: "But had I seen that I could have struck a material stroke, by moving forward, I certainly should have taken it upon me to have done it." He saw "no great object" in pursuing Washington, but Ewald says, "it was decided to pursue the enemy farther" before Howe arrived on December 6. (See *Examination of Lieutenant-General the Earl Cornwallis before A Committee of the House of Commons upon Sir William Howe's Papers* (London, 1779). *Monthly Review* 60 (June 1779):473 reproduces Cornwallis's testimony from *The Parliamentary Register: Or, History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons,* ed. John Almon (London, 1775–80), XIII, 1–16. See also "Ensign Glyns Journal," pp. 27–30, Princeton University Library; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 73; and Stephen R. Lushington, *The Life and Services of General Lord Harris, G.C.B., During His Campaigns in America, the West Indies, and India* (London, 1840), p. 83.

85. The Van Veghten Bridge spanned the north branch of the Raritan River above Bound Brook. See Ewald's *Plan of the Area of Bound Brook.*

86. Robertson (*Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 115) reports: "6th. General Howe Join'd the Army. Donop's Corps and Jagers went to Bondbrook." No other record save Ewald's states that Cornwallis accompanied the column to Bound Brook. Apparently it has been assumed that Howe and Cornwallis marched together from New Brunswick to Princeton.

87. The Van Veghten house, built in 1750, is located at Finderne in Somerset County, on the left bank of the south branch of the Raritan River. See Henry C. Beck, *The Jersey Midlands* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1962), p. 272.

88. The First and Second Watchung Mountains.

89. Cf. "Journal . . . hessischen Grenadier-Bataillon von Minnigerode," p. 90: "On the 7th December Erskine came with orders from General Howe to start at daybreak and proceed by a detour to Princetown."

90. Falls Ferry was one of two crossings over the Delaware; the other one was Trent Ferry, near William Trent's house, built in 1719.

91. A gravestone inscribed "Grave of the Unknown Hessian" once stood at the spot near the river.

92. The drawbridge over the Crosswicks Creek, which flows into the Delaware below Trenton. See Ewald's *Plan of Trenton.*

93. Including militia, Washington had about 5,000 men across the river on December 12 (Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 278).

94. When he testified before a Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry in 1779 General Howe denied that he permitted Washington to escape. See Troyer S. Anderson, *The Command of the Howe Brothers During the American Revolution* (New York and London, 1936), pp. 183–84, 204–06, 208–09; Bellamy Partridge, *Sir Billy Howe* (London, New York, and Toronto, 1932), pp. 101–02; Ira D. Gruber, *The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution* (New York, 1972), pp. 156–57, 351–65; Charles Stedman, *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War,* 2 vols. (London, 1794), I, 247; Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution,* pp. 151–56.

95. For data on the Burlington-Philadelphia ferry see Alfred M. Heston, *South Jersey—A History, 1664–1924,* 4 vols. (New York, 1924), I, 285.

96. Howe wrote Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the American Colonies, on December 20, 1776: "The chain, I own, is rather too extensive, but I was induced to occupy Burlington to cover the County of Monmouth, in which there are many loyal inhabitants" (*American Archives: Fifth Series,* ed. Force, III, 1317).

97. The Continental Navy in the Delaware consisted almost entirely of the Pennsylvania Navy, which was commanded by Commodore John Hazelwood (John W. Jackson, *The Pennsylvania Navy, 1775–1781: The Defense of the Delaware* [New Brunswick, N.J., 1974], pp. 333–52).

98. Commodore Thomas Seymour.

99. Neither American accounts nor that of Colonel von Donop mentions his threat to burn the town (Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution,* pp. 80–81; Carl Emil von Donop, "Bericht über den Überfall in Trenton, December 1776" [Report on the surprise at Trenton, December 1776], Dec. 11, 1776, Hessian MSS, no. 36, Bancroft Collection, New York Public Library).

100. Von Donop and his officers dined at the home of John Lawrence, 459 High Street, Burlington (Margaret Morris, *Private Journal Kept During a Portion of the Revolutionary War, for the Amusement of a Sister* [Philadelphia, 1836], pp. 7–10). The Lawrence House is now a New Jersey State Historic Site.

101. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Stirling.

102. Black Horse is modern Columbus in Burlington County. The place was first known as "Encroaching Corners," a name that originated in a quarrel between two settlers over the right to occupy the land. The name was later changed to Black Horse, after a tavern which displayed a sign with a black horse. The restored tavern became the Columbus Inn (Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* p. 110).

103. The Lewis Mill was located on Black's Creek, which flows into the Delaware a

short distance below Bordentown. The mill was owned by Lieutenant Colonel William Lewis, 1st Regiment of Burlington County Militia (Heston, *South Jersey,* II, 653–54; William S. Stryker, *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War, Compiled Under Orders of His Excellency Theodore F. Randolph, Governor* [Trenton, 1872], p. 339). See Ewald's *Plan of the Area of Bordentown and the Lewis Mill.*

104. Modern Fieldsboro, about two miles southwest of Bordentown. Named for the Field family, Fieldsboro was first known as White Hill from 1695 to 1832 (Henry H. Bisbee, *Place Names in Burlington County, New Jersey* [Riverside, N.J., 1955], pp. 42, 108).

105. The Hermitage, the country seat of Brigadier General (later Major General) Philemon Dickinson, located about a half mile from Trenton. Dickinson commanded New Jersey militia (William S. Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton* [Boston and New York, 1898], p. 97).

106. Maidenhead is modern Lawrenceville in Mercer County.

107. Slabtown, once a shipping center of slabs mined in the hills nearby, was renamed Jacksonville in 1863 in honor of President Andrew Jackson (Bisbee, *Place Names in Burlington County*, p. 55; Henry C. Beck, *Forgotten Towns of Southern New Jersey* [New York, 1936], pp. 221–22). Jacksonville is three and a half miles north of Mount Holly.

108. Colonel Samuel Griffin, not Brigadier General Thomas Mifflin, an error which is corrected in the next paragraph. Griffin was posted near Haddonfield; he was sent from Philadelphia with about six hundred Pennsylvania militia to make a demonstration and draw the Hessians away from the support of Trenton (George DeCou, *Historical Sketches of Mount Holly and Vicinity,* Pamphlet No. 2, reprinted from the *Mount Holly Herald* [Mount Holly, N.J., 1936], p. 19; see also Albert E. Freeman II, "The American Revolution: Skirmish at Mount Holly Helped Washington Win at Trenton," *Burlington County Herald,* May 13, 1976, p. 10D).

109. On December 20 the Grenadier Battalion von Köhler and a train of heavy artillery left New York to reinforce Colonel von Donop. On December 23 General James Grant notified him that this battalion, with two 24-pounders and four 18-pounders, had arrived at Perth Amboy (von Donop, "Bericht," Dec. 23, 1776; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 77).

110. The Yorkshire Bridge was one of the two northern exits from Burlington during the early years, the other being the London Bridge. Both bridges crossed a small stream called the Moat. The location of the Yorkshire Bridge is unknown (Bisbee, *Place Names in Burlington County,* p. 111).

111. The Lawrence House on High Street in Burlington. John Lawrence was a prominent lawyer and a loyalist. His title is given as Councilor, which Ewald also uses; however, Mrs. Morris calls him the Recorder: "—17 Hessians in town to-day [Dec. 20, 1776] and we were told the Recorder was desired to prepare a dinner for about 500 men" (Morris, *Private Journal,* p. 16; Heston, *South Jersey,* II, 639).

112. This skirmish was fought near the Friends Meeting House at Copany, a half mile east of Slabtown, where the Assiscunk Creek is spanned by a bridge known as the "Pettycoat Bridge." Local tradition has it that the bridge received its name when one of the patriotic women who were removing the planking slipped and caught her petticoat on a nail, which prevented her from tumbling into the creek (Beck, *Forgotten Towns,* pp. 227–31; Bisbee, *Place Names in Burlington County,* p. 86; DeCou, *Historical Sketches,* pp. 19–20; Morris, *Private Journal,* p. 18).

113. Colonel von Donop spent the night of December 22 at the Sun Tavern in Black Horse (von Donop, "Bericht," Dec. 22, 1776).

114. The strength of this force was about fifteen hundred men. American accounts give two thousand (DeCou, *Historical Sketches,* p. 20; Stryker, *Battles of Trenton and Princeton,* p. 74). Von Donop does not mention his strength.

115. At that time a Friends Meeting House stood on Woodpecker Lane, near the junction of the roads to Burlington and Slabtown, on the northern side of the "Mount" which gave Mount Holly its name. See Ewald's *Plan of the Area of Mount Holly.*

116. Colonel von Donop claims, "I had no wounded or dead men, but the rebels had three caused by my artillery fire" (von Donop to von Knyphausen, Dec. 27, 1776, Hessian MSS, no. 36, Bancroft Collection, New York Public Library). An American account of the skirmish which supports Ewald's version is found in John K. M. Ewing, "The Battle of Mount Holly, December 23, 1776," a paper including extracts from George Ewing's unpublished military journal, deposited at the Camden County Historical Society, Camden, N.J.

117. The Mill Street Hotel, known in 1755 as the Three Tuns Tavern, "was one of the headquarters of the Hessians," but, "according to some accounts it was in the tavern that stood near the meeting house on Wood Lane" (Henry C. Shinn, *The History of Mount Holly* [Mount Holly, N.J. (1957)], p. 27; DeCou, *Historical Sketches,* pp. 20–21; Heston, *South Jersey*, I, 105n.).

118. The Great Road to Philadelphia.

119. The Long Bridge, or Long Crossing, spanned the South West Branch of the Rancocas Creek at present Hainesport.

120. Ewald visited Burlington for the third time on December 24: "Several Hessians in town to day . . . two were observed to be in liquor in the street; they went to the tavern, and calling for rum ordered the man to charge it to the King" (Morris, *Private Journal,* p. 20).

121. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Reynolds, 2d Regiment of Burlington County Militia (Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 464: Stryker, *Official Register,* p. 354).

122. New Mills, six miles southeast of Mount Holly, became Pemberton in 1826 (Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* p. 106).

123. Probably the present Morris Mansion on Hanover Street in Pemberton. The house was erected in 1764, shortly after the mill was built, by David Budd, whose daughter was Lieutenant Colonel Reynolds's first wife.

124. One of the ladies was very likely Lieutenant Colonel Reynolds's second wife, née Mary Ritchey Brian. Reynolds was released on parole on June 6, 1777, but he was not officially exchanged for three years; he resigned on December 18, 1782. Von Donop confirms Ewald's capture: "On the 25th, Colonel von Donop sent out a detachment of jägers and Highlanders which captured a rebel colonel, his profession a miller, and two rebel captains" (Charles S. Boyer, *Early Forges and Furnaces in New Jersey* [Philadelphia, 1931], pp. 142–43; Stryker, *Official Register,* p. 354; von Donop, "Bericht," Dec. 25, 1776).

125. No physician or doctor of divinity had died at Mount Holly in recent years. Yet Mrs. Morris noted on December 22: "all the women removed from the town, except one widow of our acquaintance." I have been unable to identify her as either a resident or an agent sent to delay Colonel von Donop (Morris, *Private Journal,* p. 17; E. M. Woodward and John F. Hageman, *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties, New Jersey* [Philadelphia, 1883], pp. 75, 202).

126. The three Hessian regiments in Trenton were the Land Grenadier Regiment Rall and Fusilier Regiment von Lossberg, quartered in the northern part of the village, and the Fusilier Regiment von Knyphausen, in the southern part (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, pp. 60–61).

127. The dispatch rider came from Lieutenant Colonel Friedrich Ludwig von Minnigerode, stationed at Bordentown (von Donop, "Bericht," Dec. 26, 1776).

128. Von Donop does not mention leaving Ewald behind: "The colonel therefore decided abruptly to vacate Mount Holly, to march back to Black Horse and Esslington and collect the Battalions von Linsing and von Minnigerode, and to fall back over the

Crosswicks bridge through Allentown to Princetown. He sent a strong force of grenadiers and jägers to the Crosswicks bridge to make sure of his retreat, since he could be cut off from Princetown on all sides" (*ibid.*).

129. The mount at the northern end of the town.

130. Many years later Ewald related in his military treatise *Belehrungen über den Krieg* that he had not intended to burn Mount Holly. Eelking says, "Ewald had no intention to burn the village, but his threat enabled him to hold it quietly" (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 76).

131. Washington's second column was opposite Trenton, under command of Brigadier General James Ewing, who did not cross the river and seize the bridge over Assunpink Creek because of the ice floes. The third column had assembled at Bristol under command of Brigadier General John Cadwalader. Part of his infantry crossed the ice with great difficulty, but returned when the ice prevented the landing of artillery (Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 307–08, 326–27).

132. Here Ewald's son Carl inserted the following remark on the inner margin of the diary: "I recall here, as told to me by my unforgettable father, that when the wagoners protested they could not drive down such a steep hill, he had them beaten down hill by a half a dozen jägers, which resulted in much noise but no damage. Eckernförde, February 3, 1814—Carl von Ewald."

133. Assunpink Creek. Washington had about 2,400 men when he crossed the Delaware to attack Trenton on December 26. He estimated that about 2,300 men made the second crossing on December 30 and 31, not December 29 as Ewald notes (The George Washington Papers, VI, 442, 461–63).

134. Lee's troops, under Major General John Sullivan, had joined Washington on December 20. Major General Benjamin Lincoln was not in New Jersey at the time. The troops at Morristown were under command of Brigadier General William Maxwell (*ibid.,* VI, 409, 415).

135. The College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) was housed in Nassau Hall, erected in 1757.

136. The responsibility for ordering the regular patrol on the morning of December 26 belonged to Major Friedrich Ludwig von Dechow, who excused the men because of the severity of the weather. He was mortally wounded attempting to seize the Assunpink Creek bridge.

137. Captain (later Major) Ernst Eber von Altenbockum, Fusilier Regiment von Lossberg, who was wounded and captured (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, pp. 66, 76, 307).

138. Second Lieutenant (later Captain) Andreas Wiederhold, who was captured (*Tagebuch des Capt. Wiederholdt, Vom 7 October 1776 Bis 7 December 1780,* Americana Germanica, Vol. IV, ed. M. D. Learned and C. Grosse [New York, London, and Berlin (1902)], pp. 28–33).

139. Washington reported to the President of Congress on Dec. 27, 1776: "The outguards made but a small opposition, though for their numbers, they behaved very well,—keeping up a constant retreating fire from behind houses. We presently saw their main body formed; but, from their motions, they seemed undetermined how to act" (The George Washington Papers, VI, 442).

140. Colonel Rall was mortally wounded and died on the evening of December 27; he was buried in the Presbyterian churchyard at Trenton.

141. The Hessian losses were computed as 22 killed, 84 wounded, and 916 captured, with 412 escaping. Samuel Smith gives 22 killed, 83 wounded, and 891 captured, with 600 escaping to Bordentown and 53 to Princeton. Several Americans were wounded but none

killed (The George Washington Papers, VI, 443, 446–48; Stryker, *Battles of Trenton and Princeton,* pp. 188, 195; Samuel S. Smith, *The Battle of Trenton* [Monmouth Beach, N.J., 1965], p. 31).

142. Postmortems were readily provided by those who were not there. Cf. "Journal . . . hessischen Grenadier-Bataillon von Minnigerode," p. 97: "If Colonel Rall had thought of retreating it would have been quite easy to have done so by Bordentown." General Grant said: "If Colonel von Donop had been at Trenton, he certainly would have retired over the bridge to Bordentown, just as the light infantry, dragoons, jägers, and 200 men of the Rall Brigade had done" (von Donop, "Bericht," Dec. 27, 1776).

143. Cornwallis had been recalled from New York, where he was embarking for England on leave.

144. Lieutenant Colonel Johann Christoph von Köhler.

145. After the war Ewald wrote: "In the American War we received biscuit instead of bread for entire years, and since our soldiers finally got accustomed to it, they preferred biscuit to bread" (*Abhandlung über den kleinen Krieg* [Essay on partisan warfare] [Cassel, 1785], p. 37).

146. On January 1, 1777, Washington stationed Fermoy's brigade, Hand's regiment, Scott's brigade, the German Battalion, and a detachment with two guns on Five Mile Run, halfway between Princeton and Trenton (Stryker, *Battles of Trenton and Princeton,* p. 258).

147. Renamed the Combined Battalion, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Johann August von Loos.

148. Colonel Nicholas Haussegger, who "surrendered under somewhat suspicious circumstances," commanded the German Battalion (Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 343; Papers of Joseph Reed, New-York Historical Society, I, 286; Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 280).

149. American guns broke up three British attempts to storm the bridge. This action is known as the Battle of Assunpink or Trenton Bridge, or sometimes as the Second Battle of Trenton (Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* pp. 299–301).

150. Shortly after midnight Washington moved off in complete silence around the British left flank toward Princeton. Five hundred men remained to guard the Assunpink Bridge, to keep the fires burning temporarily, and to use pick and shovel as if they were constructing earthworks (The George Washington Papers, VI, 468; Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 348).

151. Sunrise at Princeton on January 3, 1777, was at approximately 7:25 A.M.

152. Lieutenant Colonel Charles Mawhood, commanding the 4th Brigade, had used the 17th and part of the 55th regiments in the fight against Brigadier General Hugh Mercer; the 40th Regiment remained in Princeton.

153. Mawhood was not in Nassau Hall. American artillery fired several rounds into the building, a door was forced, and the defenders surrendered. British losses in the battle were about 286. Washington believed his dead numbered but 6 or 7 officers and 25 to 30 men, with no estimate of the wounded; however, he suffered an irreparable loss in the death of General Mercer (The George Washington Papers, VI, 481; Stryker, *Battles of Trenton and Princeton,* p. 458; Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* pp. 272–73; Samuel S. Smith, *The Battle of Princeton* [Monmouth Beach, N.J., 1967]).

154. Washington did not march to New Brunswick because of "the harassed state of our troops . . . and the danger of losing the advantage we had gained by aiming at too much." Washington wrote regretfully that "six or eight hundred fresh troops upon a forced march" could have taken New Brunswick, its stores and military chest, and "put an end to the war" (Washington to the President of Congress, Jan. 5, 1777, The George Washington Papers, VI, 470).

155. A number of baggage wagons containing much-needed woolen clothing were seized by a group of fifteen to twenty militia following a surprise attack on the wagon train after dark on January 3 (Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* p. 273).

156. Lieutenant Colonel, the Honorable Henry Monckton.

157. A small earthwork, V-shaped, and open at the rear.

158. Lieutenant Colonel James Webster, 33d Regiment of Foot.

159. Colonel Sir George Osborn, a member of Parliament.

160. Quibbletown is modern New Market.

161. Samptown is modern South Plainfield.

162. At this time Washington thought the best service his weakened regiments could accomplish was to tie down the British by these two measures: first, to destroy or remove the grain, provender, and livestock near enemy camps; and second, to harass the foraging parties sent out to get supplies that could not readily be brought to New Brunswick by ship. Since British mobility depended on their horses, it was vital to deny them oats, corn, and fodder (The George Washington Papers, VII, 9–10, 26–27, 97, 119).

163. The Spanish *peso duro,* piece of eight, or dollar, in use throughout the colonies.

164. Major Nicholas Dietrich, Baron de Ottendorff, who had raised a battalion of three companies in Pennsylvania (Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 422).

165. Lieutenant Colonel William Harcourt, later 2d Earl Harcourt.

166. Lieutenant Colonel William Meadows, 1st Battalion of Grenadiers.

167. Philip Van Horne, judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Somerset County, lived at Convivial Hill, situated at Middle Brook. "Philip Van Horne was the father of five well-bred and very handsome daughters, who were the much admired toasts of both armies. . . . he and his bright-eyed girls continued to welcome friend and foe alike, and it is said were often able to mitigate the ferocities of war" (Francis M. Marvin, *The Van Horn Family History* [East Stroudsburg, Pa., 1929], pp. 118–19). Surprisingly, Ewald fell in love with Jeannette Van Horne, as is revealed in his letters written to her in French, translations of which appear here in an appendix. The letters are now in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

168. Major General Lincoln commanded the outpost at Bound Brook, seven miles upstream from New Brunswick, Brigadier General Anthony Wayne was not present. Lincoln's force consisted of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, part of the 4th Continental Regiment, and some militia; he just had time to ride off before Van Horne's house was surrounded. Ensign Glyn reports, "General Lincoln escaped without his clothes, all his papers were seized" (The George Washington Papers, VII, 399, 411, 427; Francis Bowen, *Life of Benjamin Lincoln, Major-General in the Army of the United States* [Boston, 1847], p. 240; "Ensign Glyns Journal," p. 46).

169. See Ewald's *Plan of the Area of Bound Brook, 20 April 1777.*

170. Literally, a "half-moon blower," from *Halbermondbläser*; hereafter called a hornblower, not a bugler or a trumpeter. Such hunting-type horns, called "half-moons," were brass crescent-shaped horns made for the Jäger Corps.

171. See Lowell, *The Hessians,* pp. 108–10, which cites Ewald's *Folge der Belehrungen über den Krieg,* p. 122.

172. Both Robertson (*Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 126) and Kemble (*The Kemble Papers,* I, 113) put the number of prisoners at eighty. Washington's estimate of thirty-five to forty casualties was later reduced by Brigadier General Henry Knox to twenty to thirty prisoners and six killed (The George Washington Papers, VII, 427; Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 409, n. 48). The official British summary of the attack is given in *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* 47 (1777): 289.

173. Rev. Dr. Abraham Beach, identified above in note 79.

174. Washington states that this skirmish occurred on May 26 (The George Washington Papers, VIII, 133).

175. First Lieutenant (later Captain) Friedrich Adolph Julius von Wangenheim, who had been in the Gotha service.

176. Colonel Friedrich Ludwig Albrecht von Eyb, who later commanded the First Regiment of Brandenburg Anspach, 1778–79.

177. Lieutenant Colonel (later Colonel) Ludwig Johann Adolph von Wurmb.

178. Major (later Lieutenant Colonel) Ernst Carl von Prueschenck.

179. The Jäger Corps, formed on June 23, 1777, consisted of a company under Major von Prueschenck, Ewald's and Wreden's companies, a company of 105 Anspach jägers, and a troop of unmounted jägers, the total amounting to 600 men. In addition, a detachment of one officer and thirty Hessian grenadiers with two 3-pounders was attached to the corps ("Journal Geführt Bey dem Hochlöblich Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps während denen Ca[m]pagnen der Königl: Gros[s]brittanischen Armée in North-America," p. 1, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg; the Morristown National Historical Park Library has a handwritten copy of this journal).

180. The Hesse-Cassel order *pour la vertu militaire,* which Ewald and Wreden received after the Battle of Brandywine.

181. Ewald's *Plan of the Area of Hillsborough* shows the disposition of the British forces in and around Hillsborough.

182. In his letter of April 9, 1777, to Congress, Washington expressed disbelief that Howe planned to approach Philadelphia from the south with an expedition to Chesapeake Bay. Up to mid-June he had believed the British objective to be either: (1) the destruction of the main American army; (2) an expedition to capture Philadelphia by crossing the Delaware River; or (3) an expedition up the Hudson River to aid the British invasion from Canada. Following the British withdrawal to New Brunswick, Washington believed that another attempt to proceed overland to Philadelphia was not probable (The George Washington Papers, VII, 380; VIII, 231–33, 248–49, 262–63, 275).

183. Howe's movement was undertaken in the hope of tempting Washington to leave his strong positions and to hasten to the Delaware River to defend its crossings (*The Narrative of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe in A Committee of the House of Commons, on the 29th of April, 1779, Relative to His Conduct, During His Late Command of the King's Troops in North America; To which are added, Some Observations upon a Pamphlet, entitled, Letters to A Nobleman* [London, 1780], pp. 15–16).

184. The Short Hills, north of Metuchen.

185. Prince's Bay is located near the southern extremity of Staten Island.

186. Some of these women were soldiers' wives; most of them served as washerwomen.

187. André says the captured guns were three French brass fieldpieces (*Major André's Journal: Operations of the British Army Under Lieutenant Generals Sir William Howe and Sir Henry Clinton, June 1777 to November 1778*, ed. William Abbatt, [Tarrytown, N.Y., 1930], p. 32).

188. See Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 433–34.

189. The Presbyterian Church at Westfield, built in 1730 (Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey*, p. 201).

190. Billop's Ferry was located on Billop's Point at the southern end of Staten Island, near the home of Colonel Christopher Billop, a former British naval officer who commanded the loyalist militia of Staten Island.

CHAPTER 2

1. In a note written in the margin of the diary opposite this entry the strength of the Jäger Corps is given as 865 men.

2. Captain Patrick Ferguson, who commanded a company of British riflemen equipped with the first breech-loading rifle used in battle. A description of the "Ferguson Rifle" can be found in George C. Mackenzie, *Kings Mountain,* National Park Service Historical Handbook No. 22 (Washington, 1955), pp. 36–39.

3. The 16th and 17th Regiments of Dragoons.

4. Captain John Montresor, who accompanied the expedition, states on July 25, 1777, that the troops numbered 16,000, with 1,000 artillerists (*The Montresor Journals,* ed. G. D. Scull, Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1881, Vol. XIV [New York, 1882], p. 429).

5. Generals not identified earlier are Major General Charles Grey, commanding the 3d Brigade, and Major General Johann Daniel von Stirn, commanding a Hessian brigade.

6. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel recalled General von Heister at the request of the British government, nominally on account of his age and infirmities, but actually because he could not get along with Howe. Heister criticized Howe's operations in the autumn of 1776, which made the latter hostile. Heister quite understood that he was in disgrace, and died within two months after reaching Cassel, of sorrow and disappointment (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, pp. 107, 273–74; Lowell, *The Hessians,* p. 115).

7. Decker's Ferry was located at present Port Richmond and ran to Bergen Point in New Jersey. Cole's was situated near the present Municipal Ferry at St. George, the only ferry still in operation. Simonsen's was located at Rosebank and ran to Brooklyn. I could not identify Reisen's, despite the helpfulness of Loring McMillen, Director of the Staten Island Historical Society.

8. Denys's Ferry was located on Long Island on the Narrows, in the present Bay Ridge section of Brooklyn.

9. Montresor (*Journals,* ed. Scull, p. 429) states that the fleet consisted of 266 sail. Baurmeister gives 264 (*Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 97).

10. Probably Captain Anthony Parrey, R.N., or Captain Francis Parry, R.N.

11. Captain William Dickson, R.N. The identifications of naval officers are found in *The Royal Navy, a History from the Earliest Times to the Present,* ed. William L. Clowes et al., 7 vols. (London and Boston, 1897–1903), III, Index.

12. Captain William Harris, R.N.

13. Captain Andrew Sutherland, R.N.

14. Captain (later Rear Admiral) John Barker, R.N. Cornwallis and Grant were aboard the *Isis* and Grey was aboard the *Somerset* (*Major André's Journal,* ed. Abbatt, p. 34).

15. André gives a Captain Toulmin as agent (*ibid.,* p. 35).

16. The *Roebuck,* 44 guns, commanded by Captain Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, R.N., met the fleet at the mouth of the Delaware River (*Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 141; *Journal of Ambrose Serle,* ed. Tatum, p. 241).

17. Vice Admiral Richard, Viscount Howe, R.N.

18. Howe said that he approached Philadelphia from the south because this was easier than reducing the forts and destroying the obstructions of the Delaware. Information of enemy fire ships and batteries received at the mouth of the river convinced him that landing there would be extremely hazardous. Therefore he decided to proceed to Chesapeake Bay and land at its head (Sir William Howe to Sir Henry Clinton, July 30, 1777, in The Headquarters Papers of the British Army in North America During the War of the American Revolution (The Henry Clinton Papers), William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; and *The Narrative of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe,* pp. 23–25).

19. Probably the transport *Jenny Hamilton* (*Major André's Journal,* ed. Abbatt, p. 106).

20. Captain Walter Griffith, R.N., the master of the *Nonsuch,* was the commodore of the fleet.

21. At that time Washington was preparing to parade his army through Philadelphia to impress loyalist sympathizers. He reached Brandywine Creek on September 9 and took up a position on the high ground near Chad's Ford (The George Washington Papers, IX, 125–27, 197–98).

22. The Adjutant General Department was on board the transport *Roman Emperor* (*Major André's Journal,* ed. Abbatt, p. 105).

23. André lists the 77th Regiment in the fourth disembarkation (*ibid.,* p. 36).

24. Captain John Baurmaster, R.N., master of the *Fanny.*

25. The landing took place at Elk Ferry, about seven miles north of Turkey Point proper. Ewald refers to all of Elk Neck as Turkey Point.

26. The village of Head of Elk, close to modern Elkton, Cecil County, Maryland, which was the "head" of navigation in the Elk River.

27. Probably the wild grape vine.

28. Cicadas (locusts), most likely.

29. Probably the skirmish at Grey's (now Red) Hill.

30. The upper Elk River or its western tributary, Big Elk River.

31. See *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 100.

32. Now Christiana, Delaware.

33. Brigadier General William Maxwell of New Jersey, who commanded light troops of Major General Lincoln's Division.

34. Major James Wemyss; and Captain Louis Augustus, Baron de Üchritz, of Ottendorff's Pennsylvania Battalion (Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 553).

35. Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben was in Paris, making final arrangements through Benjamin Franklin and Comte de St. Germain, French War Minister, to go to America, where he arrived three months later on December 1, 1777. He never ranked higher than captain in the Prussian army during the Seven Years' War, after which he became court chamberlain for the Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen in Suabia. Possibly Baron von Üchritz learned of the plan to send Steuben to America, which anticipated his arrival (John McAuley Palmer, *General von Steuben* [New Haven, 1937], pp. 80–91; Friedrich Kapp, *The Life of Frederick William von Steuben, Major General in the Revolutionary Army,* 2nd edn. [New York, 1859], pp. 67–75).

36. Lafayette had arrived near Georgetown, South Carolina, on April 17, 1777, accompanied by French Brigadier General Johann Kalb, styled Baron de Kalb. Lafayette traveled overland to Philadelphia, where he was voted the rank of major general on July 31 by Congress and met Washington on August 5 (Freeman, *George Washington*, IV, 449; Friedrich Kapp, *The Life of John Kalb* [New York, 1884], pp. 114–16).

37. Colonel Charles Teffin Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, who was commissioned May 10, 1777, and assigned to the 3d Cavalry of Count Casimir Pulaski's Legion. In 1779 he succeeded Pulaski in command of the Legion, and in 1780 it was redesignated Armand's Partisan Corps (Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 73).

38. Possibly named for James Oburn, who had recently owned land in the area (Cecil County Deed Book 14–228, James Oburn to Samuel Evans, April 14, 1777, Cecil County Court House, Elkton, Md.).

39. Now Glasgow, Delaware.

40. The Welsh Tract near Iron Hill, along the road to Newark in present Delaware. In 1701 William Penn gave a group of Welshmen a patent for 31,000 acres in New Castle County.

41. Iron Hill, about 325 feet high (Topographical details here and below are taken from maps of the area by the U.S. Geological Survey.)

42. Captain Montresor (*Journals,* ed. Scull, pp. 445–46) states that the Americans left twenty dead on the field. Baurmeister says thirty were killed, with the Americans taking

off their wounded (*Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 102). See also *Major André's Journal,* ed. Abbatt, pp. 42-43; *Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, pp. 144-45; and Edward W. Cooch, *The Battle of Cooch's Bridge* (Wilmington, Del., 1940).

43. The Howe Orderly Book in the William L. Clements Library contains a slightly different version.

44. I.e., the Leib, Donop, and Mirbach regiments and the Combined Battalion.

45. About one and a quarter miles long. The heights along the creek rise one to two hundred feet.

46. Possibly the wife of Colonel Samuel Patterson of the Delaware militia, who was colonel of the Delaware Detachment of the Flying Camp in June 1776 (Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 429).

47. A harlequin sharing of the spoils.

48. Called Jeffrey's Ford by Ewald, on the East Branch of the Brandywine, six miles above Chad's Ford. The British first crossed Trimble's Ford on the West Branch of the creek, three miles from Jefferis's Ford.

49. Brigadier General Samuel Cleaveland, commanding the Artillery Brigade.

50. After ambushing von Knyphausen's van, Maxwell's troops fell back to Chad's Ford, where they were reinforced. The Americans again engaged the enemy, but were outflanked and driven out of the woods and across the ford (Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution,* ed. John R. Alden, 2 vols. [New York, 1952], I, 343).

51. Troops of Wayne and Maxwell, lacking the support of Greene, who had left to aid Sullivan's right wing.

52. Two first lieutenants by this name are listed in the Jäger Corps: Wilhelm von Hagen and Carl E. von Hagen (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 334).

53. Captain James McPherson, 42d (Highland) Regiment (Ford, *British Officers,* p. 122).

54. Captain William [?] Scott, 17th Regiment of Light Infantry (*ibid.,* p. 158).

55. I can find no other reference to constant skirmishing throughout the morning, except for mention of "an enemy patrol of 100 men which retreated into the wood, leaving behind several prisoners" ("Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps," p. 13).

56. Ewald's description of his guide would appear to fit Joseph Galloway better than it does a local farmer, Curtis Lewis, who claimed to have guided the British army. Ewald never names his guides or spies; he says there was more than one guide. Christopher Ward states that Galloway guided the British across the fords. Lieutenant Colonel James Ross, patrolling behind the British column, reported to Washington: "Joseph Galloway is here known by the inhabitants with whom he spoke." In England after the war, Galloway claimed he had made Howe's victory possible (Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 568; Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 475; Kuntzleman, *Joseph Galloway, Loyalist,* p. 156; copy of Curtis Lewis's claim as filed in the Public Record Office, London, in the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pa.; John Bakeless, *Turncoats, Traitors, and Heroes* [Philadelphia and New York, 1959], p. 160).

57. General Sullivan said he was not told to reconnoiter as far as the Forks of the Brandywine and had too few horsemen to do so (*Letters and Papers of Major General John Sullivan, Continental Army,* ed. Otis G. Hammond, Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, 3 vols. [Concord, N.H., 1930-39], I, 573-74).

58. Montresor (*Journals,* ed. Scull, p. 516) states that the complete march was seventeen miles. André (*Journal,* ed. Abbatt, p. 45) says it was "about fifteen miles."

59. Even Howe was reported as puzzled: "Here was a hill so high, which seemed almost impossible to cross, that the 500 men and two guns [of the Jäger Corps] were able to climb it only with extreme difficulty. Since this hill was not occupied, the commanding general was further supported in his opinion that Washington would retire and not fight; oth-

erwise, it could mean nothing else but that he had positive orders from the Congress to fight" ("Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps," p. 14).

60. The "terrible defile" is the present Birmingham Road, which begins at State Route 842, where a Pennsylvania Historical Commission marker is located. Still flanked by high banks and woods, this steep road (35° grade) winds up a 350-foot hill to the site of Sconnelltown, once a hamlet of several dwellings, a shop, and a schoolhouse. Ewald's account of this defile is the only one extant.

61. The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (p. 14) states: "It was exceedingly difficult to get the artillery over this hill, and this was the reason why the column halted on the other side until two o'clock." Montresor (*Journals*, ed. Scull, p. 449) says the army "arrived upon an open clear height at ½ past 2 and halted and refreshed ourselves for an hour."

62. Captain (later Major) Alexander Ross, aide-de-camp to Cornwallis (Ford, *British Officers*, p. 154).

63. The Birmingham Friends Meeting House, about four miles below Jefferis's Ford, which was used as a hospital by both sides.

64. A cluster of houses along the Birmingham Road. East Bradford is a township; the Birmingham Meeting House is in Birmingham Township, Chester County.

65. Joseph Townsend, a twenty-one-year-old Quaker, remarks: "The advanced guard aforementioned having arrived at the street road, and were fired upon by a company of the Americans, who were stationed in the orchard north of Samuel Jones' brick dwelling house. The attack was immediately returned by the Hessians. . . . A German officer on horseback [Ewald?] ordered the fence to be taken down, and as I was near to the spot, I had to be subject to his requirings as he flourished a drawn sword over my head" (Joseph Townsend, "Some Account of the British Army, Under the Command of General Howe, and of The Battle of Brandywine, on the Memorable September 11th, 1777," *Proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* 1, no. 7 [Sept. 1846]: 24).

66. Probably the 350-foot hill across the road from the Birmingham Meeting House, a mile and a quarter southeast of Osborne Hill, also 350 feet high.

67. The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (p. 14) states: "Captain Ewald reported about three o'clock that the enemy was advancing toward us."

68. Ewald probably saw the troops of Stephen's or Stirling's division. When Washington had definitely learned he was being outflanked, he ordered the divisions of Sullivan, Stirling, and Stephen to hurry to Birmingham Meeting House, three and a half miles from Chad's Ford, and attack the British column that was advancing in that direction (The George Washington Papers, IX, 206).

69. The Jäger Corps held the extreme left wing during the action. The strength of the corps there, excluding Ewald's seventy-six jägers and the other mounted jägers who were unable to follow due to the difficult terrain, was a little over three hundred men and two British 3-pounders ("Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps," pp. 14–15).

70. Howe and Cornwallis were atop Osborne Hill. Howe directed the army's movements from this hill, a distance of about a mile and a quarter from Ewald's position (John S. Bowen and J. Smith Futhey, "A Sketch of the Battle of Brandywine," *Proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* 1, no. 7 [Sept. 1846]: 11).

71. The brigade of Brigadier General Philippe Hubert de Prudhomme de Borré, which held the American right, was the first to give way. He was charged with "mismanagement or worse," became indignant, and resigned from the army (Freeman, *George Washington*, IV, 535, 539; Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army*, p. 191).

72. The hill southwest of the meeting house, upon which the troops from Stephen's and Stirling's divisions made a stand.

73. Alexander Wilhelm Bickell, who was promoted to lieutenant for his distinguished conduct in the battle (Eelking, *Die deutschen Hülfstruppen,* II, 267).

74. Brigadier General George Weedon of Greene's division later stopped the disorderly retreat and made another stand at a narrow defile on the road from Dilworth, about a mile from the Birmingham Meeting House (Bowen and Futhey, "Sketch of the Battle of Brandywine," p. 12; Ward, *War of the Revolution,* I, 352; Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 482–83).

75. The 1st and 2d battalions of British grenadiers.

76. The 4th British Brigade.

77. Sullivan states that the British advance was halted between sunset and dusk. Sunset on September 11, 1777, was at approximately 6:16 P.M. This was the last action of the battle. The British were surprised by troops under Maxwell, who covered the American retreat near Dilworth (*Letters and Papers of Sullivan,* ed. Hammond, I, 465; Ewald, *Folge der Belehrungen über den Krieg,* p. 337, and *Zweite und Letzte Folge der Belehrungen über den Krieg,* p. 463).

78. British losses were reported as 89 killed, 488 wounded, and 6 missing, totaling 583 officers and men. Howe did not comment on his losses (*The Kemble Papers,* I, 135).

79. Lieutenant von Förstner (de Forstner), given name unknown, of the Anspach Jägers (*German Allied Troops*, trans. Rosengarten, pp. 113, 341).

80. Jäger Corps losses are reported as two officers and six men killed and three sergeants and thirty-five privates seriously wounded, totaling forty-six officers and men ("Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps," p. 16).

81. Washington was unable to make a return of his losses due to the confusion following the battle. Greene estimated the American dead, wounded, and captured at 1,200 to 1,300, but Carrington gives 780 (William Gordon, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America,* 3d edn., 2 vols. [New York, 1801], II, 226; Henry B. Carrington, *Battles of the American Revolution, 1775–1781,* 2 vols. in 1 [New York, Chicago, and New Orleans, 1877], II, 42). The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (p. 11) lists the same American losses that Howe estimated, with probable exaggeration: 300 killed, 600 wounded, and 400 prisoners. See also Samuel S. Smith, *The Battle of Brandywine* (Monmouth Beach, N.J., 1976).

82. Washington was in no condition to fight again that night. Freeman comments, "So tangled were the troops of the center and the right, along the road to Chester, that Washington did not get them in order until nearly midnight." André adds, "Night and the fatigue the Soldiers had undergone prevented any pursuit" (Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 483; *Major André's Journal,* ed. Abbatt, pp. 46–47). Ewald and Wreden later received the Hessian Knight Order *pour la vertu militaire* for their distinguished conduct. Lowell notes, "This was a great honor, as they were the first officers of the rank of captain to be thus distinguished" (*The Hessians,* p. 199).

83. West Chester, Pennsylvania.

84. Present Goshenville in Chester County.

85. The White Horse Tavern in East Whiteland Township, Chester County.

86. The Boot Tavern, on the road to Chester, was British headquarters on September 16 (*Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 147).

87. Because of this cloudburst the action which followed is sometimes called "The Battle of the Clouds." The British army was positioned near the Admiral Warren Tavern, known also as the White Horse Tavern (*Annals of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, 1774–1914* [Philadelphia, 1915], p. 21).

88. As late as 1785 jäger rifles were not equipped with bayonets, as is established by Ewald's description of that date: "Their weapons consist of a rifle, a short hunting sword,

and a good cartridge pouch with a tin casing, in which forty cartridges can be well preserved" (*Abhandlung über den kleinen Krieg,* p. 19).

89. Washington had intended to deliver a sudden blow against the British on September 16 while their troops were in motion. But due to the sudden deluge tens of thousands of rounds of ammunition were ruined, since most of the cartridge boxes were poorly constructed, and many regiments could not fire a shot. Washington's troops had no shelter and little food; nearly one thousand men were barefooted and most lacked even blankets, which had been lost or thrown away in the retreat (The George Washington Papers, IX, 366, 415, 497).

90. Washington crossed the Schuylkill River on September 19 and proceeded to Reading (Warwick) Furnace to refit his army. He left Smallwood's brigade on the British side of the river near White Horse, Wayne's division at Paoli, and Maxwell's and Potter's brigades at Pott's Forge (Valley Forge) (*ibid.,* IX, 235–38, 240–41).

91. Now Norristown in Montgomery County.

92. Pikeland Township, Chester County, was divided in 1838 into East Pikeland and West Pikeland townships.

93. I have been unable to identify the village and rifle factory. Two days earlier the British destroyed the Mount Joy Forge (Valley Forge) on Valley Creek, built in 1742 (*The Montresor Journals,* ed. Scull, p. 457; "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps," p. 20).

94. Paulins Ford was one mile below Richardson's Ford and two miles above Fatland Ford (*The Montresor Journals,* ed. Scull, p. 419).

95. Norriton Township, Montgomery County.

96. A gulden, or guilder, a coin of the Netherlands. A groschen was a small silver coin, worth a little more than an English penny or about three American cents. For a full description of the rather comfortable financial circumstances of the soldiers, see Vol. II, Chap. 1, Part One.

97. Probably the Reverend Dr. William Smith, a prominent clergyman and educator who was the first provost of the Academy and College of Philadelphia, reorganized in 1779 as the University of Pennsylvania. See Thomas F. Jones, *A Pair of Lawn Sleeves: A Biography of William Smith (1727–1803)* (Philadelphia and Ontario, 1972), p. 118.

98. Dr. Smith resided at the provost's house at Fourth and Arch streets in Philadelphia. About 1759 he began to build a house on his property at the Falls of Schuylkill dubbed "Smith's Octagon" or "Smith's Folly." The house, razed in 1965, stood on the hillside along Indian Queen Lane above Ridge Avenue in Manayunk (*ibid.,* pp. 46–48).

99. Commenting on this conversation long afterward, Ewald was careful not to name his informant. He simply stated that he had been warned by an American, "by no means a Tory," who said, "My friend, be on your guard tonight and tomorrow" (*Folge der Belehrungen über den Krieg,* p. 32). See also Lowell, *The Hessians,* p. 201.

100. This revelation of Washington's whereabouts was reasonably correct. He had marched his army down the Skippack Road into Worcester Township on October 2 and camped there, about fifteen miles from Germantown. Norriton Township juts into Worcester Township from the south. Washington left on the evening of October 3, and by 3:00 A.M. on the 4th he was inside the area covered by the British patrols (Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 502–05).

101. General Howe's words are recorded in both English and German in the diary.

102. A German mile equals 4.6 English or statute miles; however, Ewald states at Charleston in Volume III that a German mile equaled seven English miles, and this is apparently the ratio he uses in describing distances throughout the *Diary.*

103. Brigadier General James Potter, who commanded a brigade in Major General John Armstrong's Pennsylvania militia.

104. The battle was over by 10 A.M.

105. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Musgrave.

106. The Chew House, known as Cliveden, was built in 1763–67 by Benjamin Chew, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania in 1774. The house is located at 6401 Germantown Avenue in Philadelphia. In 1972 the Chew family gave Cliveden to the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

107. Just such tactics were recommended to Washington by several of his officers, that is, to mask the house with a regiment and to continue on. But he was influenced in his decision to storm the house by General Knox, Chief of Artillery (Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 508–09; 514; Ward, *War of the Revolution,* I, 366).

108. Washington's report of his losses has disappeared. The Board of War reported American losses as 152 killed, 521 wounded, and over 400 captured or missing (The George Washington Papers, IX, 319; Gordon, *History of the Rise . . . of . . . Independence,* II, 234).

109. The British losses are reported as 70 killed, 450 wounded, and 14 missing, totaling 534 (*The Kemble Papers,* I, 137).

110. Brigadier General James Agnew, colonel of the 44th Foot, was mortally wounded.

111. Lieutenant Colonel John Bird, 15th Foot, was killed; Lieutenant Colonel William Walcott, 5th Foot, was seriously wounded.

112. After receiving news of the defeat of the American left wing, the Jäger Corps attacked the Wissahickon Creek bridge and opposite height. The Americans withdrew through the defile, leaving twenty dead ("Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps," pp. 26–27).

113. Ewald says "gebackenen Steinen" ("baked stones") which suggests a brick construction. However, Cliveden is and was most certainly constructed of cut stone and rubble. Mr. Samuel Chew states: "The front of Cliveden is 'dressed stone' or cut blocks which measure 18 inches in width by 10 inches. The sides of the house were made of 'rubble' or crude masonry scored in blocks. The original plaster still remains and shows signs of where it had been hit by cannonballs" (Samuel Chew to the Editor, March 2, 1972). It is interesting to speculate what might have happened if Washington and Knox had known that the side and rear walls of Cliveden were made of rubble and not stone. If they had concentrated their cannon fire on these walls they might have been breached, and the time saved might have changed the outcome of the battle. Freeman states that the 6-pounders "were placed at an angle to the structure and struck mere glancing blows" (Freeman, *George Washington,* IV, 508). Ewald's description of the scene within Cliveden immediately after the battle is the only one extant.

114. Apparently Howe disregarded Dr. Smith's warning and failed to alert his forces. Von Knyphausen does not mention the warning in his report but André said on the day of the battle: "Some intimations had been received the 3d of the designs of the Rebels to attack us, which were very little credited" (von Knyphausen to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, Oct. 17, 1777, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg; *Major André's Journal,* ed. Abbatt, p. 54).

115. Fort Mifflin was located on Fort Island, which was often confused with Mud Island, a few hundred yards upstream. The fort was named for Major General Thomas Mifflin, the quartermaster general of the Continental army.

116. This was The Hills, the country house of Robert Morris, "Financier of the Revolution."

117. Eleven redoubts were erected, connected by strong palisades; the line of entrenchments ran between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers.

118. Now Camden, New Jersey.

119. Lieutenant Colonel Justus Henrich von Schieck (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 314; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 126).

120. Fort Mercer at Red Bank was designed to support the left side of the chevaux-de-frise in the Delaware River. Washington sent the French engineer captain Thomas Antoine, Chevalier de Mauduit du Plessis, to strengthen the fort. He found it overbuilt and reduced the works about two-thirds by putting a double board fence filled with obstructions across the remaining third part, which transformed it into a large redoubt resembling a pentagon (Heston, *South Jersey,* I, 165; Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* p. 211; François Jean, Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North-America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782* [New York, 1827], I, 124–25). For details of the battle, see Jackson, *The Pennsylvania Navy,* pp. 170–200, and Samuel S. Smith, *Fight for the Delaware* (Monmouth Beach, N.J., 1970), pp. 16–24.

121. Colonel von Donop had asked Howe for a separate command, which was granted, with orders to take Fort Mercer. When he requested more artillery, he was notified that the British would capture the fort if he could not. He became indignant and replied: "Tell your general that Germans are not afraid to face death!" (Lowell, *The Hessians,* p. 204; Has, *Geschichte des 1. Kurhessischen Feldartillerie-Regiments Nr. 11,* p. 181).

122. Probably New Jersey militia from Cape May and Salem counties.

123. Cooper's Creek drawbridge, near Spicer's Landing, built c. 1762.

124. Von Donop stayed overnight at Haddonfield in the home of John Gill. When he left the next morning, he told his host that he would capture Fort Mercer before sunset. Gill promptly sent a messenger to warn his sister, Sarah Whitall, the daughter-in-law of James and Ann Whitall, who lived close to the fort (Heston, *South Jersey,* I, 374, 454).

125. The Hessians crossed Big Timber Creek at Clement's Bridge at the head of the creek, since the bridge further down had been taken up (*ibid.,* I, 165, 455).

126. On the day of the battle Washington wrote to Brigadier General Silas Newcomb, commander of militia in southwestern New Jersey, ordering him to fall upon the rear of the enemy if the latter should invest Fort Mercer. Newcomb did not receive this letter in time; he did not attack the Hessian rear during the battle and failed to harass their retreat (*The Writings of George Washington,* ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, 39 vols. [Washington, 1931–44], IX, 413; Chaplain Ebenezer David to Nicholas Brown, Nov. 5, 1777, in John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I.).

127. Strawberry Bank is modern Wescottville. The Hessians marched from Haddonfield to Red Bank "by way of a place then known as Cattletown, to the King's Highway, above Woodbury and toward Red Bank" (Heston, *South Jersey,* I, 164–65).

128. Captain Oliver Clark, who had been sent out to reconnoiter (Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution,* p. 350).

129. Lieutenant Colonel, the Honorable Charles Stuart, a member of Parliament. He was a major until promoted four days later, on October 26; he had been assigned to the 43d Regiment at Newport, Rhode Island. Stuart was the son of Lord Bute, the former Prime Minister, and became a confidant of Sir Henry Clinton (Ford, *British Officers,* p. 169; *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie,* I, 203; William B. Willcox, *Portrait of a General: Sir Henry Clinton in the War of Independence* [New York, 1964], p. 278; *A Prime Minister and His Son, from the Correspondence of the 3rd Earl of Bute and of Lt.-General the Hon. Sir Charles Stuart, K.B.,* ed. The Hon. Mrs. E. Stuart-Wortley [London and New York, 1925], p. 117).

130. Major Georg Henrich Pauli, Hessian Field-Artillery Corps, assigned to the Grenadier Battalion von Linsing, and a veteran of the Seven Years' War. Of his conduct General von Knyphausen wrote on December 13, 1777: "He has taken to drinking so much that he is frequently unfit for duty" (Has, *Geschichte des 1. Kurhessischen Feldartillerie-Regiments Nr. 11,* pp. 162, 728).

131. Staff Captain Johann Georg Krug, Hessian Field-Artillery Corps, also a veteran of the Seven Years' War. His biography, as well as Major Pauli's, is in the work cited above (*ibid.*, p. 716).

132. The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (p. 30) says, "The enemy had been informed this morning of the approach of the troops and hastily prepared to defend the fort." But the "Journal . . . hessischen Grenadier-Bataillon von Minnigerode" (p. 178) states that von Donop should have attacked at once: "The door of the fort stood open and the sentinels at the gate and in the fort were pacing quietly up and down with their guns on their shoulders, probably unloaded."

133. Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Greene, 1st Rhode Island Regiment. Washington had sent Greene to Red Bank, and wrote him on October 9: "The post with which you are entrusted is of the utmost importance to America. . . . The whole defense of the Delaware absolutely depends upon it; and consequently all the enemy's hopes of keeping Philadelphia and finally succeeding in the object of the present campaign" (Heston, *South Jersey*, I, 165).

134. Lieutenant Colonel Jeremiah Olney, 2d Rhode Island Regiment, had been deputed to meet "a British major" who had advanced with a white flag, demanding the surrender of the fort. Olney replied: "We shall not ask for nor expect any quarter, and mean to defend the fort to the last extremity." But after the war, Ewald related that when the fort was summoned "A resolute, loud 'By God, no!' was the answer" (Catherine R. A. Williams, *Biography of Revolutionary Heroes; Containing the Life of Brigadier Gen. William Barton, and also, of Captain Stephen Olney* [Providence, 1839], p. 223; "Feldzug der Hessen nach Amerika von Ewald," p. 23, Hessian MSS, no. 5, Bancroft Collection, New York Public Library).

135. Bundles of sticks, twigs, or small branches of trees bound on both ends and in the middle.

136. Lieutenant Colonel (later Colonel) Otto Christian Wilhelm von Linsingen; born 1731/33 at Birkenfelde, Hesse-Cassel; Chief of Grenadier Battalion von Linsingen, called Linsing by Ewald and others (HETRINA, nos. 4637–39).

137. Just before the attack Colonel von Donop summoned the fort a second time: "After two hours had elapsed, he again summoned the fort to surrender, but he received the same answer as before" ("Journal . . . hessischen Grenadier-Bataillon von Minnigerode," p. 179).

138. The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (p. 31) states that Colonel von Donop "did not want to be carried back and therefore fell into enemy hands." This remark is confirmed by the "Journal . . . hessischen Grenadier-Bataillon von Minnigerode" (p. 181), which says, "He absolutely refused to allow himself to be brought to Philadelphia."

139. The Americans in the fort feared to open the gate, although Colonel von Donop was taken into the fort by Major Simeon Thayer, who arrived after dark. The next morning the wounded Hessians were carried to the fort and to the nearby Whitall house (Williams, *Biography of Revolutionary Heroes,* p. 225).

140. Officers not previously identified: (2) Captain Wilhelm Erdman von Bogatsky; (3) First Lieutenant Johann Conrad Riemann; (4) Second Lieutenant Carl von Wurmb; (5) First Lieutenant Konrad du Puy; (6) Staff Captain Johannes von Groening; (7) First Lieutenant Georg Wilhelm Hille; (8) Second Lieutenant Karl von Offenbach (HETRINA, nos. 2240, 3163, 3880, 5552; *German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 315; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 126).

141. Officers not previously identified: (2) Staff Captain Johann Emanuel Wagner, mortally wounded; (4) Captain Ludwig Friedrich von Stamford; (5) Captain Henrich

Friedrich Wachs; (7) First Lieutenant Friedrich Andreas Schotten (Baurmeister calls him "Lieutenant Schutten, my sister's only son"); (8) Second Lieutenant Johann Ludolf Rodemann; (9) Second Lieutenant Friedrich Wilhelm Waitz von Eschen; (10) Second Lieutenant Carl Friedrich Rieffer (Rüffer); (11) Ensign Hieronymus Berner; (12) Second Lieutenant Dietrich von Gottschall, mortally wounded; (13) Second Lieutenant Ernst Philipp Wilhelm Heymel; also wounded was Captain Karl Wilhelm von Eschwege, 1st Company, Grenadier Battalion von Linsing (HETRINA, nos. 453, 2436, 3074, 3859, 6092, 8041, 8083, 8132; *German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, pp. 288, 291, 314–15; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 126–27).

142. Lieutenant Berner recovered. Colonel von Donop was removed from the Whitall house to the Low house across the dam at Woodbury Creek, where he died on October 29; he was buried with military honors at the lower end of the fort. His grave was later despoiled and his remains reportedly scattered as relics and souvenirs. The Rutgers University Library displays a skull which a New Jersey physician claimed was the colonel's. But the Rev. Schroeder states that the government of Hesse-Cassel removed von Donop's remains for reinterment in his own country (Heston, *South Jersey,* I, 167–68; Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* p. 210; Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* II, 84; John F. Schroeder, *Life and Times of Washington,* 2 vols. [New York, 1857], I, 597).

143. The battle lasted about forty minutes; contemporary accounts list the Hessian losses variously. Von Knyphausen's official report lists 82 killed, 229 wounded, and 60 missing, totaling 371. Baurmeister gives 377 killed and wounded, about 100 wounded being captured. Captain Stephen Olney believed "their killed and wounded exceeded 400." Ewald reports 154 killed (including three mortally wounded) and 263 wounded, totaling 417. The number of wounded who did not recover is unknown (Lowell, *The Hessians,* pp. 208, 301; Williams, *Biography of Revolutionary Heroes,* p. 224; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 126).

144. The American losses were 14 killed and 23 wounded. Captain Olney says the Hessians were "said to be 1200 strong," but the Jäger Corps strength alone was about half that number. Gruber, Heston, and Mauduit give a strength of about 2,500 men. One year later the same units numbered 2,206 (Williams, *Biography of Revolutionary Heroes,* pp. 222, 224; *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie,* II, 410; Gruber, *The Howe Brothers,* p. 251; Heston, *South Jersey,* I, 166; *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780–1783,* trans. and ed. Evelyn M. Acomb [Chapel Hill, N.C., 1958], p. 121).

145. Captain Francis Reynolds, R.N.

146. Bergen op Zoom in the Netherlands was captured by the French in 1747 during the War of the Austrian Succession. Olmütz was besieged and sacked by the Swedes in the Thirty Years' War.

147. The distance between the two forts was about 1,900 yards.

148. Fort Mifflin and its 300-man garrison were exposed to a terrific cannonade for six days, beginning November 10 with the bombardment by British batteries on Province and Carpenters islands, aided by British ships in the river. On the last day, November 15, more than a thousand balls struck the fort. About 250 Americans were killed and wounded; the British loss was 7 killed and 5 wounded (*Major André's Journal,* ed. Abbatt, p. 64; Jackson, *The Pennsylvania Navy,* pp. 256–59; Gruber, *The Howe Brothers,* pp. 258–59; for Admiral Howe's account, see Marion Balderston, "Lord Howe Clears the Delaware," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 96, no. 3 [July 1972]: 338–40).

149. Major John Graves Simcoe. See *Simcoe's Military Journal: A History of the Operations of a Partisan Corps, Called the Queen's Rangers, Commanded by Lieut. Col. J.G. Simcoe, During the War of the American Revolution* (New York, 1844), pp. 17, 62. The journal was published

privately in 1787. A copy containing Simcoe's handwritten dedication to George III is in the British Museum, London.

150. The light infantry was attacked by Colonel Morgan and his Virginia riflemen and by Colonel Mordecai Gist and his Maryland militia. The Americans lost about thirty killed and wounded, with fifteen captured; the British had around forty killed and wounded (*Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 160; *Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 31; *Major André's Journal,* ed. Abbatt, pp. 68-70; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 136-38).

151. Cornwallis, with 3,500 men, fell in with Potter's militia and Sullivan's division at Matson's Ford, now Conshohocken. Washington recalled his troops, but Potter was unable to get back before the bridge was broken up. Howe blamed the foragers, not Cornwallis, for harmful acts inflicted upon the inhabitants (*Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 161; Ward, *War of the Revolution,* I, 381-82; "Valley Forge, 1777-1778: Diary of Surgeon Albigence Waldo," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 21, no. 3 (1897): 299-323).

152. Middle Ferry was located on the Schuylkill at the foot of High Street, now Market Street, in Philadelphia.

153. This letter appears in the diary in both English and German. The date of the letter is three days later than the date of December 13 given for Cornwallis's departure for England in Franklin and Mary Wickwire, *Cornwallis: The American Adventure* (Boston, 1970), p. 105.

154. The area called "The Neck" was located in present South Philadelphia between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers. After the surrender of Cornwallis in 1781 a number of Hessian deserters became farmers on The Neck, below present Third Street and Oregon Avenue. The residents of this area were called "Neckers."

155. Upper Ferry was located in the area of the present Philadelphia Museum of Art.

VOLUME II

CHAPTER 1

1. Major General Arthur E. Sinclair was in New York State.

2. Rev. Dr. Caspar Dietrich Weyberg, pastor of the First Reformed Church in Philadelphia, located on Sassifrass (now Race) Street near North Fourth Street (John T. Faris, *Old Churches and Meeting Houses In and Around Philadelphia* [Philadelphia and London, 1926], p. 73; John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time,* 3 vols. [Philadelphia, 1884], I, 452). Ewald was of the Reformed faith.

3. The western section of Berks County, Pennsylvania, is known as the Tulpehocken Area, and consists of the townships of Tulpehocken, Upper Tulpehocken, Jefferson, Heidelberg, North Heidelberg, Lower Heidelberg, and Penn. Tulpehocken Creek was the "Land of the Turtles" in Delaware Indian language. No data is available on Tulpehocken loyalists.

4. In October 1777 a census of Philadelphia ordered by General Howe recorded 21,767 inhabitants and 5,470 houses, of which 587 were found unoccupied. Many of the residents who had fled at the approach of the British returned later, except for about 6,000 men serving with the Continental army (Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia,* II, 407).

5. Captain Richard Hovendon of Pennsylvania; his name appears on the Pennsylvania "Black List," a list of citizens proscribed for treason (Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists,* I, 546; Kuntzleman, *Joseph Galloway, Loyalist,* p. 41).

6. Captain Evan Thomas of Pennsylvania (Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists,* II, 353).

7. Major Francis Murray, 13th Pennsylvania Regiment. Heitman (*Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 408) states that Murray was "taken prisoner 21 February 1778, while on his way home; exchanged 25 Dec. 1780; did not return to service."

8. Major Richard Crewe, 17th Regiment of Dragoons (Ford, *British Officers,* p. 54).

9. Captain (later Lieutenant Colonel) Henry Lee, Jr., 1st Regiment of Continental Dragoons, known as "Light-Horse Harry" Lee; father of General Robert E. Lee.

10. Mounted sentinels, stationed in advance of the pickets to watch an enemy and give notice of danger.

11. This affair may have been the British attack on Virginia troopers in the house and barn of Andrew Wood of Roxborough during the winter of 1778. The incident is commemorated on a stone obelisk in Leverington Cemetery in Roxborough, Philadelphia. The bones of eighteen Virginia troopers were removed to the cemetery from their original burial place on Wood's farm. The Grace Lutheran Church now occupies the site. Henry Lee does not mention the attack in his *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States* (New York, 1869).

12. First Lieutenant (later Captain) Balthaser Mertz of the Jäger Corps (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 333).

13. In early May 1778 Washington's army at Valley Forge numbered 11,800 men, able-bodied and convalescents. There were about 1,400 men at Wilmington, and about 1,800 in the Highlands garrisons in New York. Washington estimated he would have about 20,000 men for the next campaign, plus 3,000 to 4,000 militia from the middle and southern states and an unascertained force in the north (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 7; The George Washington Papers, XI, 563–65).

14. Ewald's *Disposition of General Washington at Valley Forge,* illustrated.

15. Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Haldimand, who succeeded General Sir Guy Carleton as governor of Quebec.

16. Major General Robert Pigot commanded in Rhode Island. Lord Percy remained in England.

17. France announced the Alliance on March 13, 1778. The confirming news reached Washington on April 30.

18. The Free Friends Apprentice Library, located at the corner of present Arch and North Fifth streets, Philadelphia.

19. Anthony Benezet (1713–84), a prominent Quaker of Huguenot origin from St. Quentin, France. He became a teacher in Philadelphia and was interested in education for girls, emancipation of the slaves, and religious toleration (*Dictionary of American Biography,* ed. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, 27 vols. [New York, 1928–44], s.v. "Benezet, Anthony").

20. The Academy and College of Philadelphia.

21. Dr. David Rittenhouse (1732–96), American astronomer and instrument maker. He constructed the first orrery for the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, and a second one in 1771 for the Academy and College of Philadelphia. The latter is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

22. A French squadron had sailed from Toulon on April 13, 1778. The fleet consisted of twelve ships of the line and four frigates, mounting 834 guns and carrying 4,000 troops, commanded by Vice Admiral Charles Hector, Comte d'Estaing. Lord Germain wrote Clinton of the danger on May 4, but the news did not reach New York until July 1, a week before the French fleet arrived in the Delaware (Germain to Clinton, May 4, 1778, in *Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 381; Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 587).

23. Probably Johann Ludwig Leonhard, about sixty years old; born at Ziegenhain, Hesse-Cassel. He was recruited as a grenadier for the 1st Company, Grenadier Battalion

von Minnigerode, in October 1777 and died as a private in October 1780 (HETRINA, nos. 4552–53).

24. The Hessian Knight Order *pour la vertu militaire,* established March 5, 1769, with the Landgrave, Frederick II, as Order-Master. The original Hessian Court Register citing Ewald's honor was published as a pamphlet: *Hochfürstlich Hessen-Casselischer, Staats- und Adress-Calender auf das Jahr Christi 1778,* Cassel [1778]; the original is held by the Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg.

25. First Lieutenant (later Captain) Franz Christian von Bodungen of the Jäger Corps (Eelking, *Die deutschen Hülfstruppen,* II, 266).

26. Washington had sent out Lafayette with about 2,200 men and five guns to cover the camp at Valley Forge, to obstruct enemy parties, "and to obtain intelligence of their motions and designs" (The George Washington Papers, XI, 418–19). On May 18, 1778, Lafayette took post at Barren Hill, about four miles west of Whitemarsh (Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 564).

27. General Grant, with five thousand men, took a circuitous route via Frankford and Whitemarsh to a point where the road to Whitemarsh crossed the Ridge Road, about a mile and a half north of Barren Hill in Lafayette's rear. Another column of two thousand grenadiers under General Grey crossed to the left bank of the Schuylkill and took post about three miles below Barren Hill (Charlemagne Tower, *The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution,* 2 vols. [Philadelphia, 1895], I, 331–32).

28. The Falls of Schuylkill were located opposite Fort St. Davids until 1822, when construction of the Fairmount dam deepened and widened the river, covering the falls.

29. The Americans reported nine men killed and captured at the ford, with two British horsemen killed and several wounded. Erskine reported to Howe that the Americans lost one French officer and six riflemen killed, and one French officer and nine men captured; but Baurmeister cites "General Lafayette's report" that 127 were drowned in the Schuylkill River (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 8; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 176–77).

30. Ewald encountered Captain Allen McLane's partisan corps of 150 men, including 50 Oneida Indians, which covered Lafayette's left wing on Ridge Road. No Indians are reported captured (Tower, *The Marquis de La Fayette,* I, 329–36; Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 564).

31. The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (p. 53) states that Hovendon's provincials accompanied the British army across New Jersey. Clinton mentions "Pennsylvania Loyalists" in his army. Stryker says Hovendon's troop of provincial cavalry was under General Leslie (Clinton to Germain, June 22, 1778, The Henry Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library; William S. Stryker, *The Battle of Monmouth,* ed. William S. Myers [Princeton, 1927], p. 55).

32. This reason for the abandonment of Philadelphia has long been the generally accepted one. But a week after the French démarche of March 13, the British government drew up and dispatched a new plan of campaign focusing principal attention on the French West Indies instead of North America. Clinton's army was the nearest available for this purpose. Willcox remarks, "Many historians have assumed that the order to evacuate Philadelphia was the government's response to the threat from d'Estaing. Nothing could be further from the truth" (*Portrait of a General,* pp. 223–24).

33. Howe's letter is recorded in the diary in the original French; it also appears in Carl von Ewald, *Generallieutenant Johann von Ewalds Levnetsløb,* p. 26.

34. William Schaw, Earl Cathcart. The proposals of the Commissioners were forwarded to Congress at York, Pennsylvania, by ordinary military post (Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution* [New York, 1941], p. 95).

35. On May 17 Congress voted the answer to the proposals of the Royal Commission.

Congress would treat with the Commissioners only if American independence was acknowledged or the British fleets and armies were withdrawn (*ibid.*).

36. Lowell says the Americans believed the Anspachers were shipped to New York because they could not be trusted. Stryker states that Clinton thought they would desert, but Clinton does not mention this in his *Narrative.* The Germans said the two Anspach regiments were unable to march (Lowell, *The Hessians,* pp. 212–13; Stryker, *The Battle of Monmouth,* ed. Myers, p. 31).

37. The Upper Ferry was also called the Cooper's Point Ferry, and sometimes the New Jersey Ferry. The Philadelphia terminus was at Arch Street, and the New Jersey terminus near the present Pyne Poynt Park in Camden (Charles S. Boyer, "Old Ferries," no. 3, *Annals of Camden,* [Camden, N.J., 1921], pp. 8–9).

38. Major General Heinrich Julius von Kospoth of the Hessian forces.

39. Brigadier General John Cadwalader, with about three hundred Continentals and some militia, hung on the British rear (Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 573).

40. Now Pensauken Creek, which flows northwestward into the Delaware River below Palmyra (Bisbee, *Place Names in Burlington County,* p. 85).

41. Robertson (*Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 174) states that Cornwallis's division encamped at John Lippincott's place in Evesham Township on June 18.

42. Fostertown, formerly Forestertown, was named for an early property owner and county judge, William Foster or Forester (Bisbee, *Place Names in Burlington County,* p. 44).

43. The Belly-Bridge Branch, a name applied to the South West Branch of the Ancocas (now Rancocas) Creek by the Burlington General Assembly of 1766 (*ibid.,* pp. 7, 29).

44. The name is spelled Earystown, Airstown, Arystown, and Irestown in early maps. The place was named for Richard Eayres, who owned the tract in 1713 (*ibid.,* p. 37).

45. The South Branch of the Rancocas Creek at Eayrestown.

46. Maxwell, with thirteen hundred New Jersey Continentals, was in front of the British at Mount Holly, but withdrew on their approach. Philemon Dickinson, with eight hundred New Jersey militia, was on the British left flank. Both generals had been ordered to destroy bridges and obstruct roads, and to harass and slow the British retreat but not to bring on any general action. On June 21 Colonel Morgan was detached from the main army with six hundred riflemen to annoy the British flank (Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 572–73).

47. Generals Lee and Wayne, with six brigades, crossed the Delaware River at Coryell's Ferry (now Lambertville, New Jersey) during the night of June 20. Washington crossed over on the 21st with the rest of his army (The George Washington Papers, VII, 102–04).

48. Despite American reports that the British attempted to repair and cross the bridge, the intent was to make a feigned attack or demonstration to assist the army in passing Crosswicks (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 15; Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* II, 11; Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* p. 104).

49. The Americans were a part of General Dickinson's New Jersey militia. The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (pp. 54–55) reports that Colonel Morgan was present.

50. Lieutenant Colonel William Lewis, 1st Regiment of Burlington County Militia.

51. Heston states, "A small force and a number of wagons were sent to Colonel Lewis' mills on Black's Creek, seized all the grain and flour, and set fire to the buildings" (*South Jersey,* II, 654).

52. For Simcoe's account, see his *Military Journal,* p. 68.

53. The British army marched on June 26 to Monmouth Court House, "where it encamped in a beautiful plain. The jägers were stationed in a very pleasant walnut grove on the road to Trenton" ("Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps," p. 57).

54. Pulaski was not present; his legion had been taken over by Colonel Stephen Moylan

in March 1778. On June 26 Moylan proceeded to the enemy front from Englishtown, but he had only thirty troopers and could do little more than observe the enemy and forward intelligence (The George Washington Papers, LXXVIII, 49).

55. Clinton lists the following troops in von Knyphausen's division: "17th Light Dragoons, 2d Battalion of Light Infantry, Hessian Yagers, 1st and 2d brigades British, Stern's and Loo's brigades of Hessians, Pennsylvania Loyalists, West Jersey Volunteers, Maryland Loyalists" (Clinton to Germain, July 5, 1778, The Henry Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library).

56. Clinton lists these troops in Cornwallis's division: "16th Light Dragoons, 1st battalion of British Grenadiers, 2d ditto, 1st battalion of Light Infantry, Hessian Grenadiers, Guards, 3d, 4th, 5th brigades British" (*ibid.*). The Queen's Rangers are omitted.

57. General Dickinson's New Jersey militia of Lee's division. Lee himself was still at Englishtown at that hour.

58. The west ravine, a morass through which ran a branch of the Wemrock Brook (Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 577).

59. Washington reported to Congress that his revised losses were 72 killed, 161 wounded, and 132 missing, totaling 365, but added, "Many of the missing dropped through fatigue and have since come in" (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 43n.). British casualties were 235 killed and wounded, 64 missing, and 59 dead of fatigue, totaling 358 (*Facsimilies of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773–1783,* ed. Benjamin F. Stevens, 25 vols. [London, 1889–98], XI, no. 1114).

60. Lieutenant Colonel, the Honorable Henry Monckton, 45th Regiment, who is buried in Tennent Church graveyard.

61. Major William Gardiner, 10th Regiment, was not killed but wounded in the foot.

62. Clinton states that the baggage and provisions train "extended near twelve miles." Von Knyphausen said there were about 1,500 wagons (Clinton to Germain, July 5, 1778, The Henry Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library; Von Knyphausen to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, July 6, 1778, in Lowell, *The Hessians,* p. 213).

63. The 40th Regiment.

64. Clinton fails to credit the Jäger Corps in his account of the defense of the train (Clinton to Germain, July 5, 1778).

65. Clinton left the battlefield "near midnight" on June 28 and joined von Knyphausen's division the next morning at Nut Swamp, about three miles south of Middletown (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 98). For details of the battle see Samuel S. Smith, *The Battle of Monmouth* (Monmouth Beach, N.J., 1964).

66. The Navesink River, also called the North Shrewsbury River.

67. Sandy Hook Bay.

68. Sandy Hook was connected with Shrewsbury Township by a narrow bar until 1778, when it became an island.

69. Sandy Hook Lighthouse, built in 1764, was described in the *New York Mercury,* June 1764, as follows: "On Monday Evening last [June 11] the New York Light-house, erected at Sandy Hook, was lighted for the first time. The house is of octagon figure, having eight equal sides; the diameter at the base, 29 feet; and at the top of the wall, 15 feet. The lanthorn is 7 feet high; the circumference 33 feet. The whole construction of the lanthorn is iron; the top covered with copper. There are 48 oil blazes. The building from the surface is nine stories; the whole from bottom to top, 103 feet." The lighthouse now stands on the U.S. military reservation, Fort Hancock. In 1962 the lower part of the promontory became Sandy Hook State Park.

70. Duc Charles Louis Auguste Fouquet de Belle-Isle (1684–1761), Marshal of France, whose masterly retreat from Prague in 1742 during the War of the Austrian Succession saved the French army.

71. Clinton notes, "But with the thermometer at 96—when people fell dead in the street, and even in their houses—what could be done at midday in a hot pine barren, loaded with everything that [the] poor soldier carries?" (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 94n.). Unofficial reports said that the thermometer reached 103° on June 28.

72. On July 7 Major Baurmeister wrote Major General Baron Friedrich von Jungkenn-Müntzer, Lord High Chamberlain and Minister of State of Hesse-Cassel, that "the men were never in need of salt or fresh provisions." but Lieutenant von Krafft says, "On the march we got salt and fresh meat, biscuit and rum, nothing more" (*Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 185; *Journal of Lieutenant John Charles Philip von Krafft, 1776–1784,* Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1882, Vol. XII [New York, 1882], p. 49).

73. After reconnoitering the British on June 27, Major General von Steuben notified Washington that "They have some tents pitched & their horses are at pasture." Perhaps the tents belonged to the headquarters command staff, for Lieutenant von Krafft states, "We had no tents" (Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* p. 158; *Journal of Lieutenant von Krafft,* p. 40).

74. Washington thought the total British loss during the retreat was 2,000, including over 600 deserters who came into Philadelphia by July 6. On the same day, von Knyphausen reported to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel that 236 Hessians had deserted during the retreat. American reports said the Hessian deserters numbered 440 and the British deserters 136 (The George Washington Papers, XII, 150, 161; Lowell, *The Hessians,* p. 213n.; Stryker, *The Battle of Monmouth,* ed. Myers, pp. 293–94).

CHAPTER 2

1. General Gates remained in the New York Highlands.

2. The deep-draught vessels of the French fleet were unable to sail inside Sandy Hook because the channel was not deep enough. A French man-of-war of 64 guns drew twenty-seven feet, while a similarly gunned British ship drew twenty-two feet (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 48n.).

3. Lieutenant Colonel Andreas Emmerich had fought in the Seven Years' War and afterward settled in America. At the outbreak of the Revolution he returned to Germany and raised a volunteer corps of chasseurs for service under the British flag. In 1809 he took a leading part in a conspiracy against Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia, and was executed (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 121).

4. A part of the Hessian prisoners captured at Trenton in 1776.

5. The Philipse Manor Hall, now a New York State Historic Site. See Edward H. Hall, *Philipse Manor Hall at Yonkers* (New York, 1930).

6. Frederick Philipse, the third and last lord of the manor. In 1779 he was attainted of treason by the New York Legislature and his entire estate was confiscated, including the Philipse Castle at Tarrytown and the town house at Whitehall and Stone streets in New York City. Philipse died in England in 1785 (*Dictionary of American Biography* and *Encyclopedia Americana* [New York, 1962], s.v. "Philipse, Frederick").

7. The Albany Post Road, which ran past the Philipse Manor Hall; now Warburton Avenue in Yonkers.

8. St. John's Episcopal Church, built in 1752–53 by Frederick Philipse and maintained by him. Ewald mentions this same church and graveyard in his entry for July 23, 1778. The church was rebuilt in 1870.

9. Captain Carl von Rau of the Jäger Corps.

10. The second destructive fire in New York City, on August 7, 1778, destroyed over one hundred buildings in the area south of Pearl Street, between Coenties and Old Slips (*Heath's Memoirs,* ed. Wilson, p. 409).

11. See Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* II, 630-31.

12. Captain Christoph Friedrich Joseph von Waldenfels.

13. First known as the Caledonian Volunteers, a Scottish corps initially raised by Earl Cathcart in Philadelphia by Clinton's order, with its organization completed in New York. In August 1778 Earl Cathcart was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton and the corps became the British Legion (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 111; *Simcoe's Military Journal,* pp. 79-80).

14. The farm of Peter Post, located between Hastings and Dobbs Ferry.

15. See Ewald's *Ambuscade,* which shows how the Americans were trapped below Valentine's house. See also Simcoe's *Ambuscade of the Indians at Kinksbridge, August 31, 1778 (Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 86).

16. Daniel Nimham, a Wappinger chief, who was killed. Simcoe says Nimham, his son, and about forty of his sixty braves were killed or seriously wounded, and that Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton commanded the Legion cavalry. Baurmeister states that Earl Cathcart commanded the 17th Light Dragoons (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* pp. 81, 85; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 205).

17. Brigadier General Charles Scott of Virginia.

18. This severe skirmish is often called the action at Indian Field or Indian Bridge. Lowell drew his account (*The Hessians,* pp. 223-25) from Ewald's *Folge der Belehrungen über den Krieg,* pp. 312-18. The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" makes no comment.

19. Arminius, called Hermann in modern German, was the great Teuton chieftain who destroyed the Roman legions under P. Quintilius Varus in the Teutoberg Forest in A.D. 9, securing the independence of the Teutonic race.

20. Matting or cordage made of the inner bark of basswood.

21. Colonel Nathaniel Gist, 16th Virginia Regiment.

22. Babcock's Hill was also known as Boar Hill. Colonel Gist and his corps camped near the hill; he "was enamoured of the widow Babcock and it is said that the attachment was reciprocated." When Major Prueschenck failed to force Philipse's bridge, he joined the other troops, whereupon "Gist's rear being thus left open, the Americans, aided by signals waved by Mrs. Babcock from an upper window, escaped" (Hall, *Philipse Manor Hall at Yonkers,* p. 168).

23. Washington opened his field headquarters at Fishkill, New York (The George Washington Papers, XII, 526-29).

24. Located several miles due east of Valentine's Hill.

25. The Queen's Rangers and the 71st Highland Regiment crossed the river on September 28, but returned because they had arrived too late to cooperate with the British foraging expedition in New Jersey (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 90; *Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 183).

26. Baurmeister states that the Americans in ambush were Colonel Richard Butler's 250 infantry and Major Henry Lee's 200 dragoons (*Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 221). The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (p. 70) confirms "Light-Horse Harry" Lee's presence. See also Otto Hufeland, *Westchester County During the American Revolution, 1775-1783,* 3 vols. (White Plains, N.Y., 1926), III, 266; and *Journal of Lieutenant Von Krafft,* pp. 62-63.

27. Abraham Storm, who built the bridge and lived nearby, was an American captain during the war (Sarah Comstock, *Old Roads from the Heart of New York* [New York, 1915], p. 296). The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (p. 71) says the attack occurred near Hammond's house, just north of Storm's Bridge.

28. Paulus Hook, or Powles Hook, now a part of Jersey City.

29. The British expedition crossed the Hudson River to Paulus Hook on September 22

and returned on October 15, bringing thirty sloops loaded with forage (*Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, pp. 182–84).

30. Captain Patrick Ferguson, 70th Regiment, was promoted to major on October 25, 1779. A few months later he was promoted to temporary lieutenant colonel (Ford, *British Officers,* p. 69).

31. Chestnut Neck at Little Egg Harbor, New Jersey, was an important port for American privateers which preyed on British shipping. Ferguson attacked and captured a small earthen fort without guns at Fox Burrows on Chestnut Neck in the Mullica River; he destroyed the village and ten ships, as well as the salt works at Bass River (Ferguson's report to Clinton, Oct. 10, 1778, in Heston, *South Jersey,* I, 231–32). See also Franklin W. Kemp, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates* (Egg Harbor City, N.J., 1966).

32. He was not a Frenchman but Lieutenant Colonel Charles August, Baron von Bose, of a noble Saxon family, born at Klein-Leitz, Germany, on September 21, 1728. Baron Bose was second in command to Count Pulaski; he commanded the advanced picket of about fifty Legion troops posted on farms near present Tuckerton (Franklin W. Kemp, "Baron Bose Comes to Berks," *Historical Review of Berks County* 30, no. 1 [1964–65]: 19–20).

33. This affair is commonly called the Massacre of Little Egg Harbor. When Governor Livingston learned of the expedition, he appealed to Congress and Washington for aid. Count Pulaski and his Legion were sent to Little Egg Harbor, reaching present Tuckerton on October 8. Ferguson reported "about fifty and several officers" were killed and "only five prisoners" taken. Pulaski reported to Congress that he lost between twenty-five and thirty men (Heston, *South Jersey*, I, 232 and II, 766–68; Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* pp. 108–09; Kemp, *A Nest of Rebel Pirates,* pp. 37–52).

34. Lieutenant Carl Wilhelm Joseph Juliat, who was dishonorably discharged but later received an honorable discharge. Baurmeister wrote of him in October 1780: "Out of respect to his great-uncle, the Palatine master of ordnance, I took it on myself to help him get to Hesse-Rheinfels to his family; but the hussar's beaver made him forget the danger he is in if the rebels capture him." In January 1781 Baurmeister wrote that Juliat had embarked for Europe on the transport *Minerva.* But nothing is said of Juliat's despicable deed (*Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 227, 390, 408).

35. Near the foot of Babcock's Hill (Boar Hill) stood the rectory of the Reverend Luke Babcock, an ardent loyalist who died in 1777. His widow continued to live in the house. Babcock was the second pastor of St. John's Episcopal Church, described above in note 8. His house was about three-quarters of a mile northeast of the Philipse Manor Hall (Robert Bolton, *History of Westchester County,* 2 vols. [New York, 1881], II, 648). Babcock's house is shown in Ewald's *Plan of the Area of Philipse's Hill or Philipse's Heights.*

36. Colonel Beverly Robinson's Loyal American Regiment and Brigadier General Oliver DeLancey's New York Volunteers, which were posted near the mouth of Fly Brook (Head of the Fly) on the northern shore of Long Island.

37. Lieutenant Colonel John Yorke.

38. The Americans and their prisoners crossed the river three days before the British arrived on December 5, the last of their baggage having crossed the previous evening (*Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 186; *Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, pp. 114–15).

39. Brigadier General (later Major General) John Campbell, who had left New York with a corps for Pensacola, West Florida, almost simultaneously with Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, who captured Savannah on December 29, 1778.

40. Brigadier General Augustine Prevost, commanding British forces in East Florida. He marched from St. Augustine with about three thousand men and joined Lieutenant Colonel Campbell after the fall of Savannah.

41. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell's detailed dispatch to Germain may be found in The Lord George Germain Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

42. Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the American Colonies; subsequently first Viscount Sackville.

43. The line of 30° north latitude crosses Florida about six miles north of St. Augustine.

44. Concerning this shortage of provisions, Clinton says that the army was "saved from destruction" by the unexpected arrival of a fleet of victualers from Cork (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 112n.).

45. Lieutenant Colonel Francis, Lord Rawdon; subsequently Earl of Moira, first Marquis of Hastings. He was Clinton's adjutant general in 1778. Before he left Philadelphia, Clinton formed a corps of Irish emigrants under the title of the Volunteers of Ireland, whose officers were all from that country. He placed Lord Rawdon in command, "whose zeal I know would lead him to spare neither expense nor pains to complete its numbers and render it useful and respectable" (*ibid.,* pp. 110-11).

46. Maston's Wharf is not listed among the one hundred wharves and slips in I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909,* 6 vols. (New York, 1915-28).

47. McGowan's Pass was located close to present 107th Street and Seventh Avenue in the rocky northeast part of what is now Central Park.

48. Woodlawn, the home of Nicholas Jones, which stood a little west of the present corner of 107th Street and Eleventh Avenue.

49. Now Washington Heights.

50. Probably an error for the 42d Regiment, since the 4th Regiment was sent to the West Indies. Baurmeister lists the 42d at Newtown (*Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 229).

51. Hallet's Cove, later Astoria, and now part of Brooklyn. Regiment Prinz Carl is also placed at Kings Bridge. Baurmeister puts it at Bushwick (*ibid.*).

52. Regiment Erb Prinz was named for the hereditary prince William (Georg Wilhelm), the eldest son and heir apparent of Landgrave Frederick II of Hesse-Cassel. During the Revolution, William governed the independent state of Hesse-Hanau. His mother, Princess Mary, the fourth daughter of King George II of Great Britain, had separated herself from the Landgrave on his conversion to Catholicism in 1749 and retired to Hanau with her son.

53. Brigadier General Cortland Skinner's brigade of West Jersey Volunteers, which generally consisted of three battalions.

54. Stirling was a temporary brigadier general, subsequently major general.

55. This surprise attack, which occurred on February 25, 1779, was a failure. Robertson states that the British lost about twenty men killed, wounded, and taken prisoner, while the Americans lost a few killed and twenty-seven captured. Maxwell comments in a letter to Washington on February 25: "Our loss, I think, does not amount to more than three or four men" (*Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 188; Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* p. 165; *Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 117).

56. Captain Gustavus Conyngham commanded the privateer *Revenge,* 10 guns. Since July 1777 he had demoralized British shipping up and down the long, vital lane from Portugal to the British Isles; his known prizes numbered sixty ships. In late 1778 Conyngham sailed to the West Indies and burned six British ships. He arrived at Philadelphia on February 21, 1779, where the *Revenge* was refitted and put to sea. After

his capture Conyngham was sent to England and charged with piracy, but he escaped at Portsmouth and went to Holland (Gardner W. Allen, *A Naval History of the American Revolution,* 2 vols. [Boston and New York, 1913], II, 337; Fletcher Pratt, *The Navy—A History: The Story of a Service in Action* [Garden City, N.Y., 1941], pp. 23–24).

57. Colonel West Hyde, 1st Regiment of Foot Guards.

58. This futile raid on Middletown and Shrewsbury occurred on April 26, 1779. A change of wind and weather delayed the passage of the ships up the Shrewsbury River, which gave the alarm to the Americans and enabled them to escape. About thirty of the American rear guard were captured, with a small amount of baggage. Hyde landed at Shoal Harbor (west of Sandy Hook Bay) and marched to Middletown, detaching Ferguson to Shrewsbury. The garrisons at both places fled; two magazines were burned and the baggage was destroyed, with twenty-five Americans taken prisoner (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 123; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 271).

59. For Clinton's remarks on his officers' resentment, see Willcox, *Portrait of a General,* pp. 278–79.

60. Lawrence Point on Long Island above Flushing, now called College Point.

61. Later called Wilkens Point, and now Clasen Point in the Bronx, across the East River from Lawrence Point.

62. Regiment von Bose, commanded by Major General (later Lieutenant General) Carl Ernst Johann von Bose.

63. In the form of a T.

64. Officer of the Day.

65. On April 5, 1779, Collier was promoted to commodore and temporary commander in chief of the naval forces in America upon the departure of Rear Admiral James Gambier, R.N.

66. Tellar's Point on Haverstraw Bay, on the east side of the river, about seven miles below Verplanck's Point.

67. Major General James Pattison.

68. The garrison consisted of one captain, three lieutenants, a surgeon, and seventy men of the North Carolina Line under Captain Thomas Armstrong (Henry P. Johnston, *The Storming of Stony Point on the Hudson, Midnight, July 15, 1779: Its Importance in the Light of Unpublished Documents* [New York, 1900], p. 117).

69. Major General Alexander McDougall of New York. At that time, May 31, 1779, McDougall was falling back through Continental Village, about five miles northeast of Peekskill. A month later he was in command of the American center at West Point (*ibid.,* pp. 49, 59).

70. Fort Lafayette was built by Major (later Lieutenant Colonel) Jean Baptiste de Gouvion, one of four French engineers engaged by Silas Deane in Paris on February 15, 1777, who had arrived in America in June. For a description of the fort and its capture see Major General James Pattison to Viscount Charles Townshend, June 9, 1779, in Johnston, *The Storming of Stony Point,* pp. 113–21.

71. Ewald's name for this creek cannot be explained beyond conjecture. Contemporary maps of the area do not identify the creek. The Indians called it Meahagh. The present name, Furnace Brook, was derived from the Cortlandt furnace, which existed near the iron mines. Ewald may have meant "Cortlandt Creek," but he spells the name Cortlandt almost correctly elsewhere. Perhaps the creek was once named for a large landholder, Hercules Lent, whose name Ewald may have mispronounced "Herc-Lend" and misspelled "Herecland." No other local names resemble Ewald's formulation, which is retained in the text.

72. Major, the Honorable Charles Cochrane of the British Legion.

73. The Peekskill Hollow Brook, north of Peekskill, over which the Albany Post Road ran to Continental Village. The editor thanks Mr. Colin T. Naylor, Jr., president of the Peekskill Historical Society, for his valuable assistance concerning persons, places, and activities in the Peekskill area during the Revolution.

74. Crompond in Westchester County; the name is Dutch for "Crooked Pond." The village stood on the present site of Yorktown.

75. The defenses are shown on Ewald's *Plan of the Jäger Post on Herecland's Creek,* which delineates the area just below Verplanck's Point. Attached is an explanation of the troop dispositions, roads, and ships, as well as a description of the mountainous terrain from Philipse's Manor to Fishkill and Albany, the area which Ewald calls "the seat of the rebellion."

76. Colonel John Butler, a Tory Indian leader, who commanded Fort Niagara on Lake Ontario; and Joseph Brant, the war chief of the Mohawk tribe, who bore the Indian name of Thayendanegea.

77. The Wyoming Valley Massacre, July 1778.

78. No Major Adams is listed in the military rosters of the companies serving during the battle of Wyoming, but he may have been elsewhere in the Susquehanna River valley, where many Indian incidents occurred at that time.

79. King's Ferry.

80. Washington remained at Smith's Clove.

81. Lieutenant Colonel Henry Johnson, 17th Regiment of Foot, who surrendered Stony Point to Brigadier General Wayne on July 15, 1779.

82. The Loyal American Regiment.

83. The report of wanton killing was false. Major General Pattison wrote Lord Townshend on July 26, 1779, "that no instance of Inhumanity was shown to any of the unhappy Captives. No one was unnecessarily put to the sword or wantonly wounded." Commodore Sir George Collier said the Americans exhibited "a generosity and clemency" without parallel during the war (Johnston, *The Storming of Stony Point,* pp. 131, 135).

84. Colonel (later Brigadier General) Elisha Sheldon, 2d Regiment of Continental Dragoons; and Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Walton White of New Jersey.

85. Probably Drew Hills at present Carmel, Putnam County, New York (J. H. French, *Historical and Statistical Gazetteer of New York State* [Syracuse, N.Y., 1860], p. 541).

86. Major Mansfield Bearmore, a loyalist born on Throgs Neck. He was a first major in DeLancey's Refugee Corps and afterward had an independent command (Hufeland, *Westchester County During the American Revolution,* III, 312).

87. Morrisania is now a part of the lower Bronx, New York City.

88. Captain Ernst Friedrich von Diemar.

89. The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (p. 95) states that the Legion lost two dead and seven wounded, and that "the rangers and jägers came too late." See also *Simcoe's Military Journal,* pp. 105–07.

90. Pell's Bridge crossed the East Chester Creek about one-half mile east of East Chester. See Ewald's *Plan of the Ambuscade at East Chester.*

91. Yemelyan Ivanovich Pugachev, a Don Cossack who led the Russian peasant rebellion of 1773–75.

92. Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Van Buskirk, Skinner's Brigade of New Jersey Volunteers.

93. Major William Sutherland, commandant of the works at Paulus Hook and formerly an aide-de-camp to General Clinton.

94. Captain Henrich Sebastian von Schaller, Regiment Erb Prinz.

95. Major General William Alexander.

96. See Ewald's *Plan of Paulus Hook and Its Works.* Lee's report to Washington is contained in *Diary of the American Revolution: From Newspapers and Original Documents,* ed. Frank Moore, 2 vols. (New York, 1863), II, 207-12. See also Henry B. Dawson, *Battles of the United States by Sea and Land,* 2 vols. (New York, 1858), I, 543-53; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 125-31; Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 604-10; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 295-96; and William H. Richardson, *Washington and the Enterprise Against Powle's Hook* (Jersey City, 1938), *passim.*

97. They were one and the same, of course.

98. On August 29, 1779, General Sullivan met and completely defeated a force of British, Indians, and loyalists at Newton near present Elmira, New York, and later destroyed the Indian settlements and crops in the area (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 134-35).

99. Captain (later Major) George Beckwith, 37th Regiment of Foot Guards.

100. Ewald's *Plan of the Ambuscade at East Chester,* which shows the roads mentioned, the ambuscade, East Chester, and the approach and flight of the Americans.

101. Lieutenant Erasmus Gill.

102. For an American account see *Heath's Memoirs,* ed. Wilson, pp. 231-32.

103. The transport *Adamant* went down, carrying the Leib Company and the von Lossberg Company of Regiment von Lossberg. Half of the 44th Regiment, on board the frigates *Favorite* and *Crawford,* died later from hardship and lack of food (*Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 308; *German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, pp. 185-88).

104. Major General Robert Howe of the Continental army.

105. Simcoe was ambushed and captured near New Brunswick on October 27, 1779 (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* pp. 109-18; Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution,* pp. 416-18).

106. Ewald's *Plan of the Post at Harlem* shows his quarters and the hospital of the Jäger Corps in Harlem, the jäger pickets, and the defenses along the Harlem River across from Morrisania.

107. Ewald mentions the 37th Regiment twice, placing it both at Denys's Ferry and Newtown, no doubt an error in transcription. Major Baurmeister's "Distribution for Winter Quarters, 1779-1780" puts the 33d Regiment at Denys's Ferry and the 76th Regiment at Brooklyn; the 36th is not listed (*Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 318-20).

108. The Fanning Corps was raised by Edmund Fanning in New York in 1776; it was officially known as the Associated Refugees or the King's American Regiment of Foot.

109. Grenadier Battalion Graff, formerly von Köhler's, commanded by Major (later Lieutenant Colonel) Karl Wilhelm Graff (HETRINA, no. 3088). Baurmeister puts Regiment Landgraf on Long Island.

110. Major General Francis Smith. As a lieutenant colonel, 10th Regiment, he commanded the British detachment which marched to Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775 (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie,* I, 18-26).

111. Located on the north shore of Long Island. Baurmeister puts the 22d Regiment at Yellow Hook, just north of Denys's Ferry.

112. Major General Johann Christoph von Huyn, born 1718-20 at Niederbeisheim, Hesse-Cassel; died of consumption at New York on July 25, 1780 (HETRINA, nos. 4199-4203; *German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 326; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 351, 366).

113. According to American accounts, Colonel Armand captured Major Bearmore, "a notorious Tory marauder," at his quarters at present Oak Point on the East River on

November 7, 1779. Ewald gives the date as December 7. Bearmore was soon exchanged, but he was killed in November 1780 (*Heath's Memoirs,* ed. Wilson, p. 236; Hufeland, *Westchester County During the American Revolution,* III, 310; Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* II, 624n.).

114. For Lieutenant Wiederhold's account of his voyage and capture on the *Triton* off Little Egg Harbor, see *Tagebuch des Capt. Wiederholdt,* ed. Learned and Grosse, pp. 70–90. See also Lowell, *The Hessians,* pp. 230–38.

115. The attack on Savannah, October 9, 1779. See Prevost's letter to Clinton, Nov. 2, 1779, in *Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, pp. 432–34, and Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 688–94.

116. Captain (later Major) James Moncrief of the Engineers.

117. General Lincoln, who had only 600 Continentals, 750 militia, and Pulaski's 200 horse, realized that the twenty-four hours' truce was fatal to the success of the besiegers, since he knew that Colonel Maitland was en route to Savannah with 800 men. Brigadier General Lachlin McIntosh urged Comte d'Estaing to make an immediate attack on Savannah, but the count refused. See Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 688–94, and William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution, So Far As It Related to the States of North and South Carolina, and Georgia,* 2 vols. (New York, 1802), II, 32–43. Ewald's remarks follow a transcription of General Prevost's "Relation of the attack of the French and rebels at Savannah," September 3 to November 2, 1779, which was omitted from this abridged volume.

VOLUME III

CHAPTER 1

1. Major (later Lieutenant Colonel) Thomas Dundas.

2. Lieutenant Colonel Henry Hope.

3. Not identified earlier are Lieutenant Colonel Georg Emanuel von Lengerke, Grenadier Battalion von Lengerke; and Lieutenant Colonel Ferdinand Henrich von Schuler, born at Wetzlar, Hesse-Cassel, Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode, later von Loewenstein (HETRINA, nos. 7124–25).

4. The Bucks County Volunteers, commanded by Captain Evan Thomas of Pennsylvania.

5. Commanded by Captain John Althouse, New York Volunteers.

6. Captain the Honorable George Hanger, later fourth and last Baron Coleraine, who had resigned from the 1st Foot Guards and volunteered his services to the Hessian Court. Appointed a staff captain in the Jäger Corps in 1778, he served as major in the British Legion with Cornwallis in the South in 1780 and subsequently became a major general in the Hessian service (Eelking, *Die deutschen Hülfstruppen,* II, 268). See *The Life, Adventures, and Opinions of Colonel George Hanger, Written by Himself,* 2 vols. (London, 1801).

7. Major Peter Traille and Captain Robert Collins, Royal Artillery.

8. Clinton states: "As I had still full 6000 sick in my hospitals, many of whom could not be fit for duty before spring, I had not above 7000 men to take with me to the southward" (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 152). But Major Baurmeister's embarkation list gives 8,708 in the expeditionary force (*The Siege of Charleston. With an Account of the Province of South Carolina: Diaries and Letters of Hessian Officers From the von Jungkenn Papers in the William L. Clements Library*, trans. and ed. Bernard A. Uhlendorf [Ann Arbor, 1938], pp. 108–09). Tarleton says Clinton had "about eight thousand five hundred men" (Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781, in the Southern Provinces of North America* [London, 1787], p. 3).

9. Probably Hog's Back, in the narrow channel of Hell Gate. Other dangerous spots there were the Pot, the Frying Pan, Mill Rock, and Flood Rock (*A New and Correct Chart of the Coast of New England and New York* by Captain Holland [London, 1794], holdings of the American Geographic Society, New York).

10. First Lieutenant Johann Ernst von Wintzingerode of the Jäger Corps (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 334).

11. Vice Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot, R.N. The Middle Ground was east of Sandy Hook (*A Chart of New York Harbour,* 1779, reprinted in *The Atlantic Neptune* series, III, no. 31 [Barre, Mass., n.d.].

12. Captain the Honorable George Keith Elphinstone, R.N. The *Perseus* was a 20-gun ship. Unless otherwise indicated, the names of the ships' captains are taken from *The Royal Navy,* ed. Clowes et al., IV, 48.

13. Captain Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, R.N.

14. Captain Thomas Tonken, R.N., who was aboard the admiral's ship *Europe,* 64 guns, commanded by Captain William Swiney, R.N. Ewald has omitted the name of the ship here.

15. Captain George Gayton, R.N. (*Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 221).

16. Captain Henry Chads, commanding the troop transports (*ibid.,* pp. 208–11).

17. Captain Phillips Cosby, R.N.

18. Captain Max Jacobs, R.N.

19. Not listed in *The Royal Navy,* ed. Clowes et al.

20. Captain George Dawson, R.N.

21. Captain Henry Francis Evans, R.N. (*Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 218).

22. Commodore Francis Samuel Drake, R.N.

23. Captain Charles Hudson, R.N.

24. In 1783, after the British occupation, the city of Charlestown was renamed Charleston and incorporated. The old name, used in the diary, is retained in the text.

25. Trench Island is now Hilton Head Island.

26. Simmons Island is now Seabrook Island.

27. Lieutenant Colonel (later Brigadier General) Alured Clarke.

28. Clinton states that this was not Arbuthnot's idea. The admiral had first proposed to land on John's Island by Stono Inlet, but Elphinstone persuaded him to land at North Edisto Inlet (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 160).

29. Ewald uses the common English name for the Cardinal: "It is a hardy and familiar Bird. They are frequently brought from *Virginia* and other parts of *North America* for their Beauty and agreable Singing, they having some notes not unlike our *Nightingale,* which in England seems to have caused its Name of the *Virginia-Nightingale,* though in those Counties they call it the *Red-Bird*" (Mark Catesby, *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands,* 2 vols. [London, 1731–43], I, 38).

30. Probably the "Gullah," the low-country language of the Negro (*The Charleston Gateway* 12, no. 5 [May 1967]: 10).

31. The *Plan of Stono Ferry* and other plans in this volume are pen-and-ink copies of the original plans from the lost Volume III, made in 1831 by Second Lieutenant W. Thalbitzer, Oldenburg Infantry Regiment.

32. See Lowell, *The Hessians,* p. 246.

33. William Gibbes's house on John's Island (Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution,* II, 5). There were two other Gibbes houses, one on Simmons Island and one on the Neck of Charleston.

34. Major Pierre-François Vernier, 1st Cavalry, Pulaski Legion, whom Heitman (*Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 560) lists as Major Peter J. F. Vernie.

35. Brigadier General (later Major General) William Moultrie, who became governor of South Carolina after the war.

36. Lincoln had ordered Moultrie to Bacon's Bridge on February 19 to "form a camp of militia of that part of the neighborhood." Moultrie was to "keep hanging on the enemy's flanks," protect the bridge, and place small guards at the Dorchester and Slann's bridges. Lincoln remained at his headquarters in Charleston (Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution,* II, 45–46).

37. For Hinrich's account see *The Siege of Charleston,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 193–95. The incident is not mentioned by Ramsay, McCrady, or Simms in their histories of the Revolution in South Carolina.

38. Fort Sullivan had been renamed Fort Moultrie shortly after the unsuccessful attack on the fort on June 28, 1776, by a British fleet under Commodore Sir Peter Parker, with 2,500 troops under General Clinton. General Moultrie (*Memoirs of the American Revolution,* I, 183) states, "After this, the legislature did me the honor to call the fort, FORT MOULTRIE."

39. The yucca plant, familiarly called Adam's needle.

40. Dr. John Linning (or Lining), a pharmacist, performed the first scientific weather observations in America. His house at 106 Broad Street in Charleston was built in about 1715; it was restored in 1962.

41. Fenwick's Point is now Albemarle Point, just south of the present Ashley River Memorial Bridge commemorating the First World War.

42. I.e., "in flight" or "in the air."

43. Hinrichs does not mention this incident in his diary entry for March 17, 1780 (*The Siege of Charleston,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 209).

44. Major Thomas Mecan, 23d Regiment (*Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, p. 217).

45. Captain Charles Boyd.

46. Drayton Hall on the Ashley River, "very probably the finest untouched example of Georgian architecture still standing in America" (Samuel and Narcissa Chamberlain, *Southern Interiors of Charleston, South Carolina* [New York, 1956], p. 110). Drayton Hall was built by the Hon. John Drayton, whose son William Henry Drayton (1742–79) became a patriot, president of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina (1775), chief justice of the state (1776), president, or governor, of South Carolina (1777), and a delegate to the Continental Congress (1778–79). He died at Philadelphia in 1779.

47. Mrs. William Henry Drayton, née Dorothy Golightly (*The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 20, no. 4 [Oct. 1919]: 257). Ewald saw the area of the present Magnolia Gardens, owned by the Drayton family since 1671.

48. A safeguard or protection: "A safe-guard [sentry] left any where, is always looked upon, by all parties, as a sacred person, and never should be molested" (Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution,* I, 455n.).

49. In late March, Lincoln had about 2,650 Continentals and 2,500 militia in the garrison. For a detailed estimate see Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775–1780* (New York, 1901), pp. 453, 507–08.

50. Lieutenant Colonel William Augustine Washington, 3d Regiment of Continental Dragoons, who had the remains of Bland's Light Horse. He was a distant relative of General George Washington.

51. Hinrichs says, "The wounded man was Sergeant von Waik [?], a native of Boston, serving in the 1st Battalion of Virginians. He died during the night" (*The Siege of Charleston,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 221–23).

52. Clinton states that he had called Paterson's corps in Georgia to join him and "to create a diversion in favor of the besieging army." Paterson's forces consisted of the

cavalry and about fourteen hundred infantry (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, pp. 160, 162).

53. Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton, North Carolina loyalist, and probably Ludwig Schmidt, a hospital purveyor (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 286). Tarleton says, "Washington's and Bland's light horse, and Pulaski's hussars, carried off Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton" (*A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* p. 8).

54. Clinton does not mention his presence, but Hinrichs says he was there, and a French engineer in the city, M. De Brahm, notes: "If they had come twenty minutes sooner, they would have catched Sir Henry Clinton" (*The Siege of Charleston,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 221; Eelking, *Die deutschen Hülfstruppen,* II, 67-68; Lowell, *The Hessians,* p. 246; W. Gilmore Simms, *South-Carolina in the Revolutionary War; Being a Reply to Certain Misrepresentations and Mistakes of Recent Writers, in Relation to the Course and Conduct of This State* [Charleston, S.C., 1853], p. 103).

55. Two of Ewald's letters and a diary covering the period March 28 to June 19, 1780, and attributed to him are contained in *The Siege of Charleston.* Uhlendorf states that the diary consists of "thirty rather small quarto pages," not in Ewald's hand and unbound and unsigned. This diary may have been part of the present Volume III, but the two diaries are dissimilar in sentence structure, spelling, and style. Many of Ewald's experiences and personal remarks are missing in the *Siege of Charleston* diary. Since Ewald later says he carried his diary around with him, perhaps someone may have copied and revised various parts and sent an abridged, less personal version to Baron von Jungkenn, among whose papers the diary and letters were found. They are now in the William L. Clements Library.

56. The Horrys were a prominent and wealthy family of Huguenot origin. Very likely Ewald met Elias Horry II (1707-83) and his wife, née Margaret Lynch. They had three sons: Elias III, James, and Thomas. At the time, Thomas Horry was supervising work on the city's fortifications, where he was slightly wounded a week later. He served successively in the Legislature, the First and the Second Congress, and the Convention which ratified the United States Constitution, and later became a representative and a senator. His father's plantation on Charleston Neck was in the area of the present Charleston Air Force Base (extracts from Thomas Horry's Bible of 1773, in the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston; McCrady, *History of South Carolina in the Revolution,* p. 457).

57. Since Elias Horry II was seventy-three years old, the children in the house may have been his grandchildren from the plantations of his sons, Thomas and Elias III, on the right bank of the Ashley River, which the British had overrun.

58. The Quarter House was a tavern or inn about six miles from Charleston which existed as early as 1720. No satisfactory explanation can be given for the name. One tradition states that the house was one-quarter of the way to Dorchester, another has it that troops were once quartered there (*The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 19, no. 1 [Jan. 1918]: 43; 11, no. 4 [Oct. 1939]: 124).

59. It will be remembered that Ewald often measures distances in hours marched; one hour's marching equaled about two and a half miles.

60. It was his thirty-sixth birthday.

61. This was the house of John Gibbes, whose plantation called The Grove had extensive gardens with greenhouses and a pinery. In May 1779 Major General Augustine Prevost advanced down the Neck to Gibbes's Grove and destroyed the terraces and greenhouses, which distressed Mr. Gibbes so much that he died shortly afterward (Harriette K. Leiding, *Historic Houses of South Carolina* [Philadelphia and London, 1921], pp. 190-91). Ewald says on April 1 that a greenhouse was still standing, and that it was used as a laboratory.

CHAPTER 2

1. Hinrichs states that the mantelets were made in New York and assembled at Gibbes's plantation (*The Siege of Charleston,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 231).

2. "Be mindful of death."

3. Brigadier General William Woodford of Virginia, who arrived in Charleston on April 6 after marching five hundred miles in twenty-eight days from the north. Moultrie states there were "about seven hundred" troops (Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution,* II, 67).

4. Official reports and contemporary accounts do not agree on the exact date the fleet passed the fort (*The Siege of Charleston,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 51n., 241, 383).

5. Admiral Arbuthnot was aboard the *Roebuck,* which led the column (*ibid.,* p. 240n.).

6. The *Aeolus* or *Eolus,* a storeship.

7. Spencer's Inlet is now Dewees Inlet, between the Isle of Palms and Dewees Island.

8. For Lincoln's letter to Clinton, see Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution,* II, 69-70.

9. A vessel with three masts, which were usually of one piece, so that they had neither tops, caps, crosstrees, nor horses added to their upper yards.

10. Clinton states that Moncrief planned the siege. The shortage of supplies, particularly ammunition, greatly handicapped the regular approaches. An ordnance ship had been lost shortly after the British fleet sailed on December 26, and replacements had not yet arrived from New York.

11. Havana was besieged from June 7 to August 13, 1762, when the Spaniards surrendered. Ensign Moncrief was wounded there on July 3 (*Robertson Diaries,* ed. Lydenberg, pp. 52-63, 256-57).

12. French fortification term for a ditch covered by a parapet, serving as communication between two trenches.

13. The Prince of Wales's Loyal American Volunteers.

14. Clinton gives the total as "amounting to 2566 rank and file effectives, of which 1863 were fit for duty" (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 167, n. 14).

15. Captain William McIntosh, who was Indian agent for the Southern Department. The McIntosh family in Scotland had supported the Stuarts, but William McIntosh did not fight with Prince Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, at Culloden in 1746 (E. J. Harden, *Life of George M. Troup* [Savannah, Ga., 1859], pp. 7-8).

16. For Lincoln's proposal and Clinton's reply see Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution,* II, 73-77.

17. Lincoln did not have sufficient troops for repeated sorties (David Ramsay, *History of the Revolution of South-Carolina from a British Province to an Independent State,* 2 vols. [Trenton, N.J., 1785], II, 54).

18. Brigadier General Louis le Bèque de Presle, Chevalier du Portail, chief engineer of the Continental army.

19. These words ("Advance, fire!") came from a small French company which occupied a part of the fortifications.

20. Pondichéry was the capital of the chief French possession of the same name in India on the southeastern or Coromandel coast, south of Madras. The city was founded by the French in 1674 and was thrice captured and restored by the British, but it remained a French possession after 1816.

21. Marshal of France, Sébastien le Prestre, Marquess de Vauban (1633-1707), French military engineer; and Jean Baptiste de Gribeauval, French inspector general of artillery, whose System of 1765 revolutionized artillery operations.

22. Captain Charles Hudson, R.N.

23. On May 7 Lieutenant Colonel William Scott surrendered Fort Moultrie. Captain Hudson reported 118 Continentals and 100 militia captured and 41 guns taken (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 169; Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* pp. 53–54).

24. The crucial fact that the dismantling and breach batteries were dismounted is mentioned only by Ewald.

25. About 1,600 Continentals marched out on the morning of May 12, leaving some 500 sick and wounded in hospitals. The militia followed later. The Board of War reported that 245 Continental officers and 2,326 noncommissioned officers and privates were captured. McCrady gives 2,650 Continentals in the garrison. The British listed 5,677 prisoners, including civilian males and militia, in their "Return of the rebel forces, commanded by Major General Lincoln, at the surrender of Charlestown" (Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution,* II, 108, 114; McCrady, *History of South Carolina in the Revolution,* pp. 507–10; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 168, n. 1).

26. Seven generals were captured: Major General Benjamin Lincoln and Brigadier Generals Louis Duportail, James Hogun, Lachlan McIntosh, William Moultrie, Charles Scott, and William Woodford.

27. Early estimates of American and British losses were greatly exaggerated. American losses were 89 Continentals killed and 138 wounded, with a dozen militia casualties and 20 civilians killed in the city. The British reported 61 regulars and provincials killed and 120 wounded, with 15 Germans killed and 69 wounded, including 7 jägers killed and 14 wounded. But Ewald's jäger losses amount to 26 killed, 31 wounded, 2 captured, and several injured (Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* pp. 45–46; Ramsay, *History of the Revolution of South-Carolina,* II, 62; Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 703). Clinton's autograph journal of the siege is in The Henry Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library.

28. For the British list of ships captured see Tarleton's *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* pp. 52–53, 65–67.

29. Captain (later Major) Georg Wilhelm von Biesenrodt, 4th Company, Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode, later von Loewenstein (1780); born 1738/39 at Cassel (HETRINA, nos. 523–27).

30. Probably a Lieutenant McLeod, called "M'Obbloce" by Ewald. Ford (*British Officers,* p. 121) lists three lieutenants named McLeod in the 42d Regiment: Alexander, John, and Norman.

31. Moultrie also blames the British for the disaster. McCrady says, "The magazine was on what is now Magazine Street between Archdale and Maryck streets" (Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution,* II, 109; McCrady, *History of South Carolina in the Revolution,* p. 505).

32. The Old Powder Magazine, built in 1711–13 and located at 79 Cumberland Street. It is the oldest building in Charleston.

33. The 274 officers sent to Haddrell's Point were quartered in barracks, neighboring houses, and newly built huts. Major General Lincoln and his suite were given a vessel and sailed to Philadelphia (Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution,* II, 115–20).

34. Grenadier Regiment Marquis d'Angelelli, commanded by Lieutenant General Louis d'Angelelli. This regiment originally was Rall's, becoming von Woellwarth's, von Trümbach's, and then Angelelli's (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 321).

35. Clinton had planned to invade New Jersey and seize Washington's depot at Morristown as soon as he returned from Charleston. But von Knyphausen undertook the expedition prematurely because prominent loyalists had informed him that the American army was demoralized by the severe winter, desertion, scarcity of food, depreciated currency, absence of relief forces sent south, the loss of Charleston, and war weariness.

Clinton quickly found on his return that his plan was "no longer practicable" due to Washington's preparations, the unexpected resistance of the New Jersey militia, and the news of the approach of a French fleet and army (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, pp. 190–93).

36. American deserters coming to New York amounted to 160 on one day: "The stream was a steady one—mostly Pennsylvanians and Jerseymen—who reported that they and their comrades were ready to become loyal subjects again" (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 192).

37. Major General Stirling landed at De Hart's Point with the 37th, 38th, Leib, and Landgraf regiments during the night of June 6; the main army could not disembark until daybreak due to unfavorable winds. Stirling drove the Americans out of Elizabethtown, where he was wounded; Lieutenant Colonel von Wùrmb of the Jäger Corps assumed the command (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 169; "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps," pp. 142–43).

38. The Presbyterian Church at Connecticut Farms, now Union (see Vol. I, Chap. 1, note 74). The parsonage was occupied by the wife and nine children of Reverend James Caldwell, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Elizabethtown, to which place they had removed for greater security (Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections . . . of New Jersey,* p. 196).

39. The church, parsonage, several dwellings, and surrounding buildings at Connecticut Farms were looted and burned on June 7 by the British. Hannah Caldwell, the wife of James Caldwell, was murdered by a marauding British soldier or a refugee, who fired at her through the window of the parsonage; her body was left exposed in the street in the hot sun. Dr. Caldwell was absent; he was chaplain of the New Jersey Brigade, and later the commissary (*ibid.,* pp. 168–69, 192, 196–98; Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution,* pp. 429–30; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 169, n. 12).

40. The wounded Anspach jäger officers were Captain Moritz von Donop and Second Lieutenants Maximillian Cornelius and Friedrich Francis Bohlen. Lieutenant Ebenauer was reburied at Springfield with honors by Washington (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, pp. 192–95, 334, 341–42). The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (p. 146) reports one officer, two noncommissioned officers, and two privates killed, and three officers, three noncommissioned officers, and forty-four privates wounded.

41. At the northern end of the Arthur Kill, which separates Staten Island from New Jersey.

42. Unknown to Ewald at the time, Clinton had ordered all his siege troops except the Queen's Rangers reembarked, "to get up the North River, and by landing on its western bank, rapidly strike between the enemy and his object," but embarkation delays caused him to cancel the maneuver (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, pp. 193–94).

43. This reason for Clinton's attack on Springfield is confirmed by his own statement: "One part of my design was, however, answered, which was to impress the enemy with a more respectable opinion of General Knyphausen's strength, and thereby ease his subsequent retreat" (*ibid.,* p. 194).

44. Not previously identified are Captain Friedrich Wilhelm von Roeder and First Lieutenant Just von Diemar of the Anspach jägers. The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (p. 152) reports two jägers killed and two officers and twenty men wounded. General Greene reported his losses were fifteen killed, forty-nine wounded, and nine missing (The George Washington Papers, CXXXIX, 72).

45. The British crossed the pontoon bridge without opposition. The Jäger Corps ("Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps," p. 154) had the rear guard and crossed the bridge at 12:30 A.M., after which it was dismantled.

46. Washington was greatly puzzled by the invasion of New Jersey, the hesitant British advance, and the actions at Connecticut Farms and Springfield. He wrote Congress, "We do not know what may be the ultimate designs of the enemy," and on June 23 he wrote Wayne, "It is certainly difficult if not impossible to ascertain their views." But Freeman notes, "The enemy's move, in other words, was shrewdly confusing" (The George Washington Papers, XVIII, 494, 510–11 and XIX, 58–59; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 170, 173).

47. Admiral Charles Louis d'Arsac, Chevalier de Ternay.

48. Lieutenant General Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, Commander in Chief of the French forces which arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, on July 11, 1780.

49. Armand-Louis de Gontaut Biron, Duc de Lauzun et de Biron.

50. The *Fantasque,* 64 guns, an old vessel used as a supply, commissary, and hospital ship.

51. For "The First Attempt against Rhode Island, July to August, 1780," see *Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, pp. 197–208, 446–48.

52. The Morris-Jumel Mansion, named "Mount Morris" by Lieutenant Colonel Roger Morris, who built the house in 1765, stands on this hill. See also Vol. I, Chap. 1, note 46.

53. Washington met Rochambeau on September 20 at Hartford, Connecticut.

54. Snake Hill is now Mount Morris Park at 120th to 124th streets and Fifth Avenue, New York City. It was so named because of the numerous snakes found there (Frank B. Kelley, *History of the City of New York* [New York, 1913], p. 147).

55. By mid-August 1780 food was so scarce that Washington was forced to move from one place to another to keep his army from starving (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 184–86).

56. André was taken to North Castle and turned over to Lieutenant Colonel John Jameson, who was so unsuspicious that he notified Arnold of André's capture. This startling news gave Arnold time to escape several hours before Washington reached West Point. André was brought there and sent to the army at Tappan.

57. For details of the conspiracy, see Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution,* pp. 439–95.

58. André was tried at Tappan on September 29 by a Board of General Officers. He frankly admitted his guilt and possession of the incriminating papers. The Board had no alternative but to find him guilty of being a spy, and sentenced him to death. On October 2 André was hanged on a hill outside Tappan (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 221, n. 137). In 1821 André's remains were disinterred on "André Hill" near Tappan and reinterred in Westminster Abbey, where King George III had erected a monument to his memory (Malcolm Decker, *Ten Days of Infamy: An Illustrated Memoir of the Arnold-André Conspiracy* [New York, 1969], pp. 119–22).

59. In 1771 André joined the British army. He went to Germany in 1772 for nearly two years, during which time, apparently, Ewald met him. André was proficient in German, French, and Italian and accomplished in music, drawing, painting, literature, and verse, with "the graceful manners and personal charm which all noticed" (*Major André's Journal,* pp. 17–18).

60. Cow Bay is present Manhasset Bay and Cow Neck is Manhasset Neck. Searingtown is about three miles south of Hempstead Harbor (R. Ryder, "Map of Long Island" [c. 1675], John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I.).

61. The Queen's Rangers remained at Oyster Bay from August 13 to September 23, when they marched to Jamaica. The corps was held in reserve secretly for use against West Point. But after the disclosure of the conspiracy it was transferred to Staten Island

on October 8 on intelligence, which proved to be false, that Lafayette planned a surprise attack on Richmond (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* pp. 149–52, 156–58).

VOLUME IV

CHAPTER 1

1. Clinton planned (1) to establish a post at Portsmouth, Virginia; (2) to destroy the stores for Greene's North Carolina army at the head of the James River; and (3) to prevent the formation of supply depots along the river (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 235).

2. On December 14 Clinton gave Arnold his instructions: he was to attack enemy magazines ("provided it may be done without much risk"), distribute proclamations to the inhabitants of Princess Anne and Norfolk counties, and assemble and arm the loyalists. But Clinton did not tell Arnold that he gave Lieutenant Colonels Dundas and Simcoe a blank dormant commission for command in case of Arnold's death or incapacity (*ibid.,* pp. 482–83; Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution,* p. 419).

3. Clinton gives Arnold's strength as about 1,800 and Baurmeister, 1,500. Washington's spies informed him the force numbered 1,600 and not 2,000 as first reported (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 235; *Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, p. 396; The George Washington Papers, XXI, 48, 50–51). But Arnold states in a claim for prize-sharing "that there were fifteen hundred men besides several Persons in the Quarter-Master's Department," and that the naval personnel "were about three hundred short in Number of the said Troops." Arnold's deposition is signed by him and addressed to the Court of Vice-Admiralty at New York, August 29, 1781. This document, with other Arnold papers, was found in 1960 by the editor among the unsorted letters in the High Court of the Admiralty Prize Papers in the Public Record Office, London.

4. Captain Thomas Symonds, R.N., the commodore of the fleet.

5. Arnold states in his deposition that the warships of the fleet were the *Charon, Hope, Thames, Amphitrite, Swift, Fowey, Charlestown, Bonetta,* the brigantines *Independence* and *Cornwallis,* "& several other vessels." For Mackenzie's somewhat similar list of "Ships of War with General Arnold's Expedition," see *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie,* II, 459.

6. Arnold's first landing and skirmish in Virginia, on December 31, 1780, appears to be unknown. Though the unmounted Queen's Rangers were present in the boats, Simcoe does not mention the incident; his first reference to a landing in Virginia is dated January 3 at Hood's Point (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 159). No mention of the earlier landing is made by others or in Francis Rives Lassiter, "Arnold's Invasion of Virginia, 1781," *Sewanee Review* 9 (Jan. 1901): 78–93 and (April 1901): 185–203.

7. See Arnold's letter to "The Officer Commanding The Party on Shore," Jan. 1, 1781 (illustrated). Arnold received a reply, dated Jan. 2, 1781, that the ship's captain had scuttled the brig, "which you are at liberty to take off, without the Molestation of Your M^{o}. Ob. ser^{t}., G. Willson, Cap^{t}." (High Court of the Admiralty Prize Papers, Public Record Office, London).

8. Major General von Steuben wrote Washington and Greene that Governor Thomas Jefferson had informed him on January 2 that Arnold's expedition was moving up the James River (Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* p. 372).

9. Four miles from Williamsburg (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie,* II, 457).

10. A copy of another Arnold letter "To the Officer Commanding the Party on Shore," Jan. 2, 1781, is in the Arnold Papers, New-York Historical Society. The naval officer mentioned was a Lieutenant White.

11. Possibly General Thomas Nelson, Jr., of Virginia, who had collected about 150 Virginia state troops. Steuben says Nelson received Arnold's letter of January 2, and had replied verbally that he would defend Williamsburg (Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* pp. 372–73, 380).

12. Jefferson had offered a reward of five thousand guineas for Arnold's capture. Washington ordered Lafayette, who was sent to Virginia to oppose Arnold, to put him summarily to death if he should be captured (The George Washington Papers, XXI, 255; Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution,* p. 420; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 257).

13. Hood's Point is now Old Fort Powhatan, and the Ward Farm (1619) is now the Willow Hill Farm.

14. For Simcoe's account see his *Military Journal,* pp. 159–60; for Steuben's see Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* p. 373.

15. Steuben had urged Jefferson to construct a little fort at Hood's Point to block the water route to the upcountry. The governor was not greatly impressed, and did not believe that hostile transports would ever ascend the James River. After Arnold had taken the weak works at Hood's and captured Richmond, Steuben again urged Jefferson to build the fort, but the construction was constantly delayed and the work was never completed (Palmer, *General von Steuben,* pp. 243–44, 246, 251–53, 263–64).

16. William Byrd III, who had served as colonel of a Virginia regiment in the French and Indian War; he died in 1777. Mr. Byrd inherited Westover and a vast acreage from his father, William Byrd II (1674–1744), one of the most important colonial figures in Virginia, who built Westover in 1726–30. The house is one of the finest examples of Georgian architecture in America. William Byrd III's first wife was Elizabeth Hill Carter, daughter of John Carter of Shirley; after her death he married Mary, daughter of Charles and Anne Shippen Willing of Philadelphia (Emmie F. Farrar, *Old Virginia Houses Along the James* [New York, 1957], p. 102).

17. Mr. Byrd's eldest son by his first marriage served as a British captain in England, but died young in France. Mrs. Mary Byrd's three sons were too young for service, but she states in a letter of August 10, 1781, to Governor Thomas Nelson that "I have sent my soldier [a substitute] who has lost his life in the service of my Country." Mrs. Byrd was charged with being a loyalist sympathizer and having social intercourse with Arnold and Cornwallis, but no proof of this has ever been found. In her letter of August 10 to Governor Nelson, Mrs. Byrd says: "I am as innocent of the charges made against me as you are yourself. I owe too much to my honor to betray my Country. No person breathes whose reputation is dearer to them than mine to me. . . . My property is taken from me and I have no redress" ("Letter from Mrs. Maria Willing Byrd to Governor Thomas Nelson," ed. Robert B. Munford, Jr., *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 31 [Oct. 1923]: 345–46; "Letters of the Byrd Family" [ed. William G. Stanard], *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 37 [Oct. 1929]: 312; Chastellux, *Travels in North-America,* p. 280).

18. Arnold hesitated whether he should march to Richmond, since his instructions were not to undertake any risky enterprises. But Dundas and Simcoe thought there was little danger in a one-day march, and the corps proceeded to Richmond with fewer than eight hundred men (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* pp. 160–61).

19. This hill and the surrounding area was originally known as Indian Town Hill, and afterward Richmond Hill. Since the erection of St. John's Episcopal Church in 1741 it has been called Church Hill. The hill is 150 feet high, with a grade of forty-five degrees. It is shown on a contemporary map, *Skirmish at Richmond Jan. 5.th 1781,* in *Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 162.

20. Ewald's remarks would indicate that the Virginia militia may have withdrawn from Church Hill through the ravine to the right to present Libby Hill Terrace in Richmond.

The two hilltops are on approximately the same level, about one hundred yards apart, separated by the ravine.

21. The flat area atop Church Hill is now called Chimborazo Park (named for a mountain in the Andes), and is located at Thirty-second and Broad streets.

22. Despite previous reports to the contrary, the Virginia militia did put up some resistance at Church Hill. Steuben and Virginia Colonel Everard Meade, who were not there, as well as Simcoe, who did take part, state that the Virginians did not fire a shot. But Simcoe's map shows he climbed the hill to the left of the jägers, where apparently he met no opposition (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 162 and map; Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* pp. 374, 385; *The Works of Alexander Hamilton,* ed. John C. Hamilton, 7 vols. [New York, 1850–51], I, 208; Dawson, *Battles of the United States,* I, 643; and Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 869, which cites Simcoe and Dawson).

23. The cannon foundry was the Westham Foundry, located six miles west of old Richmond near the James River, just east of the downstream end of present Williams Island. The village of Westham and the ford were situated a mile upriver, just west of the upstream end of the island. Some of the military supplies at the foundry were saved by being carried upstream to the village and across the ford to Chesterfield County. I am grateful for the help of William M. E. Rachal of the Virginia Historical Society in verifying this information.

24. Possibly Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Warneck, or Warnick, who is listed as serving in a Virginia State Regiment in 1780 (Gaius M. Brumbaugh, *Revolutionary War Records* [Washington, 1936], pp. 119, 285–86; Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 569).

25. Arnold reported to Clinton that at Westham he had destroyed 26 cannon, 310 barrels of gunpowder, a magazine of oats, various other stores, and "a very fine foundry for cannon" (Arnold to Clinton, Jan. 21, 1781, in "Correspondence with Brigr. General Arnold," The Henry Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library).

26. Simcoe states that he destroyed the foundry; he does not mention Ewald's presence (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 163). Ewald indicates that Simcoe was not there.

27. Before Arnold left New York he issued an order which strongly prohibited depredations of private property in Virginia. But Steuben reports that many of the houses at Richmond were plundered, and Ewald mentions plundering at Hood's Point (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 159; Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* pp. 374–75).

28. Arnold states in his deposition (see note 3, above) that "The Deponent understood that the Quantity of Tobacco taken on the said Expedition, in the said Prizes and by the Army on Shore amounted to upwards of seven hundred hogsheads." The tobacco was worth £39,000 at New York (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie,* II, 466, 470n.).

29. Simcoe says, "Nine men of the Rangers either deserted or were taken by the country people on this march."

30. Ewald's estimate of the distance marched seems to be excessive, using his own scale of one German mile to seven English miles. Fourteen German miles would have amounted to ninety-eight English miles for the march to Richmond, Westham, and return. The distance from Westover to Richmond was about twenty-five statute miles.

31. Charles City Court House, built about 1730.

32. For Simcoe's account see his *Military Journal,* pp. 165–68.

33. On January 9 Steuben ordered the few militia assembled at Petersburg to march to Prince George Court House. The next morning he observed the embarkation of Arnold's corps at Westover from Coggins's Point across the river. Steuben proceeded to Hood's and ordered Colonel George Rogers Clark to lie in ambush there with three hundred infantry and about thirty horse, since he expected the British would land and examine the works before attempting to pass Hood's Point (Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* pp. 376–77).

34. Arnold states in his deposition that the major was "Beverly Robinson Esquire, the

younger, Lieutenant Colonel of his majesty's American Regiment named the Loyal American." He was the son of Colonel Beverly Robinson, who had commissioned his son lieutenant colonel when he organized the Loyal American Regiment.

35. Colonel Beverly Robinson the elder was in New York helping to reorganize the British secret service. He was born in Virginia, where he had been a friend of George Washington, but he remained a devout loyalist (Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution,* pp. 3–4, 406, 429).

36. James Rivington's *Royal Gazette* at New York, or the *Gazette* at London, in which military dispatches were published.

37. In Simcoe's account of the incident he praises Ewald as "that gallant and able officer" but fails to mention Robinson's bad judgment and his disorganized men (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* pp. 168–69). For Steuben's brief account, see Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* p. 377.

38. Now Cobham Wharf in Cobham Bay, Surry County, across the James River from Jamestown.

39. Hardy's Ferry was located about ten miles northwest of Smithfield, probably near Hardy's Bluff on the upper arm of Burwell's Bay, and below the mouth of Lawne's Creek, which is the dividing line between Surry and Isle of Wight counties. It was sometimes mistakenly known as Harding's Ferry. The Hardy family had owned land in this area since the seventeenth century.

40. Probably Major Thomas Pierce, who is listed as a captain in the Revolutionary records of Isle of Wight County. He was one of the outstanding citizens of Smithfield, a member of the Committee of Safety, and a member of the Virginia Convention of 1788. His plantation adjoined Smithfield.

41. A watch that strikes the hours by the compression of a spring.

42. At that time all personal effects and possessions taken from a military person were regarded as lawful booty; but these same things if taken from a civilian were illegal plunder or loot.

43. After Arnold landed at Hardy's Ferry, Steuben detailed Major John Willis with three hundred infantry and fifty horse to harass the British rear. But, Steuben says, "My orders were badly executed and the enemy entered Smithfield on the 15th without opposition" (Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* p. 378).

44. Major (later Colonel) James Gordon, 80th Regiment.

45. Originally known by its Indian name, Meta, this place was established as Old Town in 1680. Later it was called Patesfield, and now Battery Park.

46. Mackie's Mill was located on the present Cypress Creek, which flows into Pagan Creek at Smithfield.

47. Steuben had posted Brigadier General Robert Lawson at "McMay's" (Mackie's) Mill with nine hundred infantry and a troop of Virginia State horse. The mill was close to old Smithfield; the terrain along the Cypress Creek is still as described by Ewald below.

48. For Simcoe's account see his *Military Journal,* pp. 169–70.

49. Both Chuckatuck Creek and the Nansemond River flow into Hampton Roads.

50. Arnold crossed the Nansemond River at Sleepy Hole Ferry, four miles northwest of Driver in Nansemond County. Both Simcoe and Ewald state that the crossing took place early on January 19, not January 16, as mentioned in Lassiter, "Arnold's Invasion of Virginia, 1781," p. 16.

51. Arnold established his headquarters at the home of Patrick Robinson, located at the northwest corner of High and Middle streets in Portsmouth. He used the old sugar house at the south end of Crawford Street as a barracks and prison (Rogers D. Whichard, *The History of Lower Tidewater Virginia,* 2 vols. [New York, 1959], II, 4).

52. Norfolk had been one of the principal seaports in Virginia, with six thousand

inhabitants. The city was bombarded and burned on New Year's Day, 1776, by Lord Dunmore, last Royal Governor of Virginia; the Virginia militia burned the houses of the loyalists.

CHAPTER 2

1. Major General William Phillips, who arrived at Portsmouth on March 27, expressed much the same opinion (Phillips to Clinton, April 3, 1781, The Henry Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library).

2. Queen's Rangers' cavalry.

3. Edmunds Bridge was southwest of Great Bridge. This bridge and some of the places identified later are shown in "Sketch of Part of Prince Ann, Norfolk, and Nansemond County's in the Province of Virginia, 1781," Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

4. Brigadier General Isaac Gregory, commanding North Carolina militia; he was wounded at Camden on August 16, 1780 (Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 262).

5. Usually spelled Kemp's Landing, but also Kempe's Landing, after James Kempe. It became Kempsville in 1783.

6. The length of the Great Bridge given by Ewald, 223 paces, would include the approaches over the marshes, or a total length of about 186 yards (1 pace = 2½ feet). Lossing, who visited the bridge in 1848, says, "The Great Bridge proper is about forty yards in length" (*Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* II, 327).

7. Captain Amos Weeks, a Virginia militia officer who lived in Princess Anne County.

8. Brigadier General Robert Lawson, Virginia militia; he was earlier in the 4th Regiment of Virginia Continentals (Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 343).

9. Dr. Thomas Hall, who owned a plantation and mill located about midway along the road between Portsmouth and Suffolk, now called Jolliff Road.

10. London Bridge was south of Kemp's Landing, Dauge's was northeast of Brock's Bridge, and Brock's was east of James's plantation.

11. The ships were the *Eveillé,* 64 guns, the frigates *Gentille* and *Surveillante,* and the cutter *Guêpe,* under Commodore Arnaud le Gardeur de Tilly. Admiral de Ternay had died the previous December. Arnold withdrew his ships up the Elizabeth River, where the larger French ships were unable to follow. After de Tilly had captured the *Romulus,* 44 guns, he returned to Newport on February 25 (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, pp. 250–53; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 258, 261–63).

12. Neil and George Jamison owned a plantation of six hundred acres in Princess Anne County (*The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary,* ed. Edward Wilson James [New York, 1951], p. 126).

13. Ewald's *Plan of the Skirmish with the Rebels at James's Plantation in Princess Anne County in Virginia.* This plan shows the deployment of Ewald's detachment through the swamp and crossroad and his attack on the American position at James's plantation.

14. James's plantation is shown in the "Sketch of . . . 1781" (note 3) to the west of Brock's Bridge. Edward James owned 519½ acres in Princess Anne County (*The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary,* ed. James, p. 126).

15. Queen's Rangers' cavalry.

16. I could find no account of this skirmish other than Simcoe's brief statement that he "advanced on the 16th up the country, by the main road towards the north-west landing, while Capt. Ewald, by almost impassable ways and bye paths proceeded to the same point; he fortunately surprised and totally dispersed Weeks's party" (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 174).

17. Pungo Chapel was located to the east of Great Bridge; it no longer exists. It was the third and last Pungo Chapel, and stood about two and a half miles south of the present town of Pungo, which was named for an Indian chief. The chapel was built of brick; it was seventy-five feet long and thirty feet wide, and was completed in 1773 ("Plan des Environs de Williamsburg, York, Hampton et Portsmouth," The Papers of Rochambeau, Map Division, Library of Congress; George C. Mason, *Colonial Churches of Tidewater Virginia* [Richmond, Va., 1945], pp. 146–48, 170).

18. William Ackiss and Colonel John Ackiss lived in the Upper Precinct of the Eastern Shore in Princess Anne County in 1778 (*The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary,* ed. James, pp. 2, 28). An Ackiss plantation is shown in this area in the "Sketch of . . . 1781," Virginia Historical Society.

19. Probably the plantation of John or Lemuel Cornick, shown in the "Sketch of . . . 1781." The land was patented by William Cornick in 1657 (*The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary,* ed. James, p. 64; Mason, *Colonial Churches of Tidewater Virginia,* p. 143).

20. Probably Thomas Reynolds Walker, County Lieutenant of Princess Anne County, a wealthy and influential citizen.

21. On January 20 Washington wrote Steuben from New Windsor that he had detached a corps of twelve hundred light infantry under Lafayette, who was marching to Virginia to act in conjunction with Steuben and Muhlenberg (*The Writings of George Washington,* ed. Sparks, VII, 421).

22. A path to a salt lick for cattle.

23. Rear Admiral Chevalier Charles René Dominique Sochet Destouches commanded the French fleet.

24. Arnold's words are recorded in English in the diary.

25. The informant told the truth, had Ewald and Arnold but realized it. In general, Washington and Rochambeau had devised a plan for Destouches's fleet and troops to cooperate with Lafayette and Steuben, take Portsmouth, and seize Arnold. The plan failed because of the setback suffered by the French fleet, described below. Lafayette had arrived at Yorktown on March 14, met Steuben, and reached Muhlenberg's camp near Suffolk on March 19 (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 268–73; Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* pp. 413–14; Palmer, *General von Steuben,* p. 258; Louis R. Gottschalk, *Lafayette and the Close of the American Revolution* [Chicago, 1942], pp. 190–97).

26. See Ewald's *Plan of the Area of Scott's Creek, Two Short Miles from Portsmouth Up To the Causeway.*

27. Probably Lieutenant John Robinson, Loyal American Regiment, one of the four sons of Colonel Beverly Robinson.

28. The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (pp. 177–78) reports: "Capt. Ewald was attacked on March 19th by a reconnaissance group of 500 men under Major General Muhlenberg, which he repulsed with great courage." See also *Simcoe's Military Journal,* pp. 185–86.

29. Admiral Arbuthnot raised the French flag to decoy and capture an American vessel which had expected to meet the French fleet in Chesapeake Bay (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie,* II, 495).

30. The French and British fleets fought an indecisive action off the Virginia Capes on March 16. This setback dealt a severe blow to Washington's hopes for the first joint operations to take Portsmouth and aid Steuben's forces in Virginia. Arnold was safe (*ibid.,* II, 494, 504–05; *Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 255; Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* p. 413; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 272).

31. The American reconnaissance of Ewald's post on March 19 was made preparatory to a close investment of Portsmouth, but when word came of the French naval failure the

Americans withdrew and Lafayette returned to his troops at Annapolis (Henry P. Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis, 1781* [New York, 1881], p. 33).

32. After the skirmish at Scott's Creek, Muhlenberg wrote Steuben from Suffolk that "the troops are all returned without the loss of a man" (Henry A. Muhlenberg, *Life of Major-General Peter Muhlenberg of the Revolutionary Army* [Philadelphia, 1849], pp. 227–29).

33. Surgeon Robert Smyth, who was assigned to the hospital in 1780 (Ford, *British Officers,* p. 164).

34. Clinton states that the strength of this detachment was "something exceeding 2000 men." For his instructions to Phillips, see Clinton to Phillips, March 10, 1781, in *Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, pp. 254, 495–97.

35. Margaret (Peggy) Shippen was the youngest of three daughters of Judge Edward Shippen. Like other noted Philadelphia families, the Shippens were divided in their loyalties. Peggy became Arnold's second wife at the age of eighteen on April 8, 1779, when he was the military governor of Philadelphia. She had seven children, five boys and two girls, and died in 1804. Peggy lies in the crypt of St. Mary's Parish Church in Battersea, London, where Arnold preceded her by three years. The Register Book of Burials, 1778 to 1804, reads simply, "14 June 1801—Bendick Arnold, 59."

36. Arnold had published an "Address to the Inhabitants of America" on October 11, 1780. It met with ridicule for its inclusion of arguments he had never used before: that Congress represented "the tyranny of the usurpers in the revolted provinces" and that the promises of the British Commission of 1778 were better than the "insidious offers of France." He had also published a broadside in Rivington's *Royal Gazette* on October 25 entitled "Proclamation to the Officers and Soldiers of the Continental Army" (Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution,* pp. 372–80; Isaac N. Arnold, *Life of Benedict Arnold: His Patriotism and His Treason* [Chicago, 1880], pp. 330–34; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 225).

37. Lieutenant Colonel Matthias von Fuchs.

38. Phillips wrote Clinton: "I am free to declare Portsmouth to be a bad post, its locality not calculated for defense" (Phillips to Clinton, April 15, 1781, in *The Campaign in Virginia, 1781: An Exact Reprint of Six Rare Pamphlets on the Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy,* ed. Benjamin F. Stevens, 2 vols. [London, 1888], I, 407).

39. Cornwallis defeated Greene at Guilford Court House on March 15, 1781, but the heavy British losses caused Cornwallis to retire to Wilmington.

40. Simcoe notes, "Capt. Ewald being disabled by his wound from accompanying the expedition, the Yagers were divided between the Queen's Rangers and light infantry" (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 190).

41. The poem is transcribed in French in the diary: "L'honneur est comme une Isle èscarpée et sans bords: On n'y peut plus rentrer, des qu'on en est dehors."

42. The Borough Church of Norfolk, built in 1739. The roof and interior were destroyed by Lord Dunmore's bombardment of Norfolk and by the fire which followed on January 1, 1776. The church was rebuilt using the original walls in about 1785. It was repaired and consecrated in 1832 as St. Paul's Episcopal Church (Mason, *Colonial Churches of Tidewater Virginia,* pp. 162–65; Guidebook, *St. Paul's Church 1832, The Borough Church 1739* [Norfolk, 1934]). See Ewald's *Plan of Norfolk.*

43. Simcoe notes: "Lt. Col. Simcoe, to whom the Yagers had been attached, felt this a proper opportunity to represent Captain Ewald's conduct and gallantry to Gen. Knyphausen" (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 186).

44. This letter appears also in Carl von Ewald's *Generallieutenant Johann von Ewalds Levnetsløb,* pp. 37–38.

45. Mackenzie says the cause of death was "a fever" (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie,* II, 531). Lossing states: "His disease was bilious fever" (*Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* II, 340n.).

46. Phillips commanded the British artillery in Germany from 1758 to 1763. The battle of Minden occurred in Westphalia on August 1, 1759; in it the Allied (British German) army of 40,000 men and 181 guns under Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick defeated the French army of 50,000 men and 162 guns under the Duc de Broglie (Has, *Geschichte des 1. Kurhessischen Feldartillerie-Regiments Nr. 11,* pp. 103-06).

47. Fort Ninety-Six was located in western South Carolina, about eight miles east of Greenwood. It was so called because the fort was believed to be ninety-six miles from the frontier fort of Prince George on the Keowee River.

48. During the Seven Years' War, in 1757, a French army marched from the lower Rhine to Westphalia to occupy the Electorate of Hanover. Following victories at Hastenbeck and Sandershausen and defeat at Krefeld, the French were back on the Rhine by November 1758, but far from destroyed (Has, *Geschichte des 1 Kurhessischen Feldartillerie-Regiments Nr. 11,* pp. 89-97). For Tarleton's reference to Lafayette's prophetic letter see his *History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* p. 294.

49. Clinton had recalled Arnold to New York: "General Leslie commands at Portsmouth. Arnold is come here: the love of money, his ruling passion, has been very conspicuous in Virginia" (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie,* II, 540).

50. Cornwallis reached Petersburg on May 20 and crossed the James River to Westover between the 24th and 27th. His army crossed the Chickahominy River on the 28th, halted near New Castle on the 29th, and marched to Hanover Court House the next day. On June 1 the Queen's Rangers crossed the North Anna River seeking news of the whereabouts of Lafayette and Steuben (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* pp. 210-11).

51. Lieutenant Colonel Waldegrave George, Lord Chewton, one of Cornwallis's aides-de-camp at Yorktown.

52. Malvern Hill is shown in Ewald's *Plan of a Part of Southern Virginia.* The hill is located about sixteen miles southwest of Richmond. Beneath the underscored words on the map at "Malbon Hill," Ewald wrote in his very fine hand, "ein sehr guter Posten."

53. Lafayette was at Colonel Dandridge's plantation on the South Anna River, about twenty-two miles northwest of Richmond. Steuben reported there on June 19 with 450 Virginia militia, raising Lafayette's strength to 2,000 Continentals and 3,200 militia. Wayne had arrived on June 10. Morgan had gone home after Cowpens because of illness, but took the field later. The junction of Lafayette and Steuben induced Cornwallis to evacuate Richmond and retire to the low country (Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* pp. 53-54; Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* p. 452; Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* p. 300).

54. Probably Sally Bland Goode (1750-1807), who married Colonel Robert Goode (1743-1809) of Whitby, Chesterfield County, Virginia. He was a wealthy planter, a colonel in the Continental Line, and served as a member of the Council for Virginia, 1790-97 (G. Brown Goode, *Virginia Cousins: A Study of the Ancestry and Posterity of John Goode of Whitby, A Virginia Colonist of the Seventeenth Century* [Bridgewater, Va., 1967], p. 55; H. J. Eckenrode, *Lists of the Revolutionary Soldiers of Virginia, in Eighth Annual Report of the Library Board of the Virginia State Library, 1910-1911* [Richmond, Va., 1912], p. 184).

55. Diascund Creek is a branch of the Chickahominy River. The Bottoms Bridge, which crosses the latter, is fifteen miles east of Richmond on Route 60 in New Kent County.

56. Captain James Maxwell, a master mariner, shipowner, and superintendent of the shipyard on the Chickahominy River. He resided in Norfolk and married Helen Calvert,

who moved to a farm in New Kent County after the British burned the shipyard. There Mrs. Maxwell met and conversed with Ewald when he stopped at her plantation: "So I went at once to the door where they were all drawn up before me in the yard. They were a foraging party. Every horseman had a soldier behind him. The captain was a genteel looking man, with a form as fine as a well-drawn pair of stays could make it (my sister Peggy told me afterwards that she knew him, and that he certainly wore stays). His name was Captain Ewall" (*Memoirs of Helen Calvert Maxwell Read,* ed. Charles B. Cross, Jr. [Chesapeake, Va., 1970], p. 65).

57. Soane's Bridge spanned the Chickahominy River at Providence Forge in New Kent County.

58. The bridge was located at the present Diascund Creek Bridge in New Kent County, seven and a quarter miles east of Providence Forge.

59. Cooper's Mill was a half mile north up Diascund Creek. All the flour at the mill was taken away in Cornwallis's wagons on June 24 (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 226).

60. Simcoe took the credit for destroying the bridge (*ibid.*).

61. Bird's Ordinary, formerly Doncastle's, was about sixteen miles from Williamsburg.

62. Simcoe records this praise of Ewald: "Nor had he [Simcoe] less reliance on the acknowledged military talents of his friend Ewald, and the cool and tried courage of his Yagers: the event fully justified the expression which he used in the beginning of the action, 'I will take care of the left; while Ewald lives, the right flank will never be turned'" (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 232). This compliment is also contained in Simcoe's open letter to *The Gentleman's Magazine,* described at length in note 65, below.

63. See Ewald's *Plan of the Action at Spencer's House, Seven Miles from Williamsburg* and Simcoe's *Action at Spencers Ordinary. June 26th 1781* (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* between pp. 236–37). Spencer's Ordinary was located at the junction of the roads to Jamestown and Williamsburg, a quarter of a mile southeast of present Lightfoot in James City County. The place is sometimes called the "Hot Water Plantation."

64. Colonel Richard Butler's "Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing" gives the American loss as 9 killed, 14 wounded, and 13 missing, with one man captured. Cornwallis reports 3 officers and 28 privates captured. Lafayette claims that the British had 60 killed and 100 wounded, but Simcoe says he had only 10 killed and 23 wounded. Lieutenant Feltman writes: "We had a severe skirmish with their Horse and Infantry . . . and killed forty of their Infantry" (Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* p. 190; Lafayette to Greene, June 27, 1781, and Cornwallis to Clinton, June 30, 1781, in Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* pp. 347, 350; *Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 234; *The Journal of Lieut. William Feltman, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, 1781–82* [Philadelphia, 1853], p. 6).

65. In 1787 Simcoe wrote an open letter "To the Marquis de Chastellux, Major General in the French Army," addressed to Sylvanus Urban, editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* (57 [Jan. 1787]: 36–39). Simcoe objected to a derogatory remark concerning the conduct of his men at Spencer's Ordinary which appeared in Chastellux's *Travels in North-America.* Simcoe's letter is recorded in English in the back of Volume IV of the diary.

66. The order is transcribed in English in the diary; it also appears in *Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 237.

67. Major William McPherson of Pennsylvania, who commanded the 1st Regiment of Dragoons. Colonel Butler commanded the advanced Light Corps of Lafayette's force.

68. For American accounts of the action at Spencer's Ordinary see Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department,* pp. 429–30; *Journal of Lieut. William Feltman,* p. 6; Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* p. 56.

69. The capital was removed to Richmond in 1779, after eighty years at Williamsburg.

70. Simcoe does not mention Ewald at Yorktown; he says that Cornwallis disapproved of it as a post. A month later Cornwallis wrote Clinton that "Williamsburg, having no harbor and requiring an army to occupy the position, would not have suited us" (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* pp. 237–38; Cornwallis to Clinton, July 27, 1781, in *The Campaign in Virginia, 1781,* ed. Stevens, II, 106–08).

71. Cornwallis has been blamed solely for the fateful decision to occupy and fortify Yorktown, but he was influenced by Clinton's directives, which he either misunderstood or used to excuse his colossal blunder. Clinton disclaimed any responsibility for the selection of Yorktown, but his instructions appear vague. This misunderstanding, or Cornwallis's poor judgment, led to the celebrated Clinton-Cornwallis controversy after the war.

72. Cornwallis disliked the post at Portsmouth, but he went there "as it was already fortified" (Cornwallis to Clinton, June 30, 1781, in *The Campaign in Virginia, 1781,* ed. Stevens, II, 33–37).

73. This action was the Battle of Green Spring, July 6, 1781. The Americans lost 28 killed, 99 wounded, and 14 missing; the British had 75 killed and wounded. For further details, see Cornwallis to Clinton, July 8, 1781, *ibid.,* II, 57–59; Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* pp. 60–68; Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department,* pp. 432–36; *Journal of Lieut. William Feltman,* pp. 6–7; Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* pp. 353–55; Ward, *War of the Revolution,* II, 876–77; Gottschalk, *Lafayette and the Close of the American Revolution,* pp. 263–68; R. Lamb, *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences During the Late American War, From Its Commencement to the Year 1783* (Dublin, 1809), p. 373.

74. Lawnes Creek flows north into the James River and separates Surry County from Isle of Wight County.

75. "Foot of a goose" or crossroad.

76. Both Cooper's Mill and Riddick's or Redduck's Mill and plantation are shown in the "Sketch of . . . 1781," Virginia Historical Society.

77. Edenton, North Carolina, was formerly a colonial capital dating from 1658; it is located on Albemarle Sound.

78. Chiggers, no doubt. This insect enters the skin and multiplies incredibly, causing a painful itching. It is also called chegre, chigoe, and jigger, from the Spanish *chiquito,* meaning small.

79. Major Richard England, Deputy Quartermaster General (Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* p. 118).

80. The Allied army had not crossed the Hudson River at that time, but remained encamped near White Plains. Clinton said he realized the demonstration made against New York was a feint, but he did not know the reason for it. Later he wrote, "I never could have the most distant idea that Mr. Washington had the least hopes of a superior French fleet in the Chesapeake; and I consequently never could suppose that he would venture to go there" (*Narrative of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton, K.B., Relative to His Conduct During Part of His Command of the King's Troops in North America* [London, 1783], reprinted as *Narrative of the Campaign in 1781 in North America. By Sir Henry Clinton, K.B.* [Philadelphia, 1865], p. 11).

81. Clinton states in his *Narrative,* "I could not have prevented his passing the Hudson. . . . Nor could I, when informed of his march toward the Delaware, have passed an army in time to have made any impression upon him before he crossed that river" (pp. 13–14).

82. Old Point Comfort, the present site of Fort Monroe, begun in 1819 and completed in 1847. Previous forts there dated back to 1609.

83. I was unable to identify Colonel Whiting fully, beyond the fact that he was a

member of a prominent and wealthy family of Gloucester County. Several Whitings owned property near Gloucester Point; they were parishioners of Abingdon Church. No relationship could be established between the Whiting and Washington families, although locally it was said the families were "kin."

84. This was Gloucester Point, known as Tyndall's Point when the colonists built a fort there in 1667. The York River is about a half mile wide here.

CHAPTER 3

1. Abingdon Episcopal Church is located six miles north of Gloucester Point, on the right side of the George Washington Memorial Highway. See also note 17, below.

2. The courthouse, built in 1766, is thirteen miles north of Gloucester Point.

3. Since Old Point Comfort was found to be unsuitable for a fortified station, Cornwallis informed Clinton that "This being the case, I shall, in obedience to the spirit of Your Excellency's orders, take measures with as much dispatch as possible to seize and fortify York and Gloucester" (Cornwallis to Clinton, July 27, 1781, in *The Campaign in Virginia, 1781,* ed. Stevens, II, 106–08).

4. Seawell's Ordinary is located at Ordinary Post Office, five miles north of Gloucester Point. The house was built in 1712 and the ordinary, now closed, was established in 1756. Local records state that Lafayette once slept there. Ewald's *Plan of the Siege of York Town in Virginia* indicates that Seawell's Ordinary was the headquarters of the Marquis de Choisy.

5. Probably Warner Lewis. The Lewis family were among the earliest settlers of Gloucester County. John Lewis settled there in 1653, and his son Colonel John Lewis (1669–1725) was "One of his Majestys Hon^{ble} Council for this Colony," according to his tombstone in the walled Warner Hall cemetery, located in a field at Robins' Neck, Warner Hall Farm, near Naxera Post Office. George Washington's grandmother, Mildred Warner Washington, is also buried there.

6. See *Simcoe's Military Journal,* p. 249.

7. The words quoted are recorded in English in the diary.

8. Washington's army crossed the Hudson River at King's Ferry on August 20 and 21; the French army crossed on August 25. Meanwhile, Rodney had sailed for England on August 1, sending Rear Admiral Samuel Hood to join Rear Admiral Graves at New York to head off the French fleet (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 313–16; Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* p. 99; *Journal of von Closen,* trans. and ed. Acomb, pp. 109–10).

9. The royal standard of King Louis XVI: the Bourbon fleurs-de-lis on a white banner. In his *Plan of the Siege of York Town in Virginia* Ewald indicates the spot at Sarah Creek with the inscription "Place where I stood when the French fleet arrived before the mouth of the York River."

10. The three French ships in the action which Ewald witnessed in the distance were "the Glorieux, a coppered seventy-four, and the Diligente and Aigrette frigates" (Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* p. 364).

11. Rear Admiral (Lieutenant General) François Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse, Marquis de Grasse-Tilly.

12. Cornwallis had asked for 500 spades and shovels in his engineer's report of August 23, but Clinton replied that the report showed 992 entrenching tools on hand and that others could be found on the neighboring plantations (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 349).

13. Cornwallis was considering escape on August 31, asking Simcoe if he could escape with his cavalry. Simcoe replied: "Without the smallest doubt." Simcoe remarked also that "Capt. Ewald saw him one day looking over Xenophon, and immediately said, 'My Col-

onel, you are going to retreat; for God's sake do not leave the Yagers behind you'" (*Simcoe's Military Journal,* pp. 250-306).

14. The French squadron of eight ships which sailed from Newport was commanded by Admiral Jaques Melchoir Saint-Laurent, Comte de Barras. Ternay had died.

15. Hood sailed from the West Indies, reconnoitered the empty bay area on August 25, and sailed to join Graves at New York. They left on the 28th to intercept de Grasse and de Barras or to block the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. They arrived too late (Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* p. 99).

16. Claude Anne, Marquis de Saint-Simon Montblérn, often called Claude Anne de Rouvroy. In America he was usually styled simply General Saint-Simon. He stated that he had about 3,100 infantry and a detachment of Royal Artillery Corps (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 330n.).

17. Abingdon Episcopal Church was erected in 1751. It stands near the site of the first church, built about 1655, and is constructed of Flemish-bond brickwork of surpassing quality, with walls almost thirty inches thick. The wall surrounding the church is about two feet thick at the base and almost five feet high.

18. Brigadier General George Weedon, who commanded a brigade of about 1,500 Virginia militia.

19. Washington had specifically enjoined Weedon to hamper the collection of forage "without precipitating your troops into too great danger" (The George Washington Papers, XXIII, 126).

20. Washington and the American army reached Head of Elk on September 6, having covered the two hundred miles from their starting point in fifteen days. The French army arrived on September 7 and 8 (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 323-24; *Journal of von Closen,* trans. and ed. Acomb, p. 124).

21. Major William Maxwell, 80th Regiment.

22. The Battle of the Virginia Capes occurred on September 5, 1781. De Grasse had 24 ships carrying 1,700 guns and 19,000 seamen, while Graves, Hood, and Drake had 19 ships with 1,400 guns and 13,000 seamen. British losses were 90 killed and 246 wounded; the French had 220 killed and wounded. Five British ships were damaged, and the *Isis* and *Richmond* captured. Tactically the battle was a draw, but it was decisive because it made the surrender of Cornwallis inevitable by ending all hopes for rescue (Clinton, *Narrative of the Campaign in 1781,* pp. 34-35; *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie,* II, 643-46; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 511-13; Stephen Bonsal, *When The French Were Here: A Narrative of the Sojourn of the French Forces in America, and Their Contribution to the Yorktown Campaign* [Garden City, N.Y., 1945], pp. 134-37; Harold A. Larrabee, *Decision at the Chesapeake* [New York, 1964], passim).

23. Washington and Rochambeau with entourage had arrived overland at Williamsburg from Head of Elk on September 14. All the troops were ashore and concentrated in and around Williamsburg by September 26 (Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* pp. 101-02; *Journal of von Closen,* trans. and ed. Acomb, p. 138; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 323-40; James Thacher, *Military Journal of the American Revolution, From the Commencement to the Disbanding of the American Army* [Hartford, Conn., 1862], p. 278).

24. The army left Williamsburg early on September 28, arrived at its outposts around noon, and began to invest Yorktown. In round figures, the army totaled 7,890 Continentals, 3,153 militia, and 8,800 French troops, marines, and sailors, not including de Grasse's 14,000 personnel (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 514).

25. The redoubts lay between the ravine at York Creek and the marsh above Wormeley's Pond; I have been unable to verify the burning of them. Washington and Rochambeau were surprised by the sudden abandonment.

26. Captain Charles Apthorpe, 23d Regiment of Foot (Royal Welch Fusiliers) (Ford, *British Officers,* p. 18).

27. This work was the Fusiliers' Redoubt.

28. The hussars were Saint-Simon's, from the West Indies. Washington sent Lauzun to Gloucester to strengthen Weedon's Virginia militia, and to prevent any breakthrough to the north (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 341–42; *Journal of von Closen,* trans, and ed. Acomb, p. 138; *Memoirs of the Duc de Lauzun,* trans. C. K. Scott Moncrieff and ed. G. Rutherford [London, 1928], p. 205).

29. See *Journal of von Closen,* trans. and ed. Acomb, p. 140.

30. Brigadier General Claude Gabriel, Marquis de Choisy, who was senior to Lauzun and to Weedon; he had arrived with de Barras from Newport and assumed command at Gloucester on October 1 with eight hundred French marines (The George Washington Papers, XXIII, 169).

31. The guard boat brought word that Clinton would embark "above five thousand men" on a fleet consisting of twenty-three ships of the line and hoped to sail on October 5 or a few days later (Clinton to Cornwallis, Sept. 24–25, 1781, The Henry Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library).

32. Robert Guillaume, Baron de Dillon, Second Colonel in Lauzun's Legion.

33. This small action occurred on October 3, 1781. Lee credits Lieutenant Colonel John Francis Mercer's Virginia militia grenadiers with helping stop the British. Contrary to Ewald's remarks on the slowness of the French cavalry, Lauzun states, "I charged them without drawing rein." Tarleton was accidentally unhorsed but escaped. The small losses on both sides are reported somewhat similarly (*Memoirs of the Duc de Lauzun,* trans. Moncrieff and ed. Rutherford, pp. 207–08; Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department,* pp. 497–98; *Journal of von Closen,* trans. and ed. Acomb, p. 142; Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* pp. 376–78; Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* pp. 128–29).

34. The besiegers' batteries opened on the afternoon of October 9, the French at about three o'clock, and the American at five o'clock (Washington's Journal, Oct. 9, 1781, quoted in Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* p. 167).

35. Commissary General Perkins was killed by the first shot from an American battery while attending a dinner with a party of officers of the 76th Regiment. Thacher says Washington fired the first American shot (*Military Journal,* p. 283).

36. Lieutenant Charles Robertson, the quartermaster and adjutant of the 76th Regiment.

37. The *Charon* was set on fire by a French battery (Thacher, *Military Journal,* p. 283).

38. The Honorable Major Charles Cochrane of Tarleton's Legion, acting aide-de-camp to Cornwallis.

39. Lieutenant Colonel Duncan McPherson, 71st Regiment.

40. Redoubt Number 9, garrisoned by 120 British and Hessians.

41. Major James Campbell and sixty men occupied Redoubt Number 10, which was located on the extreme left of the fortifications near the river bank (Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department,* p. 500).

42. Major General Charles Joseph Hyacinthe du Houx, Vicomte de Viomênil, who directed the French attack on Redoubt Number 9. The French lost fifteen killed and seventy-seven wounded; the British and Hessians, eighteen killed and about fifty taken prisoner (*Journal of von Closen,* trans. and ed. Acomb, pp. 148–50; Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* pp. 142–43; *My Campaigns in America: A Journal Kept by Count William de Deux-Ponts, 1780–81,* trans. and ed. Samuel A. Green [Boston, 1868], pp. 142–47).

43. Lafayette directed the American attack on Redoubt Number 10, led by Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton with four hundred light infantry. His losses were eight killed and twenty-five wounded. A few British were killed and wounded, with about twenty captured; the rest of the garrison escaped (Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department,* pp. 500–02; Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* pp. 145–47, 168, 193).

44. Second Lieutenant Ernst Wilhelm Andersohn, Erb Prinz Regiment (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 301).

45. Probably a privy or a necessary house.

46. American accounts report that up to twelve hundred horses were destroyed (Richard Butler, "Colonel Richard Butler's Diary," *American Magazine* 8 [March 1864]: 102–12; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 363; Thacher, *Military Journal,* p. 280).

47. "The reason for war is but little reason." This slightly ungrammatical French phrase, ascribed to François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694–1778), could not be verified.

48. Washington states that four French and two American guns were spiked. The French had one officer and twelve men killed, with ten officers captured; the Americans, one man wounded; and the British, ten killed and three taken prisoner (Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* p. 169).

49. The reason Ewald gives for the improper spiking of the guns is found in no other source. Both sides believed the spiking to have been done in haste (Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department,* p. 503; Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* p. 387).

50. The words quoted are recorded in English in the diary.

51. For Cornwallis's account of his attempt to escape, see his letter to Clinton, October 20, 1781, in *The Campaign in Virginia, 1781,* ed. Stevens, II, 205–16. See also Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* pp. 387–88.

52. Ewald probably held Redoubts 3 and 4 and the battery between them, which are shown on his *Plan of the Siege of York Town in Virginia.* Redoubt Number 1 was occupied by the Queen's Rangers, Number 2 by Tarleton's Legion, and Number 3 by a part of the 80th Regiment. Some traces of the Gloucester fortifications still exist, but the sites of the redoubts Ewald commanded can no longer be identified, the approximate area is now partially wooded and residential.

53. Thacher states, "The prevalent diseases are intermittent and remittent fevers, which are very prevalent in this climate during the autumnal months" (*Military Journal,* p. 286).

54. Probably gunpowder. Such a "remedy" was used by an American soldier at the Battle of Long Island in August 1776. He took a draught of gunpowder mixed with rum to fortify his courage, but he did not need the stimulant at the Battle of Princeton ("Battle of Princeton, by Sergeant R——," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 20, no. 4 [1896]: 515–19; MS in the Princeton University Library).

55. In colonial times the church was known variously as Yorktown Church, the York-Hampton Church, and the York Church. It was built about 1697, and was used as a powder magazine during the siege.

56. Major General Heath commanded the army in the New York Highlands and kept watch on Clinton in New York City. His army was short of flour at the time, but Lee states, "The American army under Heath would have followed Clinton" (*Heath's Memoirs,* ed. Wilson, p. 331; Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department,* p. 505).

57. Tarleton and Lee later wrote that escape would have been possible, but their opinions first appeared in 1787 and in 1827, respectively. They do not explain how the army would have crossed the rivers, or consider the deterioration of the troops which

Ewald points out at the time (Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* pp. 380–84; Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department,* pp. 504–06). Thacher says, "A more preposterous and desperate attempt can scarcely be imagined" (*Military Journal,* p. 287).

58. Cornwallis beat a parley on the morning of the 17th and submitted his terms for capitulation, which were rejected. On the 18th Washington sent Cornwallis his conditions with a two-hour ultimatum, specifying the same honors as were granted to Lincoln at Charleston. In the afternoon the British, French, and American commissioners met at the Moore House and formulated the Articles of Capitulation, which were signed on the morning of the 19th by Cornwallis and by Washington, Rochambeau, and de Barras (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 376–85; Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* pp. 151–55).

59. The surrender ceremonies at Yorktown are well documented, but little is known of the formalities at Gloucester. Of the 900 officers and men (153 were sick) who surrendered at Gloucester, the Queen's Rangers numbered 320, Tarleton's British Legion, 241, and Ewald's jägers, 74, the latter consisting of one captain, three lieutenants, one surgeon, one hornblower, and 68 rank and file (Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department,* p. 513; Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* p. 439; Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* pp. 164–65, 195).

60. The army prisoners totaled 7,241, with 80 camp followers. The 840 naval prisoners were turned over to Comte de Grasse (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 391, 515; Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* pp. 158, 164–65; Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* pp. 451–58).

61. British army losses were reported as 156 killed, 326 wounded, and 70 missing, totaling 552, with 42 naval casualties. The losses of the Queen's Rangers, British Legion, and Ewald's jägers were not reported, which may account for the higher total of 653 given by Ewald. Washington reported that American losses from the opening of the siege on September 28 to the storming of the redoubts on October 14 were 23 killed and 65 wounded; the subsequent casualties were negligible. The French army losses were reported as 60 killed and 193 wounded (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 587, n. 93; Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781,* pp. 445–47; Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* pp. 168, 193–94; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 515).

62. "Rascals, these Americans," or " American scoundrels."

63. Steuben had introduced his system of training into the American army at Valley Forge in March 1778. It was essentially an adaptation of the Prussian drill system (Palmer, *General von Steuben,* pp. 140–47).

64. The Rhode Island Regiment was stationed on the right wing during the siege. It consisted of 450 men under Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Jeremiah Olney (Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign,* p. 115).

65. Clinton relates that the old open formation failed at the Battle of Cowpens when Tarleton charged "in that loose, flimsy order which had ever been too much the practice in America, whereby his whole corps was thrown into a shameful confusion from which they could never afterward be recovered" (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 95, n. 16; p. 247).

66. The Rhenish or Lower Palatine, usually called the Palatinate. Thousands of German Protestants left this area for America in the eighteenth century either for religious freedom or to escape the wars and devastation of Catholic France. Many settled on the frontier facing the Indians. The troops of which Ewald speaks were Virginia militia. In general, the Germans were from the Valley of Virginia, and the Scotch-Irish from the Valley and the Appalachian Mountains.

67. Major General Johann von Mayr commanded a Free Corps, one of the special

independent commands of the Prussian army in the Seven Years' War. Steuben served as a lieutenant and adjutant in von Mayr's corps in 1758 (Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* pp. 52–54; Palmer, *General von Steuben,* pp. 35–36).

68. The officers were Baron Louis Eberhard d'Ésebeck; Lieutenant Colonel Hans Axel, Comte de Fersen, the favorite of Queen Marie Antoinette; Colonel Baron François Marie d'Angely; and Major Bernard Antoine de Klocker. Lieutenant Colonel Hugo served in Lieutenant Colonel Mercer's Virginia legion, which supported Lauzun's hussars. I could not identify Major Broderesky.

69. Washington had invited Brigadier General Charles O'Hara to dinner, since Cornwallis was indisposed. Ewald's comment seems to be the only record of Washington's displeasure.

70. Ewald's remarks on the siege, provided in translation by the editor, appear in two important Historic Resource Studies published in 1976 by the National Park Service for the Colonial National Historical Park, Virginia: Erwin N. Thompson, *The British Defenses at Yorktown, 1781,* and Jerome A. Greene, *The Allies at Yorktown: A Bicentennial History of the Siege of 1781.*

71. Probably Second Lieutenant Friedrich von Foetor, Anspach Regiment Voit (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 336).

72. Baron Friedrich von Jungkenn-Müntzer, now a lieutenant general, minister of state, and minister of war.

73. The news of the surrender reached the King and his ministers on November 25. Two days later Parliament assembled and furious debates ensued. Lord Frederick North, the Prime Minister, continued to justify the war on the grounds of British rights in America. He was violently assailed by Charles Fox, Edwin Burke, and the younger William Pitt. Lord North resigned on March 20, 1782.

SUPPLEMENT

1. First Lieutenant Johann Heinrich Wolff (Eelking, *Die deutschen Hülfstruppen,* II, 266).

2. Probably Matinecock Point, north of Glen Cove on Long Island.

3. Clinton wrote Germain on September 7, 1781, that he desired to resign; his resignation was accepted on February 6, 1782. He was succeeded by General Sir Guy Carleton, governor of Quebec, who arrived at New York on May 5. On May 13 Clinton and von Knyphausen sailed for England on the frigate *Pearl.* Cornwallis and Arnold had departed on December 15, 1781 (*Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative,* ed. Willcox, p. 362).

4. Deputy Adjutant General John Stapleton; he was a captain of the 17th Regiment in 1780 (Ford, *British Officers,* p. 166).

5. The Brunswick prisoners had been captured at the battles of Bennington and Saratoga in 1777. Many German prisoners, all of them indiscriminately called Hessians, were hired out by Congress to work on farms and in ironworks. In Pennsylvania, twenty-two "Hessian" prisoners were employed at Elizabeth Furnace on Middle Creek in Lancaster County, thirty-four at Charming Forge on Tulpehocken Creek in Berks County, and others at Mary Ann Furnace on Furnace Creek in York County, at Durham Iron Works on the Delaware River in Bucks County, and at other ironworks. The Continental Congress received thirty-two to forty-five shillings per month for each man, the amount being paid in iron (Arthur C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century,* Pennsylvania Historical Commission, vol. IV [Harrisburg, Pa., 1938], pp. 112, 187–89).

6. John Jacob Faesch erected the Mount Hope Furnace in 1772 in Rockaway Township, New Jersey. During the war he produced shot, shells, and cannon, as well as refined bar iron, shovels, axes, and other implements. In March 1777 Faesch secured thirty

Hessian prisoners who were used as wood-choppers and furnace men (Boyer, *Early Forges and Furnaces in New Jersey,* pp. 136-38).

7. In July, Hessian Adjutant General Major Baurmeister was sent to Pennsylvania and New Jersey to seek out German prisoners and deserters and induce them to return to New York. He carried a general pardon for all deserters if they returned by August 1, 1783, but was not very successful (*Letters and Journals of Baurmeister,* trans. and ed. Uhlendorf, pp. 572-76, 580).

8. Captain Theodor Hart[mann] Hartert, who died on August 7 and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard at New York (*Gaines' New-York Gazette,* August 13, 1783).

9. General Carleton received instructions on August 7 to evacuate New York City, but a lack of ships prevented the removal of the loyalists and the evacuation of the British troops until late November 1783 (Lorenzo F. Sabine, *The American Loyalists* [Boston, 1847], pp. 58-60).

10. The only other contemporary account of a visit to West Point is that of Sebastian Francisco de Miranda (1750-1816), a Spanish officer who visited the Point in February 1784. His published diary corroborates many of Ewald's observations. Miranda became the liberator of Venezuela. I am indebted to Mrs. Marie T. Capps, Map and Manuscript Librarian, and to Colonel Merle Sheffield, U.S. Army, United States Military Academy, West Point, for the data on West Point used in these notes.

11. Second Lieutenant Wilhelm (or Ludwig) von Gerresheim of the Jäger Corps (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 334).

12. Possibly Mrs. Daniel (Hannah) Birdsall, whose home close to the Mandeville Tavern was often the meeting place of American officers. Here Washington gave Arnold the commission to command West Point. Local historians believe Mrs. Birdsall accommodated guests referred from Mandeville's Tavern.

13. Ewald set fire to the barracks at Continental Village. See Vol. II, entry for June 3, 1779.

14. Nelson's Ferry Landing was located at the mouth of Philip's Brook across from West Point, about a half mile north of present Garrison, New York.

15. Caleb Nelson's house is shown on the "Map of West Point" drawn in 1780 by Chevalier J. L. Villefranche, Major of Engineers. Washington sent this French engineer to West Point to superintend the reconstruction of the works which Arnold commanded. The map originally belonged to General Washington (United States Military Academy Library Collections).

16. Major General Alexander McDougall, who probably resided at the Beverly Robinson House at the time. According to Villefranche's map, the distance by road from Nelson's house was about two and a quarter miles. Benedict Arnold used Robinson's house as his headquarters when he commanded West Point. The Beverly Robinson House, built in 1758, was confiscated in 1777; it was destroyed in 1892.

17. Major General Henry Knox was a man of imposing physical proportions. It was reported on August 19, 1783, that he weighed 280 pounds, Lincoln 224, and Washington, 209 (Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 453, n. 105).

18. Captain John Lillie of Massachusetts, who was aide-de-camp to General Knox from October 1778 until the end of the war (Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 350).

19. Fort Clinton, shown as Fort Arnold on Villefranche's map, was renamed after Arnold's desertion.

20. At the outbreak of the war American artillery was an accumulation of guns, mortars, and howitzers of every sort and of thirteen different calibers, but little field artillery. By 1775 the foundries at Philadelphia were casting both bronze and iron guns, since the source of importation was soon cut off. For further data see Albert Manucy,

Artillery Through the Ages, National Park Service Interpretive Series, History No. 3 (Washington, 1949), p. 10.

21. Major General James Grant declared in the House of Commons on February 2, 1775 "that the Americans could not fight and that he would undertake to march from one end of the continent to the other with 5,000 men" (William A. Duer, *The Life of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling* [New York, 1847], p. 162).

22. Mrs. Lucy Knox, née Flucker, the daughter of the Royal Secretary of Massachusetts Bay.

23. Probably Colonel Joseph Vose, commanding the 2d Massachusetts Regiment, who led his regiment from West Point in the parade of American troops into New York City on Evacuation Day, November 25, 1783. The maiden name of Captain John Lillie's wife was also Vose (Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 561; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 562, n. 27).

24. Knox was the commandant at West Point from 1782 to 1784, and became senior officer of the army upon Washington's withdrawal. See Ward, *War of the Revolution,* I, 122–23.

25. I could find little evidence of Steuben's presence and activities at West Point in October 1783 (Kapp, *Life of von Steuben,* pp. 523–24).

26. This tavern may have stood at the south end of the West Point property near the present Headquarters Building, where such a structure is known to have existed from 1795 to 1808. The tavern was run by a man named North.

27. Secretary H. Motz of the Hessian headquarters staff, 1778 to 1783 (*German Allied Troops,* trans. Rosengarten, p. 284).

28. Dr. Michaelis, given name unknown, a physician of the Hessian forces from August 1779 to 1783 (*ibid.,* p. 287).

29. Probably Wallkill. The Wallkill River flows from northern New Jersey into New York State. Lake Wallkill lies about two miles east of the river and three miles from the state line.

30. Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–88), a French naturalist who is best known for his monumental *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière.*

31. Probably Captain Joshua Benson (brevet-major) of Massachusetts (Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 100).

32. In December 1782 misgivings arose in the army over the great arrears of pay. Congress promised half-pay for disabled and retired officers, which was later modified to five years' pay. The soldiers were to receive a gratuity of eighty dollars each. Unfortunately the promises were not redeemed, because the coffers were empty, and the officers and men were discharged without pay (Thacher, *Military Journal,* pp. 329–43, 350–51; Freeman, *George Washington,* V, 430–31, 441–43).

33. Fort Wyllys was named for Colonel Samuel Wyllys, commander of the 3d Regiment of the Continental Line, which constructed the redoubt. Fort Clinton was named for its builder James Clinton and Fort Putnam for Colonel Rufus Putnam, who built the fort with his 5th Massachusetts Regiment.

34. The great chain was forged by Peter Townsend at the Stirling Iron Works at Chester, about twenty miles west of West Point. It was completed in April 1778 and stretched across the river on May 1. The chain was 450 yards long, weighed 180 tons, and was fastened to very large logs. The links were made of iron bars two and a half inches square. Each link weighed about 140 pounds, the average length being a little over two feet. Each autumn until 1783 the chain was dragged back to shore, and the ice blocked the river during the winter (Thacher, *Military Journal,* p. 216; Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* I, 700, 704–06).

35. Major Sebastian Bauman, 2d Continental Artillery, who had been born in Germany. A copy of his artillery orders and a return of ordnance for West Point were discovered in Major André's stockings. Bauman was postmaster of New York City from 1790 until his death in 1803 (Heitman, *Officers of the Continental Army,* p. 92; Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* I, 721–22, 756).

36. Mrs. Elizabeth Lawrance, the only daughter of General McDougall. She was married to Colonel John Lawrance (sometimes spelled Laurance), who served on McDougall's staff. He was judge advocate general of the army from 1777 to 1782, and presided at Major André's trial. Lawrance became a member of Congress, a judge, and a U.S. senator (*Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History,* s.v. "Lawrance, John").

37. Probably Maria Elizabeth Bauman, the eldest of Major Bauman's nine daughters. Maria was born in 1767 and died of consumption in 1784 at the age of seventeen. The family name was later changed to Beauman (*Memoirs of Colonel Sebastian Beauman and His Descendants,* ed. Mary C. Doll Fairchild [privately printed, 1900], p. 14).

38. Major General McDougall was born in 1731 in the Inner Hebrides, Scotland, and brought to America in 1738. He commanded the privateers *Tyger* and *Barrington* in the French and Indian War, the American counterpart of the Seven Years' War. McDougall was conspicuous at the Battle of White Plains, participated in the Battle of Germantown, and took command in the Hudson Highlands in 1778. He succeeded Benedict Arnold as commandant at West Point. In 1781–82, he represented New York in the Continental Congress and was temporarily Minister of Marine. He was a member of Congress in 1784–85 and a state senator from 1783 to his death in 1786 (*Harper's Encyclopaedia* and *The Columbia Encyclopedia,* s.v. "McDougall, Alexander"). No mention of Ewald's visit is to be found in the McDougall Papers at the New-York Historical Society.

39. On November 21 the posts at Kings Bridge and McGowan's Pass were surrendered to the Americans. Colonel von Wurmb, commander of the Jäger Corps, delivered up the posts as soon as the Americans appeared. At seven o'clock in the morning an American corps of about eight hundred men marched to McGowan's Pass, where the jägers were drawn up under arms. The post was turned over to the Americans and the jägers marched to New York for embarkation ("Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps," pp. 225–26).

40. The New York Committee issued the following item: "The 25th day of November, 1783, being the time fixed for the British to evacuate the city,—a cold, frosty, but clear and brilliant morning—the troops, under General Knox, encamped at Harlem, marched to the Bowery lane, and halted at the present junction of Third avenue and the Bowery. There they remained until about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the British left their posts in the vicinity and marched to Whitehall. The American troops followed, and before three o'clock General Knox took formal possession of Fort George, amid the acclamations of thousands of emancipated freemen" (*Manual of the New York Common Council* [New York, 1861], p. 549). See also Henry P. Johnston, "Evacuation of New York by the British, 1783," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 67, no. 420 [Nov. 1883]: 903–23).

41. The "Journal . . . Hessischen Feld-Jäger Corps" (pp. 237–38) states in its final entry: "All the natives were furloughed, and those foreigners who did not want to serve were discharged with three payments. The entire Jäger Corps, however, was placed partly in the regiments."

42. Landgrave Frederick II, the Elector of Hesse-Cassel, who ruled from 1760 until his death in 1785.

43. The monetary subsidies provided the Landgrave by the treaty between Great Britain and Hesse-Cassel in 1776 for the services of his troops sent to America.

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SLAVES IN RED COATS

THE BRITISH WEST INDIA REGIMENTS, 1795–1815

Roger Norman Buckley

Toward the end of the eighteenth century England felt increasing need for a more adequate army to protect her possessions in the Caribbean region. Few whites, however, proved able to survive military service in a tropical climate. In 1795 two regiments of Blacks were formed; within three years there were twelve. These "West India Regiments" were recruited from among Creole slaves and "raw" Africans in the Caribbean. This book examines the early history of these regiments within the context of the accelerating Africanization of British West Indian society, rebellions in the Caribbean, and British imperial expansion in Africa.

Buckley's acute analysis shows how the creation of a large body of slave soldiers caused dramatic modifications in the social order. To avoid conflict with police regulations, for example, it was necessary in 1807 for Parliament to manumit 10,000 military slaves by a single act. On the one hand, the slave armies had a strongly equalitarian effect. On the other, the British Army's reliance on the slave trade to perpetuate the West Indian forces prolonged that trade until 1807 and was a major factor in Pitt's seemingly ambivalent political behavior on the slavery issue for a decade before his death. *Slaves in Red Coats* is the first systematic analysis of the effect of war on New World slavery.

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"Toward half-past five we arose from the table and strolled to the parade ground, where the entire garrison, consisting of about 3,200 men, was drawn up in battalion formation and accounted for and inspected as usual. The shortest men formed the first rank, which was introduced by General Baron von Steuben, the Inspector General, who has his usefulness in the field but who makes a very poor figure on parade.

The men looked haggard and pallid and were poorly dressed. Indeed, very many stood quite proudly under arms without shoes and stockings. Although I shuddered at the distress of these men, it filled me with awe for them, for I did not think there was an army in the world which could be maintained as cheaply as the American army. It was not even permitted to requisition straw during the campaigns, since the country could not have borne the expense. The barracks at West Point as well as those at all permanent places had to be built by the soldiers with their own hands, without compensation. Shoemakers and tailors who are assigned to regiments must work for nothing for their officers and regiments; their only benefit being exemption from guard duty.—What army could be maintained in this manner? None, certainly, for the whole army would gradually run away.— This, too, is a part of that 'Liberty and Independence' for which these poor fellows had to have their arms and legs smashed.—But to what cannot enthusiasm lead a people!"

—Captain Johann Ewald, October 1783

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